Gain or Drain? Understanding Public-Private Partnerships in Education

A Primer
July 2013

Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education
GAIN OR DRAIN?

UNDERSTANDING PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS IN EDUCATION

A PRIMER

ASIA SOUTH PACIFIC ASSOCIATION FOR BASIC AND ADULT EDUCATION (ASPBAE)

JULY 2013
The Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE) is a regional association of more than 200 organisations and individuals working towards promoting quality education for all and transformative and liberating, life-long adult education and learning. It strives to forge and sustain an Asia-Pacific movement dedicated to mobilising and supporting community and people’s organisations, national education coalitions, teachers’ associations, campaign networks, and other civil society groups and institutions in holding governments and the international donor community accountable in meeting education targets and commitments, ensuring the right of all to education, and upholding education as an empowering tool for combating poverty and all forms of exclusion and discrimination, pursuing sustainable development, enabling active and meaningful participation in governance, and building a culture of peace and international understanding.

ASPBAE publications form an integral part of ASPBAE’s information, education, and advocacy activities and efforts, and seek to support sharing and learning among education stakeholders, advocates, practitioners, analysts, and policymakers. The reader is therefore encouraged to write to ASPBAE if they wish to use the material contained herein for reproduction, adaptation, and translation and to provide feedback that could help in further improving these publications.

The Open Society Foundations (OSF), formerly the Open Society Institute, works to build vibrant and tolerant cities whose governments are accountable and open to the participation of the people. It aims to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, economic, legal, and social reforms. It implements various initiatives that advance justice, education, public health, and independent media across the world. The Education Support Programme (ESP) promotes education justice and aims to ensure that equitable access to a quality education for all drives the roles and responsibilities of governments and other education stakeholders, working together for the societal good. Recognising the importance of civil society’s role in development, OSF works to build alliances across borders and continents on issues such as combating corruption and freedom of information. Globally, OSF puts premium on protecting and improving the lives of people in marginalised communities.

For more information, contact the ASPBAE Secretariat at the following e-mail address: aspbae@gmail.com
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This Primer on Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) in Education is a product of the long standing cooperation among ASPBAE, the national education campaign coalitions in the Asia-Pacific Region and the Education Support Programme (ESP) of the Open Society Foundations (OSF). ASPBAE and its coalition members’ work on financing concerns in education, including advocacies related to education budgets and expenditure tracking, Official Development Assistance (ODA), Sector-Wide Approach and privatisation. It also partners with OSF in capacity building, policy work, and campaign initiatives around education financing issues.

Financing remains a continuing concern particularly at this time when the global community reviews the EFA achievements and sets a new development course. ASPBAE notes that the chronic lack of finances was a clear factor in the failure to meet key EFA and MDG education targets. The vague attention to financing in the current discourses on the post-2015 development framework is definitely a cause for concern. A clear statement on the obligation of governments and donors to provide the necessary financial resources to address education priorities must be laid out. It is within this context that this Primer becomes particularly relevant. It serves as a handy reference for education campaigners and advocates in participating meaningfully to the current debates on education privatisation and PPPs within the broader education financing concerns.

ASPBAE promotes the important role of civil society in contributing to the global development agenda and the democratic functioning of societies. They have been playing strong and active roles in shaping and influencing education policies, especially since 2000 when the processes around the Dakar Framework of Action actively involved Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) at different levels of EFA research and policy work. They offer a potentially powerful force to engage governments, policymakers, donors and multilateral organisations to review or change policy. They offer measures to democratise information, foster debate for a better informed citizenry and for more transparent and accountable decision-making processes.

ASPBAE is committed to help build the capacities of CSOs to challenge critical financing issues and to participate actively in the policy debates on the gains and pitfalls of education PPPs and privatisation. It is my ardent hope that this Primer contributes to the crafting of a development agenda and financing strategy that uphold the right to education and promote Quality Education and Lifelong Learning for All.

I am especially grateful to the Education Support Programme of OSF for supporting and accompanying ASPBAE in designing, writing and reviewing this Primer.

MARIA LOURDES ALMAZAN KHAN
Secretary General
Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE)
SPBAE would like to express its deepest appreciation to all those who contributed to and supported the preparation and publication of this Primer.

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RENE RAYA AND CECILIA SORIANO
ASPBAE Policy Team
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<td>ADB</td>
<td>Asian Development Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
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<td>ASPBAE</td>
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<td>BOT</td>
<td>Build-Operate-Transfer</td>
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<td>Community Learning Centre</td>
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<td>NGO</td>
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<td>VCEFA</td>
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In the current education financing and programme discourse, public-private partnerships (PPP) have proven highly contested among education activists. Donors, intergovernmental agencies and international financial institutions (IFIs) increasingly prescribe this modality of management and service delivery to attain greater efficiency in resource use and allocation. Governments, especially those with loan conditionalities to abide by, play a significant role in adopting laws and policies supporting PPPs as a means for reducing pressure on diminishing revenues.

Meanwhile, education activists and proponents of the right to education face a dilemma of whether to support or oppose PPPs. While PPPs cannot be simply boxed as privatisation, they undoubtedly facilitate greater participation of the private sector in terms of delivery, management and financing of education services. Thus far, discussions have tended to be either academic in nature, or polemical, making it even more difficult to make informed decisions about relative pros and cons of the issue.

Responding to these developments, ASPBAE and its partner education coalitions met in April 2011 to examine PPPs and their implications, and arrived at a shared understanding on the issue. However, reaching a common position proved challenging because of the diversity of country experiences, the wide-ranging types of partnerships in education and the different views and interpretations of PPP terms. This prompted the recommendation to publish a primer on PPPs in education that would give attention to different perceptions and modes of implementation, and serve as a tool for enabling a stronger grasp of the issues and facilitating civil society processes towards reaching sharply defined positions and actions. ASPBAE subsequently shared the idea for a primer with the Open Society Foundations (OSF) and cooperated with the latter in designing and developing this primer.

The publication of this Primer, *Gain or Drain? Understanding Public-Private Partnerships in Education*, therefore, is an expression of ASPBAE and OSF’s mutual interest in the issue of PPPs in education and in addressing the paucity of materials relevant to practitioners, activists and education rights campaigners.
This Primer is intended to support advocacy initiatives of national education coalition members, education advocates, policymakers and stakeholders in the education sector involved in the Right to Education campaign and the more targeted Education for All (EFA) campaign. It aims to introduce in more straightforward ways, the basic concepts, parameters, definitions, policy frameworks, key players and the range of issues and debates surrounding PPPs in education.

As a facilitating tool for education campaign coalitions and other education campaigners to begin to build deeper appreciation and understanding of the issue, this Primer specifically seeks to:

- Contribute to achieving clarity on the origin, scope and context of PPPs in education
- Provide a simple guideline in assessing PPP initiatives to measure how they relate to realising the right to education
- Help education campaign coalitions and networks deepen their analyses and define their operational positions for policy engagement on PPP initiatives.

This Primer draws from the studies undertaken as part of Privatisation in Education Research Initiative (PERI), a global initiative organised and guided by the OSF, which aims to gain a better understanding of a widening range of educational service regulations and delivery mechanisms that may lead to more effective and equitable education systems. It benefited from the capacity-building workshop on education PPP research conducted under an exchange programme with the Autonomous University of Barcelona, the University of the Philippines and the Civil Society Network for Education Reforms (E-Net Philippines) in July and December 2012.

Valuable insights were also drawn from the researches and studies done by civil society organisations and networks, specifically the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), Education International (EI), and national education coalitions in Asia-Pacific. Data were also culled from the work on PPP and education privatisation by United Nations agencies, particularly UNESCO and UNICEF. The Primer further sourced information from studies and evaluation reports on PPP in education of the World Bank (WB), the International Finance Corporation (IFC) (member of the World Bank Group), and the Asian Development Bank (ADB).

The Primer highlights the evolution of PPPs in education; the different types of PPPs as implemented globally and in the Asia-Pacific region; the issues, debates, key proponents, and the basic arguments for and against PPPs in education; and the proposed framework and guidelines for assessing PPP initiatives in education. The opening section presents the context to give an overview of the education situation, challenges, financing requirements and options for financing.
Since the Dakar Conference in 2000, there have been noticeable gains in meeting the international commitment to guarantee 'education for all', with many countries registering significant progress in the expansion of primary education systems and bringing more children especially girls into schools. Significant progress occurred notably in some of the poorest regions of the world such as South Asia. Between 2008 and 2010, the number of out-of-school children in South Asia decreased by 0.6 million.

However, significantly unmet targets continue to cast shadows over gains and thus progress tends to be uneven. Sixty million children still remain out of school in Asia-Pacific. In developing countries, it is estimated that 57% of those out of school will never enrol.

Certainly there have been improvements, such as the rise in the Gender Parity Index (GPI) average for the Asia-Pacific region from a 0.97 ranking in 2000 to 1.02 in 2010. At the same time though, the state of gender equality in education, or simply ensuring equal access to education for male and female students, remains a challenge. With gains in gender parity substantively achieved, the urgency of striving to realise gender equality warrants greater attention. Countries on the path to achieving equal enrolment figures between male and female students must be more strongly urged to take further measures to address social inequalities within and outside the classroom. To encourage gender equality in the classroom, it is important to eliminate gender disparities in teaching and leadership positions in the education system. Teaching in primary education is highly feminised, as compared to the secondary level where male teachers often make up a higher percentage of the teaching force. Teacher training needs to ensure teachers do not give preferential treatment to boys.

Participation in early childhood care and education in East Asia, the Pacific, and South and West Asia may have registered improvements but these arose from a very low base. Furthermore, these improvements mask disparities between countries. Thailand and Korea for example, have enrolments of over 80% while in Bangladesh, Bhutan, Cambodia, and Myanmar, less than 20% of children are exposed to early childhood care and education (ECCE) programmes.

All data sourced from UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) and the EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) 2012
The track record of attaining literacy goals has been one of the most disappointing. According to UNESCO Bangkok, the Asia-Pacific region remains home to 506 million adults, the majority of whom are women with no access to literacy training. Fifty-eight per cent of the world’s illiterate people live in only five Asian countries: Bangladesh, China, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan. Gender, language, socio-economic status, geography, and ethnicity represent some of the more persistent barriers to literacy.

The EFA Goal 3 on learning and life skills programmes for youth suffered from conceptual challenges, and consequently failed to draw the attention or the monitoring and assessment efforts it deserved. Notwithstanding ambiguities over defining Goal 3, there is no question as to the importance of its core intent of meeting the learning needs of young people and adults.

The EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) 2012 validated formal secondary schooling as a potently effective means of preparing young people for work. Yet performance in this area has been unfavourable. The gross enrolment ratio for lower secondary schools in low income countries reached only 52% in 2010, meaning that millions were left out of secondary schools. Three of four out-of-school adolescents are from South and West Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

While enrolment rates indicate advances, there is little evidence to suggest an improvement in the quality of education. The GMR 2012 estimates that at least 250 million of the world’s 650 million children of primary school age fail to attain minimum learning standards.

Progress in meeting the EFA goals slowed down in recent years and remained largely uneven across regions and within countries. Based on current trends, most EFA goals are unlikely to be met and some goals will be missed by wide margins. There is little doubt that chronic under-financing for education by governments and donors ranks among the major impediments to reaching the EFA goals and targets by 2015.

The EFA Global Monitoring Report has been calculating the EFA Development Index (EDI) since 2002 to measure the progress of countries towards attaining the EFA goals. The Report categorises countries as High EDI, Medium EDI, or Low EDI. India and Pakistan count among the three countries in the South and West Asia regions with Low EDI scores of less than 0.80. Timor Leste in Southeast Asia falls in the same category of Low EDI. Countries in East Asia and Pacific with Medium EDI from 0.80 to 0.94 include Indonesia, Macao
Special Administrative Region of the PRC, the Philippines, Lao PDR, and Cambodia.

**Figure 1. EFA Development Index (EDI) Ratings of Selected Countries in Asia-Pacific**

Source: Generated from data of the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012

How is Asia-Pacific faring in terms of spending levels of governments for education?

Global public expenditure on education, as a share of national income, increased from 4.5% in 1999 to 4.8% in 2010. Education’s share of total government spending also registered incremental gains from 13.8% to 14.0% during the same period (UNESCO, 2012). Faster economic growth rates by most developing countries, along with better revenue generation and higher levels of development aid helped boost real spending on education in the last decade since 2000. This level of expenditure, however, still falls short of the UNESCO recommended education spending benchmark of 6% of GNP and 20% of total government expenditure. Many poor countries face major shortfalls in resources needed to cover the financing gap and meet the Education for All targets.

Education spending levels vary across regions and countries. Developed countries of Europe and North America spent on average around 5.8% of GNP
in 2010, while Central and Eastern Europe posted a spending level of 5.2% of GNP. The Asian region spent least on education with Central Asia and East Asia spending only 3.5% and 3.3% of GNP, respectively. South and West Asia showed higher spending level at 4.4% of GNP.

Figure 2. Public Spending for Education as a Share of GNP in Selected Asia-Pacific Countries (2010)

In the Asia-Pacific region, the biggest spenders relative to the size of the economy were New Zealand, Maldives, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Mongolia, Vietnam, Samoa, and the Solomon Islands. These countries consistently earmarked more than, or close to, the UNESCO benchmark. The moderate spenders included countries such as Thailand, Nepal, Bhutan, Tajikistan, Iran, and Fiji. The lowest spenders allocating less than three per cent of GNP were Cambodia, Brunei Darussalam, the Philippines, Bangladesh, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka.

It is important to note that from 1999 to 2010, countries such as Nepal, Republic of Korea, Lao PDR, New Zealand, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Mongolia, Cambodia, Solomon Islands, and Samoa significantly increased education expenditures as a percentage of their GNP. In contrast, the education spending to GNP ratio shrunk in Pakistan, Bhutan, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Thailand, Brunei Darussalam, Fiji, Vanuatu, Azerbaijan, and Kazakhstan.
Another way of gauging the political will of governments to commit to education is to look at the share of education expenditure in the national budget. Very few countries allocate more than 20% of their national budgets to education. Globally, countries allocated on average only 14% of total public expenditure to education. The corresponding figure for developing countries is 16% with Sub-Saharan Africa, the Arab States, and Latin America registering the highest allocations. In the Asia-Pacific region, Kyrgyzstan, Islamic Republic of Iran, Malaysia, Vanuatu, and Thailand consistently set aside nearly or over 20% of the national budget. Vietnam also came close with an allocation of 19% in 2010. Other countries in the region generally earmark less than 15% of their national budgets for education.

**Figure 3. Total Public Spending for Education as a Share of Total Government Expenditure in EFA Regions (%), 1999 and 2010**

![Graph showing public spending for education in different regions](image)

Source: Data generated from the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012

Undeniably, the low level of public investment in education in most Asia-Pacific countries impacts tremendously on literacy, school access and the quality of education delivered to schoolchildren. This does not mean, however, that higher levels of national expenditure automatically lead to better education outcomes. Efficiency and effectiveness in terms of how resources are used in the education system must also be ensured. Measures need to be taken to hold education stakeholders accountable for their performance and ensure that financial resources reach designated schools.
In March 2013, the EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) estimated that low-income countries need $53 billion\(^2\) in average annual resources to achieve good quality basic education from 2012 to 2015. Although domestic spending increased slightly to $25 billion, aid stagnated at $3 billion, leaving a massive shortfall made even worse by inflation (UNESCO, 2013).

Based on these figures, the annual financing gap widens further to $26 billion from the earlier figure of $16 billion estimated in 2010. The gap increases to $38 billion if financing for equitable and good quality lower secondary education is factored in (UNESCO, 2013).

An ASPBAE study (2009) estimated financing of at least $9 billion/year from 2011 to 2015 or a total of $45 billion to achieve EFA literacy targets of reducing illiteracy by half and achieving gender parity in literacy by 2015.\(^3\) Actual spending levels of most developing countries on literacy barely amount to around one per cent of national education budgets. Only a few countries come close to the recommended spending level for adult literacy equivalent of three to six per cent of the education budget (UIL, 2009).

Figure 4. The $26 billion financing gap for basic education could be filled by 2015\(^4\)

\(^2\) All monetary amounts in this Primer are in US dollars.

\(^3\) The ASPBAE study was quoted by the first Global Report on Adult Learning and Education (GRALE) published by the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL).

\(^4\) ‘Student imputed costs’ pertain to aid spent in donor countries to pay for the costs of education of the students from developing countries.
Can the financing gap be covered by Official Development Assistance (ODA)?

At the World Education Forum (Dakar, 2000), the donor community pledged to collectively increase aid and support developing countries seriously committed to Education for All. It reaffirmed the commitment at the 2002 Monterrey Conference on Financing for Development and concretely pledged to increase aid by $50 billion by 2010 during the 2005 Group of 8 Summit.

ODA to education increased during the period immediately following the Dakar Conference but slowed down thereafter and eventually came to a standstill at $13.5 billion by 2010. Of this amount, $5.8 billion was allocated for basic education, far too low to cover the financing gap of at least $26 billion.

In effect, donors failed to meet the commitment made at Dakar that ‘no country would be prevented from achieving Education for All by a lack of resources’.

Prospects further dimmed as economic crisis spread across most donor countries towards the end of the last decade. In 2011, total ODA for education declined in real terms for the first time since 1997. Aid to the education sector is likely to stagnate until 2015 (UNESCO, 2013).

Figure 5. Share of Education in ODA Disbursements, 2002-2010

Source: Data derived from the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2012
Is the financing gap in education real or imagined?

Box 1. Measures to close education financing gap

The EFA GMR Policy Paper 'Education for All is affordable – by 2015 and beyond' (2013), noting the financing gap in education, recommended the following measures to governments and multilateral development agencies:

- Earmark 20% of the national budget for education ($12 billion);
- Fulfil donor commitments to allocate 0.7% of their Gross National Income (GNI) to aid ($1.3 billion);
- Provide financial support to improve education systems in developing countries instead of sending students to study in donor countries ($2.4 billion);
- Improve tax systems in developing countries with a proportion of tax revenues directed towards education ($7.3 billion); and,
- Generate the same amount for education that philanthropic organizations currently give to health ($3.4 billion).

CSOs argue that resources can be sourced domestically and overseas, but ensuring these go to education still remains contingent on how governments identify and define budgetary priorities. Without the political will to prioritise education, resources generated from citizens and commitments abroad can easily be siphoned into other expenditures such as defence and debt service, or simply wasted to corruption.

Figure 6. Leakage against Education Resourcing

How did Public-Private Partnerships in Education evolve?

The last two decades witnessed the dramatic rise of PPPs in education, along with the broadening role of the private sector in policymaking, school management, financing and delivery of education services. While there have been countless partnerships between the public and private sector in the educational system, PPPs in education in their current form emerged only fairly recently starting in the late 1980s. The emergence and subsequent expansion of these arrangements were, in part, an attempt to achieve a fine balance between the state and the market in delivering essential services within the context of a shifting global economic order. Such partnership was further seen as a corrective measure to having too much state intervention on one hand, and giving the market free rein, on the other hand, which exposed the essential services sectors to market failures.

Box 2. PPPs in the context of neoliberalism

Robertson and Verger (2012) traced the global expansion of PPPs to the advance of economic liberalism or neoliberalism in the 1980s. Previously, state-managed economic and social policies advocated by the British economist John Maynard Keynes dominated the post-war capitalist development period. However, by the early 1970s, with the deterioration of the global economy, Keynesian economics had fallen into disuse. Neoliberalism – the belief in the primacy of the market – became the mainstream economic paradigm, embraced by the world's strongest economies. With it came the policies of deregulation, liberalisation and privatisation, which collectively favour the application of market rules and necessarily, the reduction of government's role and intervention.

According to Robertson and Verger

…Keynesian ideas dominated post-war reconstruction efforts, championing state-managed economic and social policies in order to smooth over the cycle of booms and busts that characterized capitalist economies and the need to repair market failures. Neoliberals, in contrast, argued that state-driven Keynesian policy, and its tendency to create state monopolies, ‘crowded out’ the private sector from those areas where competition would generate efficiencies, greater risk taking, and innovation. For neoliberals, the appropriate role for the state was to create and preserve an institutional framework that ensured the conditions for enabling the market to work effectively. (Harvey, 2005: 2, cited in Robertson and Verger, 2012: 22)
These perspectives found expression in the rise of an increasing number of projects that concretised the neoliberal perspective, particularly highlighting the major if not central role of the private sector in development:

As neoliberal projects were rolled out in the 1980s, a cluster of key ideas featured: the unpicking of the state’s protectionist policies to enable the freer movement of finance, trade and labour across national boundaries (referred to as deregulation); the implementation of competition policies across the public and private sectors aimed at creating efficiencies; the privatization of a range of former state activity; and the rescaling of state activity (involving a dual process of decentralisation and recentralisation)....

Markets and competition, and the role of the private sector in new and old areas of service delivery were presented as “in the national interest”, central to global economic competitiveness, as a means of arresting poverty and slowing economic growth, and the basis for building knowledge-based economies. (Ball, 2007, pp. 22-23)

The drive towards mainstreaming PPPs gained further momentum during the series of global conferences initiated by the United Nations in the 1990s. Partnering with the business sector was first considered during the 1990 Jomtien Conference on Education for All. A stronger push in the direction of popularising PPPs came out of the 1992 Rio de Janeiro Conference on Sustainable Development, during which the business sector gained recognition as responsible and full partners in the development process. The involvement of the United Nations in PPPs further expanded with the launching of the UN Global Compact in 2000. The compact articulated the emerging consensus among donors and the UN family that the attainment of key development goals will require the mobilisation and contribution of all sectors and stakeholders, including the business sector.

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5 The Global Compact provides an overall framework for co-operation with the business community. The principles of the compact are based on intergovernmental agreements and at the same time are relevant for business. The compact articulates the strategic policy initiative for businesses that are committed to aligning their operations and strategies with ten universally accepted principles in the areas of human rights, labour, environment and anti-corruption. By doing so, business, as a primary driver of globalisation, can help ensure that markets, commerce, technology and finance advance in ways that benefit economies and societies everywhere. (United Nations Global Compact http://www.unglobalcompact.org)
Box 3. The UN’s role of institutionalising the private sector as partners in development

As the most widely represented inter-governmental organisation in the world, the United Nations can lay claim to having significant convening authority with its more than 190 member-states. Although there have been many criticisms of the UN, prompting a wave of reforms in recent years, the UN as a multilateral organisation continues to enjoy high credibility at global and national levels. Its part in strengthening the role of the private sector in relation to developmental goals such as the right to education has thus been influential not only globally, but nationally, through the member states:

The notion that the private sector can and should be considered a partner in development emerged from the United States in the 1980s’ (Mitchell-Weaver & Manning, 1991). In education, the Jomtien Conference (World Conference on Education for All 1990) that revitalised the push towards Education for All explicitly mentioned the contribution of the private sector as an element of progress towards the EFA goals. But it is Agenda 21, produced by the Rio de Janeiro environmental conference in 1992 (United Nations, 1992), that is widely seen as having been the launch pad for a global interest in public private partnerships (Martens, 2007, p. 13). Largely under the insistent leadership of the United States, the United Nations for the first time sought out the private sector as a full partner in the process of development. The plan of action agreed upon in Agenda 21 sets out ways in which to strengthen the roles of what are called “major groups”, including a chapter on “Strengthening the role of Business and Industry”. The text presents business as a responsible development partner, taking “voluntary initiatives” contributing to “promoting and implementing self-regulations and greater responsibilities in ensuring their activities have minimal impacts on human health and the environment”, all enhanced by “free-market mechanisms”. (United Nations, 1992).

Source: Draxler, 2008, p. 44

However, it was the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) of the WB group, and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) that championed PPP in education, coming from a period of promoting ‘private sector participation’ in education projects, and that subsequently became the strongest proponents for such partnership arrangements on a global scale. These international financial institutions (IFIs) were particularly instrumental in facilitating the replication of what they consider as successful pilots or experiments in the partnership between the government and the private sector, including NGO initiatives in education services.
The World Bank identified at least 92 PPPs in education in 47 countries implemented over a 10-year period from 1995 to 2005. In Asia-Pacific, PPP initiatives were already being implemented during that time in such countries as Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Indonesia, the Philippines, and the Republic of Korea. To a lesser extent, Thailand, the People’s Republic of China, and Myanmar also implemented a number of such programmes.

Various multilateral agencies and international financial institutions have since embarked on introducing and funding PPPs in education. Some examples of existing or newly implemented forms of PPP programmes include the following:

- financial assistance paid to private schools in Pakistan on a per-child enrolled basis
- system of grant-in-aid providing subsidies to privately-owned and managed schools in India
- subsidies to base salaries of teachers in community-managed, non-government schools in Bangladesh
- Adopt-a-School Programme in the Philippines where the private sector provides funding assistance to partly support the operation of public schools.

**Box 4. Moving the PPP agenda globally**

Multilateral development banks such as the World Bank and the ADB advance their agenda on PPPs, in this case PPPs in education, through various means. In addition to project loans and equity funding (a mutual fund investing in stocks), they also produce and support a range of ‘knowledge products’ and feasibility studies, often in collaboration with private consulting firms, research institutions, and academe. These include the Handbook on PPPs in education launched in 2001 by the IFC. Another substantive and widely circulated publication by the World Bank is the report on *The Role and Impact of PPPs in Education (2009)*.

These institutions are credited for globally expanding the PPP agenda in education. They also organise activities that serve as venues for discussing PPPs in education with different actors, from policymakers and the academe, to donor agencies and international organisations (Roberston and Verger, 2012, p. 29).
Table 1. IFI Core Policy Documents on PPP in Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Document Title</th>
<th>Authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ADB and WB</td>
<td>2000</td>
<td><em>The New Social Policy Agenda in Asia</em></td>
<td>Y. Wang (Ed.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFC</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td><em>Handbook on PPPs and Education</em></td>
<td>N. LaRocque, J. Tooley and M. Latham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CfBT Education Trust *</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td><em>Toolkit on PPPs and Education</em></td>
<td>M. Latham</td>
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<tr>
<td>CfBT Education Trust *</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td><em>PPPs in Basic Education. An International Review</em></td>
<td>N. LaRocque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB and IFC</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td><em>The Evolving Regulatory Context for Private Education in Emerging Economies</em></td>
<td>J. Fielden and N. LaRocque</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFC-Edinvest</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td><em>Public-Private Partnerships in Education</em></td>
<td>M. Latham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>2009</td>
<td><em>The Role and Impact of PPPs in Education</em></td>
<td>H. Patrinos, F. Barrera-Osorio and J. Guáqueta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*CfBT – Centre for British Teachers

Source: Robertson and Verger, 2012, p. 114
How is Privatisation related to education PPPs? Is PPP in Education the same as Education Privatisation?

Over long periods of neglect and mismanagement, many state facilities (including public education) ran into various problems, among them, debts, deficits and corrupt practices. Privatisation, i.e. the ‘transfer of activities, assets and responsibilities from government/public institutions and organizations to private individuals and agencies’ (Belfield and Levin, 2002, p.19, citing Levin, 2001), was pushed as an alternative, driven mainly by northern governments and creditor institutions.

A study commissioned by Education International identified two forms of education privatisation. Privatisation in public education or ‘endogenous’ privatisation happens when the public sector emulates the “ideas, techniques and practices from the private sector” and, thus, promote market behaviour in the public education systems. Privatisation of public education or ‘exogenous’ privatisation is the more explicit form of privatisation that entails the “opening up of public education services to private sector participation on a for-profit basis and using the private sector to design, manage or deliver aspects of public education.” (Ball and Youdell, 2007, pp. 8-9)

A PPP, on the other hand, is a mutually negotiated and agreed arrangement between the public and private sectors, and as a partnership, implies shared control, responsibility, costs and benefits. In effect, a PPP in the full sense of partnership is supposed to have terms that do not tilt the balance of control to favour one contracting party over the other. The main objective of PPP is to promote improvements in the financing and provision of essential services with an emphasis on achieving efficiency, effectiveness, quality, equity, and accountability.

PPPs do promote the greater participation of the private sector in delivering educational services. For Ball and Youdell (2007), PPPs are in fact forms of privatisation of education or ‘exogenous privatisation’. (pp. 21-32)
Belfield and Levin (2002) identified three ways by which education privatisation may be undertaken:

(a) increasing the number and proportion of private providers; 
(b) raising the amount of funds contributed directly by the users of the services (i.e., students and their families) and lowering the amount contributed through subsidies; or (c) enhancing parental monitoring of schools and school choice over government rules and regulations’. (p. 22)

Going by this explanation, privatisation already occurs when there is private sector participation in the provision, funding and accountability of educational services. Thus, when parents for example, pay for their children’s schooling, this is regarded as an expression of privatisation processes. ‘In many developing countries, families must pay additional ‘top-up’ fees to the local state-funded schools (e.g., for textbooks or classroom materials),’ they noted. ‘So privatisation occurs when a portion of the total funding is paid by families instead of by the government’ (Belfield and Levin, 2002, p. 20 citing Tsang, 2000).

Most PPP initiatives in the education sector may, therefore, be regarded as a form of privatisation. By World Bank’s definition, full privatisation, occurs when there is divestment of the asset/s concerned (in this case, education) or the total transfer of ownership, provisioning, funding and management of education to the private sector.6

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What is the extent of private school enrolment in Asia-Pacific?

Global trends of increasing privatisation of education have grown quite evident particularly in the last two decades since the Jomtien EFA conference in 1990. By end-2010, enrolment in private schools ranked highest in the regions of Latin America and the Caribbean, followed by East Asia and Pacific, and Sub-Saharan Africa. Private school enrolments were also significant in South and West Asia and in the Arab States. In contrast, enrolment in private schools was practically absent in Central Asia and Central/ Eastern Europe where the share of the private sector in the education sector is less than one per cent, albeit increasing gradually.

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Looking at levels of education, the pre-primary level has the biggest share of enrolment in private educational institutions. In a significant number of countries (where data was available), the private sector plays a dominant role in pre-primary education delivery. Nearly all pre-schoolers are enrolled in private institutions in Indonesia, Samoa, Hong Kong (PRC) and New Zealand.

Private sector enrolment at the primary level figured much less prominently, with only about nine per cent of students enrolled in private schools. The share of the private sector enrolment increased steadily though, from an average of seven to nine per cent of total enrolment. The increase was significant especially in the Arab States, the Caribbean, East Asia, and Central Asia.

At the secondary level, private sector share in student enrolment rose from an average of 10% of total enrolment in 1999 to about 13% in 2010. The increase had been fairly rapid in the same regions – the Arab States, Latin America/Caribbean, East Asia and Central Asia.

In the Asia-Pacific region, private school enrolment varied widely across countries and sub-regions as of 2010. Enrolment in private educational institutions registered significantly in such countries as Indonesia, Timor Leste, Brunei Darussalam, Philippines, Thailand, Solomon Islands, Republic of Korea, Macao SAR (PRC), Hong Kong SAR (PRC), Australia, New Zealand, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, and Pakistan.
The trend of rising private school shares in student enrolment can be explained partly by the consistent shortfalls in public expenditure for education in most countries in the region. This severe lack of resources left the Asia-Pacific region ill-prepared in dealing with rising school enrolment and worsening congestion in the public school system, not to mention the deteriorating quality of public education. State policies on deregulation and liberalisation of the education sector also facilitated the rapid expansion of private sector activity in public education.

**Figure 8. Enrolment Share in Private Institutions, Pre-Primary, Primary,**

Note: * Data are for the school year ending in 2009  
Source: Basic Data from UIS
Box 5. What drives privatisation?

Belfield and Levin (2002) cited several conditions that spur privatisation, classifying them into push and pull factors and general pressures that vary between countries and across different education levels. Collectively, these factors have grown into a ‘powerful force’, potentially increasing the pressure to privatisate. Advocates of privatisation ‘believe that a family’s right to choose its own education is paramount and that the burden of proof should be on governments to explain why they would deprive parents of this right’. At the opposite end, detractors assert that ‘any private education system based on ability-to-pay is inequitable’.

‘Demand-side pressures’ stem largely from parental choice for private education. Such preference is based on parents’ perceptions that private schooling is the best assurance for their children to gain social and economic advancement. When they find government failing to deliver the kind of education they aspire for their children,
they turn to private suppliers to meet these expectations. Parents may also prefer to give their children a different or an alternative type of education which may not be available in state schools.

The drive towards privatisation is also triggered by ‘supply-side pressures’, arising from the declining quality of publicly supplied education and shrinking public education budgets, which affect parents’ decisions to seek alternative schooling for their children. The public school system may have ‘reached a capacity constraint’, given rapid population growth, congestion in government schools and the progressively poorer quality of public education. These gaps are filled in by private school providers.

Finally, there are ‘general pressures’ in the bigger context that promote privatisation of education. Among these pressures are the economic and social developments that have taken form as globalisation. ‘[L]inked with market liberalization, [globalisation] has both pressured and encouraged governments to seek more efficient, more flexible and more expansive education systems.’ Behind the growth of privatisation are ‘world aid agencies’ such as the World Bank which provide technical assistance and funding towards greater private sector participation in education. ‘In general, the World Bank (and other supranational agencies) has encouraged reforms which lean towards privatization of the education system; for some countries, this institutional support may be a strong motivation’.

Source: Belfield and Levin, 2002, pp. 29-32

In India, enrolment in private schools across urban and rural areas increased significantly in the past 20 years for all levels of basic education – primary, middle, and secondary (Kingdon, 2007). In recent years, the number of new private schools in rural areas also increased dramatically. These schools charged low fees which make them attractive to the poorer families. The 2012 Annual Status of Education Report shows that the percentage of 6 to 14 year olds enrolled in private schools rose from 18.7% in 2006 to 28.3% in 2012. If the same trend continues, India will have half of children in rural areas enrolled in private schools by 2018 (ASER, 2013, p. 47).

In Pakistan, the number of private educational institutions more than doubled to 76,674 since the Dakar World Education Conference in 2000. They account for 29.6% of all educational institutions in 2010 compared to just 19% ten years earlier. In school year 2010-11, there were 40,926,661 students and learners enrolled in various categories of educational institutions with the public sector accommodating 65.9% of all enrollees while the private sector took in 34.1% (AEPAM, 2011, Table 2.1).
The reverse trend can be observed in the case of the Philippines. In the mid-1980s, private sector share in total enrolment in pre-primary and secondary levels was one of the highest in the region at 60.7% and 40.5%, respectively. By school year 2011-12, private sector enrollment fell to just 19.7% at the pre-primary level and 20.0% at the secondary level. The exodus of students from the private sector to the public sector was triggered largely by the increasing cost of education and widespread poverty in both rural and urban areas (NSCB, 2012).

What are Public - Private Partnerships?
How are they defined by actors in the education sector?

A Public-Private Partnership is generally understood as a formal contract-based cooperation between the public and private sectors where the involved parties are supposed to share responsibility, risks, costs and benefits in providing a service traditionally delivered by the state. In this definition, the term “private sector” is used in the broadest sense to include non-profit/non-government organisations (NGO), faith-based groups, community associations, civic organisations, charitable institutions, parents and other individuals, for-profit business enterprises, and corporate foundations.

Box 6. Different but the same? Definitions and features of PPPs

Multilateral organisations, development banks and governments subscribe to, or have already developed, their own definitions of what they mean by PPP. The partial sampling below shows slight variations, but they generally refer to an agreement between the public and private sectors for the application of market rules and notions such as risk-sharing, investment, price and cost recovery to the management, operations and delivery of traditionally state-subsidised services.

The World Bank defines PPP as ‘a contract that a government makes with a private service provider to acquire a specified service of a defined quantity and quality at an agreed price for a specific period’ (2009, p. 31).

LaRocque (2008) in his review of education PPPs worldwide noted the following operational definitions guiding European and North American governments:
**Commission on UK PPPs**

…a risk-sharing relationship based upon an agreed aspiration between the public and private (including voluntary) sectors to bring about a desired public policy outcome. More often than not this takes the form of a long-term and flexible relationship, usually underpinned by contract, for the delivery of a publicly funded service. (p.8)

**The Canadian Council for PPPs**

A cooperative venture between the public and private sectors, built on the expertise of each partner, that best meets clearly defined public needs through the appropriate allocation of resources, risks and rewards. (p. 8 )

**Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)**

Arrangements whereby the private sector provides infrastructure assets and services that traditionally have been provided by government, such as hospitals, schools, prisons, roads, bridges, tunnels, railways, and water and sanitation plants. (p.8)

These meanings of PPP similarly surface among Asian governments, such as the examples below:

**India**

[A]n arrangement between the Appropriate Government or a statutory entity or a government-owned entity or Central Public Sector Undertaking on one side and a private entity on the other, for the provision of public assets and/or public services, through investments being made and/or management being undertaken by the private entity, for a specified period of time, where there is well defined allocation of risk between the private entity and the public entity and the private entity receives performance linked payments that conform (or are benchmarked) to specified and pre-determined performance standards, measurable by the public entity or its representative….’ (Draft PPP Rules, Discussion Draft, 2012, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, India, p. 5)

**Philippines**

[A] contractual agreement between the Government and a private firm targeted towards financing, designing, implementing and operating infrastructure facilities and services that were traditionally provided by the public sector. (A PPP Manual for LGUs, PPP Centre, 2012, p. 4)
The financing, development, operation and maintenance of infrastructure by the private-sector which would otherwise have been provided by the public sector. Instead of the public sector procuring a capital asset and providing a public service, the private sector creates the asset through a dedicated standalone business (usually designed, financed, built, maintained and operated by the private sector) and then delivers a service to the public sector entity/consumer in return for payment that is linked to performance. (Pakistan Policy on Public Private Partnerships (Approved by the Economic Coordination Committee of the Cabinet, 26 January 20100, pp. 2-3)

**Box 7. Key features of PPP**

In a joint publication, UNICEF East Asia and Pacific Regional Office (EAPRO) and the ADB cited as key features of PPP:

- Cooperation between the public and private sectors
- Formal, contract-based relationship between partners
- Defined outcomes for a specific period of time
- Risk sharing between the public and private partners

The partners work together to achieve desirable economic, social and educational goals with the public sector defining the scope of business, targets and outputs, and the non-state sector delivering them, based on built-in incentives.

*Source: UNICEF EAPRO and ADB, 2011, p. 17*

**What are the different types of PPP in Education?**

**The Continuum**

The public-private mix in education represents a continuum, ranging from a situation where all aspects of education are publicly provided to one where there is full privatisation of the school system. In the case of the former, the funding, provisioning, management, and regulation of education are entirely provided and controlled by the government. In the case of full privatisation, the private sector owns, manages, and delivers education services with little state intervention. Such extreme cases, however, rarely exist in today’s modern world.
In most countries today, there is a progression of private sector participation in education, with some countries having low private sector participation (or Low PPP), while others having high private sector participation (or high PPP). Figure 10 below, adopted from Patrinos et al. (2009), illustrates the continuum of public-private partnerships in education.

Figure 10. The Public-Private Partnership Continuum


Types of PPPs in Education
There are several types of PPPs in education, classified according to the respective roles of the public and private sectors in terms of policymaking, school management, resource mobilisation, education services, and infrastructure development. The most common types of partnerships are characterised according to the participation of the public and private sectors in the provision and financing of education.

Box 8. Types of ePPP Partnerships

Norman LaRocque’s international review (2008) for CfBT Education Trust noted the wide range of education partnerships between the public and private sectors. He classified them broadly into seven categories:

1. Private sector philanthropy - assistance provided by a private organisation or individual ranging from scholarships, supplies, uniforms, teacher fees, school facilities, furniture, equipment and sponsorships;
2. School management – contract arrangement with private providers to operate public schools or manage certain aspects of public school operations such as the Charter schools (USA), Concession schools (Colombia) and Management of Government Schools (Lahore, Pakistan);
3. Government purchase of education services – publicly-funded education services delivered by private schools or private entities such as the Educational Service Contracting (Philippines) and Fe y Alegría (South America/Spain);
4. Voucher or voucher-like initiatives - financial grants to allow students from low-income families to enrol in accredited private schools;
5. Adopt-a-School programmes - private sector partners provide cash and in-kind resources to complement government funding of public schools;
6. Capacity-building initiatives – training of public school teachers and curriculum enhancement programmes delivered by the private sector; and,
7. School infrastructure initiatives - long-term contracts with the private sector for designing, financing, constructing and operating public school infrastructure.

Source: LaRocque, 2008, p.9

The Four Quadrants
Another representation of the PPP variations that have evolved in education is shown in Figure 11. Using as parameters the manner of provision and financing, it also indicates the types of PPP usually deployed by private and public sectors. Figure 8 builds on the matrix introduced by the World Bank (Patrinos et al., 2009, p. 3) and developed by Verger (2012).

Figure 11. The Four Quadrants in the Public-Private Mix

The fourth quadrant (Q4) covers the wholly state-owned and government-run schools, without any private sector partnership or participation. Quadrant 2 (Q2) opposite Q4, represents full privatisation; educational institutions and programmes are fully owned, funded and managed by private organisations or individuals. These include private schools, shadow schooling (private tutoring), home schooling and trade in education.

Home schooling is a form of private tutorial with a fee inclusive of at least the standard curriculum of mainstream education; the learner is no longer required to enrol in traditional modes of education, whether public or private.
Shadow education can be described as paid supplementary tutorials conducted on top of standard school hours by regular schools or other educational institutions.

Trade in education covers various modes of provision and access through cross-border supply, consumption abroad, commercial presence and presence of natural persons.

- Cross-border supply - Distance education, specifically online tutorial services provided for by another country as well as certain testing services.
- Consumption abroad - learners access education in another country.
- Commercial presence - franchises or branches of an international school are set up in another country.
- Presence of natural persons - Lecturers, teachers and researchers working in another country.

Q2 also covers NGO schools and learning centres such as BRAC in Bangladesh and host of literacy centres and programs all over Asia-Pacific managed and operated by local NGOs.

BRAC primary schools are designed to give a second chance at learning to disadvantaged students who dropped out from school and without access to formal education systems. The concept aims to complement the mainstream school systems with innovative teaching methods and materials. BRAC’s education programs open primary schools in communities unreached by formal education systems. The main objective of its non-formal primary school programme is to develop a school model for the underprivileged/primary school dropout children, especially girls, and help them complete the five-year primary school syllabus in four years. The Bangladesh government allows BRAC Primary School students to appear for Primary (fifth grade) Completion Examination. In addition to running its own education programs, BRAC also works in partnership with other development organizations to expand education opportunities for disadvantaged children.

The different types of PPPs are represented in Quadrants 1 (Q1) and 3 (Q3). Q1 contains examples of partnerships where there is private financing or contributions from the private sector, including out-of-pocket expenses or loans incurred by individuals to cover tuition fees and other school-related costs. Also included in this category are individual philanthropic initiatives and private sector contributions made under Corporate Social Responsibility programmes. These usually come in the forms of scholarship grants, donations in cash or kind (equipment, furniture, facilities and building), training support and events sponsorship.

A popular initiative implemented for several years now in several Asian countries is the Adopt-a-School programmes. This type of intervention targets improving

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Footnote:
7 Formerly referring to the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, the group has developed and expanded into learning centres simply called BRAC today.
quality, access, infrastructure and stakeholder participation of public schools by means of mobilising private providers, involving parents and communities, school monitoring, teacher and management training, providing educational materials and improving school facilities and infrastructure.

Q3 covers partnerships where state funding is provided to private schools or individuals through voucher programmes, charter schools and subsidies to private schools.

Voucher programmes are a form of financing mechanism where government funding follows the demand (parents/students) usually in the form of certificates that can be used to enrol a child in a school of choice, usually a private school. If the tuition fees turn out higher than the value of the voucher, families can shoulder the balance with their own resources to access a school of choice.

Chile has one of the most extensive education voucher systems worldwide. Dating back to the 1980s, it was implemented as part of the comprehensive reform to make education a self-regulated market. The voucher is a monthly fixed fee paid out by the state to participating schools for each student who is enrolled and regularly attending school. Families can freely choose the public or private school they want their children to be enrolled in, thus encouraging academic institutions to competitively gain comparative advantage by providing better quality services. The voucher system recorded a big leap in 2006, with the number of students attending private voucher schools soaring to 45% from 12% in 1981 (Bellei, 2007, pp. 2-4).

Education Service Contracting is a scheme involving public subsidies for each student enrolled in eligible private schools. An authorised non-state body chooses participating schools based on certain certification criteria and negotiates an implementation contract with the private provider. In the Philippines, the Education Service Contracting (ESC) programme was designed to decongest the public schools and improve access to secondary education. It provides a fixed subsidy for students who opt to enrol in private secondary schools and who are selected based on good academic standing. Government signs a contract with certified private schools to accommodate selected grantees. The programme is administered by the Fund for Assistance to Private Education (FAPE), a private organisation contracted by the government to carry out implementation (E-Net, 2011).

Foundation-assisted schools follow an arrangement similar to education service contracting. In Pakistan, private individuals manage government-created foundations that operate as semi-autonomous bodies. The Punjab Education Foundation in Pakistan, for example, sources funds from donors and financial institutions (in mixed loans and grants) and allocates these to selected private schools based on certain performance standards, school fee ceilings and other eligibility criteria.

Private management of public schools refers to schools that are both publicly owned and funded but contracts out all or a number of school operations
to private providers. An example of a privately managed public school is the *charter school*, a state-funded public educational institution functioning autonomously unlike conventional public schools. While granted greater freedom and flexibility, these schools are still regulated and are evaluated for results to qualify for continued funding and operations.

In the United States, charter schools have registered high growth rates, and reportedly numbered 4,000 as of 2007-08 with enrolment rates of about 1.2 million. Charters are granted for three to five years and schools must meet certain performance benchmarks and standards to keep the contracts (Patrinos et al., 2009, p. 80).

*Partnerships* with NGO-managed and operated *learning centres* also commonly thrive in several countries in Asia-Pacific. In the Philippines, formerly autonomous education programmes run by NGOs and community organisations are now partially subsidised by public funds. NGOs with track records in implementing effective learning programs for non-literate and out-of-school youth are contracted to conduct literacy courses and Alternative Learning System programmes especially in hard-to-reach areas. Although the budget of the ALS contracting scheme cannot cover the full costs for every learner, it is nonetheless seen as an opportunity to relieve NGOs of some of their financial burdens.

Along the same lines, a contracting scheme between government and Community Learning Centres (CLCs) now operate in Indonesia. The Indonesian government annually issues calls for education programme proposals from NGOs or CLCs. To date, around 4,000 CLCs receive funding from government.

It is important to note that Q1 and Q3 differ in terms of the degree of control and scope of management of education services exercised by the private partner. While both the first and third quadrants are cases of PPPs in education, the implications on the educational system are radically different. In Q1, government retains control over ownership, management and operations of public schools, although there may be cases where it may allow the private partner to take over certain aspects. In Q3, the private partner delivers education services and may take greater control of the management and operation of the programmes using public funds. Such arrangements where governments hand over responsibilities in delivering education to private entities, may eventually lead to full privatisation of education services.

In the context of the Asia-Pacific region, the *voucher system*, *education service contracting*, the *foundation-assisted schools* and *private management of public schools* constitute important cases of PPPs in education that must be studied for their impacts on education access, quality and equity or, in general, on the enjoyment of the right to education.

In the four quadrants presenting the different types of partnership arrangements in education provisioning and financing, it is useful to distinguish between
non-profit entities (NGOs, teachers’ unions, philanthropists, communities, parents, and others) and for-profit organisations (e.g., corporations and local enterprises). Corporate foundations technically count as non-profit organisations through their programmes on corporate social responsibility, even as they abide by corporate agenda and interest.

Box 9. Education International’s Classification of Contractual PPPs

Education International identified the following types of contractual PPPs in education:

a. Infrastructure PPPs
b. Private operation of public schools
c. Outsourcing of educational services
d. Outsourcing of significant non-educational support services
e. Partnerships for innovation and research
f. Vouchers and subsidies

The classification shows the broad coverage of the different types of PPPs, but EI recognises that no clear-cut distinctions can be made between the different types, and that countries may differ in their identification of what PPPs are.

Most of the types identified above have been discussed in the previous sections. The private operation of public schools refers to the contract schools such as the charter schools which are publicly owned and funded but managed by private operators. Outsourcing of services refers to government contracts with the private sector for the provision of education-related services such as curriculum development, student assessments, administration of examinations, school evaluation, and supply of textbooks and other learning materials. Outsourcing of non-educational support services refers to include private operation of school canteens, transport, health care, or maintenance services. Partnerships for innovation and research refer to the cooperation between industry and public institution such as research funding or sponsorship which are more applicable at the university level.

In a report published in 2009, EI gave special attention to infrastructure PPPs because of their significant impact as experienced in many countries. Infrastructure PPPs are the most common forms of partnership involving long-term contracts with the private sector for financing, construction and operation of large-scale public infrastructure. This type of PPP has been implemented in the education sector under the build-operate-transfer, a scheme that awards private concessionaires to take responsibility “to finance, build and operate an educational facility such as a public school, university building or hostel. The government, in effect, leases the facility from the private sector for a specified period, after which the facility is transferred to the government.” (p.18)

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8 The EI report discussed the different types of PPPs in education and cited numerous examples as implemented and experienced in different countries around the world. The report also presented the perceptions of EI member organisations on the different types of PPPs in education based on their own assessments and actual experiences.
Infrastructure PPPs have been promoted by governments to mobilize private resources at a time of serious fiscal constraints and restrictions on government borrowings. The scheme was seen as an innovative way to address the growing infrastructure requirements under a situation of stagnant or diminishing public resources. This initiative has often been combined with the private management of public schools in order to improve efficiency and, thus, cut on expenditure.

The EI report cites numerous examples of PPP cases where the build-operate-transfer schemes failed or did not live up to expectations. In the event of problems or failures, the risk is not really transferred to the private entrepreneur. EI member organizations express “deep concern about this kind of PPP” and most reject the arguments advanced by governments such as “greater discipline in procurement, improving educational quality or saving public money.” (p.148)

Source: Education International, 2009, pp. 18-19; 147-149

Are PPPs in Education the same as Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships in Education?

PPPs and Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships (MSPs) are sometimes used interchangeably to mean the same thing. In its broader meaning, PPPs also include less formal and non-contract partnership arrangements such as voluntary relationships among stakeholders in the public and private sectors, including communities, parents and students. The International Labour Organisation (ILO), for example, defines PPP as both voluntary and collaborative relationships among various state and non-state actors, where participants work towards a specific goal in a short term or in an enduring alliance. While these vary greatly, partnerships are often established and structured with a sharing of responsibilities, expertise, resources and other benefits. ‘While they vary considerably, such partnerships are typically established as structured cooperative efforts with a sharing of responsibilities as well as expertise, resources and other benefits’ (ILO, 2008, p. 1).

These forms of PPP in education are sometimes referred to as Multi-Stakeholder Partnerships. Various UN agencies have increasingly used the term MSPs since it organised the 2004 Multi-Stakeholder Workshop on Partnerships. This workshop looked at the issue of partnerships and their implications on UN–civil society relationships.
In the field of education, UNESCO and the World Economic Forum (WEF) popularised MSPs in Education (MSPEs) to refer to the ‘pooling and managing of resources, as well as the mobilization of competencies and commitments by public, business and civil society partners, to contribute to the expansion and enhanced quality of education’ (Draxler, 2008, p. 16).

The use of the term multi-stakeholder partnership may be more appropriate than PPP as it encompasses a wide range of different actors and does not merely reduce them to public and private sectors. In most cases, the partnership is not limited to only two parties but involves multiple actors and stakeholders operating at the local, national and international levels. Apart from the formal and contract-based partnerships, MSPs also include partnerships that are voluntary and informal, involving communities and households. The multi-stakeholders’ approach also underscores the importance of consulting all stakeholders and encouraging them to participate to ensure transparency and accountability in the planning and implementation process.

**Box 10. Some Examples of MSPs in Education**

*Brigada Eskwela* (Philippines) is an annual campaign initiated by the Department of Education and school authorities to mobilize parents, students, business establishments, civic organisations, and other community stakeholders in a massive cleanup drive and makeover of classrooms, buildings, and school premises. Undertaken in almost all public schools throughout the country, it is usually held a few weeks prior to the opening of the new school year.

The *Jordan Education Initiative* is a global local partnership of over 30 active partners from the public and private sectors, aims to improve education by making use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and building local ICT industry capacity. The initiative boasts of the development of a full math e-Curriculum (grades 1-12) ongoing deployment of in-classroom technology and training to 50 Discovery schools. Direct contributions to the initiative have reached over US$ 25 million. (EI, 2008, p. 128)

Education International (EI) noting the distinction between PPPs and MSPs, referred to the latter as expressing a broader concept of partnership that brings together a wide range of public, private and civil society stakeholders and entail reciprocal obligations and mutual accountability, including either voluntary or contractual relationships. While EI rejects PPPs, it expresses openness to ‘participating in MSPs on a case by case basis provided that an MSP in education does not initiate or legitimise privatisation or commercialisation of education, or erode public responsibility for governance and for curriculum development, or result in other inappropriate developments in education’ (EI, 2009, p. 157).

In 2007, UNESCO and WEF jointly launched the Partnerships for Education (PfE) Programme. This new programme focused on expanding multi-
stakeholder partnerships towards advancing Education for All, particularly by undertaking research studies and developing capacity-building tools towards improving the implementation of MSP initiatives for education. The UNESCO and WEF collaboration led to the commissioned study *New Partnerships for EFA: Building on Experience* (Draxler, 2008), which contains literature on both public-private and multi-stakeholder partnerships in education.

**Who are the stakeholders in PPPs and MSPs?**

**Identifying the stakeholders**

The public sector, the business sector, civil society, the basic household unit, and citizens at large constitute the set of stakeholders in MSPs. All stakeholders take part in the funding, provision, decision-making and regulation.

The public sector is generally composed of government and government-owned and controlled corporations, the UN network, multilateral donors such as OECD and the Global Partnership for Education (GPE), and international financial institutions such as World Bank, ADB and IMF.

The business sector (otherwise referred to as private-for-profit) encompasses local companies, multinational corporations and their local and international subsidiaries.

Civil society or the private-not-for-profit includes local and international NGOs, teachers’ unions, community-based organisations, social movements, academe, professionals, education coalitions, faith-based organisations, grassroots advocates and practitioners, corporate foundations and philanthropists. Learners, parents as well as taxpayers are usually classified as part of households.

The diagram in Figure 12 is limited by the use of current terminologies in the discourses on public-private partnerships. PPP models generally make no distinction between for-profit and not-for-profit entities, considering them both as part of the private sector. The term ‘private’ that lumps together all non-government or non-state actors is confusing and does not accurately describe the different stakeholders in education. For example, NGO schools, community learning centres, religious schools and for-profit schools should not be grouped together under ‘private’ as they are driven by totally different motivations. Terminologies have to be developed to better capture the different actors and stakeholders in education.

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9 Samples of MSPs in education such as ICT project in Namibia and youth initiative in Costa Rica are cited in the joint publication of UNESCO and WEF, *New Partnerships for EFA: Building on Experience*, 2008, pp. 59-60.
Box 11. The PPP Playing Field: Actors and Stakeholders

‘Stakeholders are all those interested or affected (positively or negatively) by an action (Gerrard et al., 2006). They are differently impacted by these actions, as in the case of learners who are directly and immediately affected, vis-a-vis donors, philanthropists, taxpayers in various countries, etc., who may only see the consequences of an action or feel its impacts remotely and over the long term. One could argue that this renders ambiguous the meaning of ‘stakeholder’ in the context of partnerships. In a globalized and technologically integrated world, however, many local actions have proven their capacity to reverberate worldwide and affect stakeholders on the other side of the planet.’

‘Partners are stakeholders directly involved in creating, financing and managing an action. Development partnerships are not always based on equality of contribution, risk, benefit or loss, as is usually observed by legal partners. The initiating partners may not be the ones who bear the opportunity costs, the longer-term maintenance costs or the displacement costs of a particular project. So, a partnership for the creation of public goods, as opposed to a partnership aimed at financial gain, can be very different in the way the composing elements are distributed (Gerrard et al., 2006).

‘Donors are organizations that make a financial or other resource (human and material) contributions to an activity, such as education. (Donors mentioned in this paper refer mainly to development assistance organizations, bilateral and multilateral.)’

Source: Draxler, 2008, pp. 33-34
The Continuing Debate: For or Against PPPs in Education
What are the main points raised in favour of, or against, PPPs in Education?

Proponents of PPPs in education cite budgetary constraints, poor learning outcomes and inefficiencies of the public sector as key problems faced by most developing countries in delivering Education for All. They assert that governments can no longer bear the full cost of education, hence the need to share in shouldering state responsibilities in raising education financing and provisioning. Partnership with the private sector is, therefore, seen as a viable policy solution through which new resources can be mobilised, innovations introduced, and inefficiencies in the system corrected. It also provides competition and incentives, enables the improvement of learning outcomes and offers poor students options to enrol in private schools. PPP proponents further argue that studies consistently show students in private schools outperforming their counterparts in the public school system.\(^\text{10}\)

On the other side of the debate, civil society organisations caution against PPPs. Without necessarily rejecting the concept of partnership, they counter the matter of inadequate funding by pointing out the lack of political will to ensure the delivery of social services such as education. For instance, exercising political will to reduce military budgets can free up resources and contribute to closing the financing gap in education. Other means of saving and raising public revenues can also come through development aid (and fulfilling donor commitments), implementing a genuine debt service reduction programme and mobilising both public and private sectors to weed out corruption.

They point out further that PPP programmes, including the voucher system and Education Service Contracting, do not provide equitable access and may further widen disparities in education access to the disadvantage of poorest and socially excluded groups. As to the claim of higher quality of private education, evidence remains inconclusive and continues to be contested. What is clear is that outside of the elite educational institutions, both the low fee private schools and the public schools are faring very poorly. Moreover, low fee private schools may be cost-effective only because the costs are borne by private school teachers who receive much lower salaries compared to their public school counterparts. Most of these schools have poor infrastructure or are dependent on the infrastructure of the public schools which make them ‘cost-effective’. The lack of participation, transparency and accountability add to these issues raised vis-à-vis PPP programmes implemented in the education sector.\(^\text{11}\)

\(^{10}\) For references citing arguments in favour of PPPs in education, see for example Patrinos et al., 2009, pp. 1-8; UNICEF EAPRO and ADB, 2011, pp. 4-6, 18-20; and Education International, 2009, pp.22-23, 27-28.

\(^{11}\) For arguments against PPPs in education, see for example Waslander and Weide, 2010, p. 16, 64; Patrinos et al., 2009, pp.4-5; UNICEF EAPRO and ADB, 2011, pp. 19-20; and Education International, 2009, pp. 24-25.
The World Bank, a leading figure in promoting education PPPs, situated the opposition to education PPPs in a context of worsening socio-economic inequality and the lack of support from certain stakeholders, tending to lock the poor in badly resourced public school education systems. In such conditions, PPPs in education have the advantage of flexibility in management and provision, open-bidding resulting in higher quality, risk-sharing between the state and private sector leading to efficiency and the promotion of healthy competition among education providers. ‘The main rationale for developing PPPs in education is to maximize the potential for expanding equitable access to schooling and for improving education outcomes, especially for marginalized groups’ (Patrinos et al., 2009, p. 9).

Alexandra Draxler (2008), education specialist and former Secretary of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century (created by UNESCO), added that proponents see partnerships as the best way to overcome ineffective government mechanisms and as a potential means to introduce innovations in teaching strategies, open more opportunities for learning from new experiences, broaden participation and, all in all, complement the strengths and resources of the state. However, she advised the necessity of close monitoring of these partnerships given the voluntary nature of current regulatory mechanisms and the difficulty of monitoring and enforcing private sector compliance (p. 16)

Arguably, many experiences have been documented and studies conducted on education PPPs in the last two decades. Considering, however, their broad definitions, diverse forms and varying outcomes across sectors and countries, assessing PPPs in education is not a simple and straightforward undertaking. A general statement on PPPs would not amply cover the heterogeneity in design, implementation and outcomes in relation to access, quality, equity, and the improvement of the educational system as a whole.

**Contrasting Views on Chile’s Voucher System**

Widely divergent views on PPP initiatives reveal the lack of consensus over their avowed benefits and advantages. Chile’s experience in implementing a voucher scheme generated a number of evaluative studies that arrived at varying and contrasting conclusions. Patrinos, et al. noted: ‘The evidence from Chile’s voucher program is mixed and controversial. Some studies point to several positive outcomes, but other studies have challenged this, arguing that the original studies had problems of selection and a lack of adequate instruments’ (2009, p. 7).

Antoni Verger (2012) of the Department of Sociology of the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, raised the same points, captured in the figure

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12 For documentation of experiences in PPPs in education, please refer to Patrinos et al., (2009), UNICEF EAPRO and ADB (2011), Education International (2009), LaRocque (2008), Robertson et al., (2012), Waslander and Weide (2010) and other references listed in the bibliography.
below. Studies on Chile’s voucher system reached varying conclusions. Some studies concluded that the results of the 1981 Vouchers Reform that institutionalised the voucher system in Chile were not definite or uncertain while others remained neutral, providing no judgment or critique on the Reform’s outcomes. A number of other researches completely diverged on positive and negative results.

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<th>Box 12. Studies on Chile’s Voucher System</th>
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<td>“The overall results of the reform of 1981 are still unclear” (Fischer et al 2005)</td>
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<td>“There is a positive but moderate effect of competition on average test scores at the country level” (Valenzuela 2006)</td>
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<td>“Empirical research indicates that more than 20 years of reform did not lead to improvements in average academic achievement (Patrinos et al 2009)</td>
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<td>“School choice has increased stratification while having little effect on average achievement” (McEwan, Urquiola and Vegas 2008)</td>
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<td>“The Chilean system does not become more unequal because of the existence of voucher schools in some areas” (Galleo 2006)</td>
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<td>“Private schools are not more effective than public schools, and they may be less effective” (Bellei 2009)</td>
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Source: Verger (2012) [Powerpoint presentation made during the Capacity-Building Workshop on Education PPP Research in Manila in December 2012]

According to the joint report of UNICEF EAPRO and the ADB, the documentation on the impacts of voucher programmes are relatively more extensive compared to other forms of PPPs in the education sector. The experience of implementation varies, however, and does not, as yet, make a solid case for voucher programmes.

Evidence on the Colombian voucher programme indicates it had positive effects on several outcomes over both the short and long terms, including school attendance, years of schooling, repetition rates and standardised test scores. On the other hand, evidence on the national Chilean voucher scheme is mixed and controversial. Voucher
programmes in Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden appear to have increased competition and, in the case of the latter two, have had a positive effect on student achievement. (UNICEF EAPRO and ADB, 2011, p. 20 citing World Bank, 2009, pp. 31-41)

**Mapping studies on PPPs in Education and other Privatisation Initiatives**

The diagram in Figure 13 is a bibliometrics chart which presents the landscape of studies conducted on PPPs in education and other privatisation initiatives implemented in various countries. Color-coded dots identify detractors and proponents, as well as the frequency a specific study was cited by other studies. Some dots are larger because these are the studies that are quoted more frequently by their peers. The mapping studies indicate the wide ranging and, often, contrasting views on privatisation and PPPs in education.

![Figure 13. Mapping PPPs in Education](image)

More studies needed on PPPs?

Leading education sector figures in the UN, World Bank and other bodies share the view that more studies of education sector PPPs in various country contexts and across different education levels are needed to arrive at definitive lessons about their impacts and to put forward well-grounded policy recommendations.

The World Bank noted that ‘...few of the existing empirical studies of PPPs can be considered to have yielded robust conclusions’ and ‘need to be corroborated with more analytical work’. It then suggested evaluating PPPs in different contexts, ‘particularly where contracting models need to be improved or fine-tuned and in countries where partnerships are still nascent.’ It was further pointed out that while ‘funding school choice is already well known, the reasons why charter and concession schools have better learning outcomes than public schools, are not as clearly understood. More research is thus needed into their characteristics, as well as research into universal vs. targeted school choice and private finance initiatives. (Patrinos et al., 2009, p.7)

Supporting the above positions is the observation of the German Development Institute, a research institution on global policy and development, that ‘...the evidence about the effects of partnerships in general is relatively slim, and this most certainly applies to education’ (DIE, 2003, Jorgensen, 2006).

Similarly, observers criticise the general regulation of the UN Global Compact for being weak and voluntary, even with efforts to strengthen regulatory guidelines for partnerships and partners. They added that partnerships in which the UN is involved can lack sufficient clarity for stakeholders to judge their relative merits and their effects on the provision of education. (Martens, 2007, Utting & Zammit, 2006).

Partnerships mostly take place outside the day-to-day functioning and regulatory mechanisms of large institutions, and information about them is very frequently descriptive. In consequence, both praise and criticism can be more ideological and self-interested than founded in fact. (UNESCO-IIP & WEF, 2008, pp. 28-29)

The contrasting views of studies reviewed in this Primer suggest that reaching a conclusive statement on PPPs in education requires further investigation. However, Education International (2009) asserts that experiences in implementing varying types of PPPs over the past 15 years affirm the negative outcomes of such partnerships particularly on the roles of teachers and the values of public education. EI rejects the basic arguments of PPP proponents with respect to equity of access and quality of education.
Teachers’ Unions speak out on PPPs in education

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Box 13. Education International - Opposing Contractual PPPs in Education</th>
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<td>The EI study on PPPs in education presents the general overview and analysis of the different PPP modes, the key actors promoting such partnerships and their implications on the education sector. The study also highlights the experiences and views of teachers’ unions as taken from the survey conducted as part of the research undertaking.</td>
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The overall perception of contractual PPPs among EI member organizations is negative, rejecting to varying degrees the arguments advanced in favor of them, and seeing negative impacts on the roles of teachers and the ethos of public education, often backed up with detailed comments. However, the perceptions vary significantly according to the income levels of countries and regions. African education unions, in particular, see PPPs as providing financial and technical support (80%), helping to provide quality education (65%) or providing financial support to educational reforms (just over 50%). (p. 149) 

... This report does provide strong evidence that PPPs of the infrastructure or operational type are based on premises that do not hold up to examination, and that should be challenged vigorously and convincingly in the public and political arenas. In particular, the arguments that have been advanced about saving taxpayers’ money are demonstrably ill-founded. Other consequences of these types of PPP in education have been set out earlier. It is to be hoped that the evidence collected by the taskforce will be of use to member organizations as they engage in this debate in each country. (p. 151) 

EI recognises that the circumstances are complex, especially in relation to outsourcing of educational and support services. However, it also sees ‘strong evidence’ of gaps between PPPs’ claims and experiences on the ground. EI opposes the ‘outsourcing of education and related services that are traditionally provided by public education systems and institutions.’ (p.151; 157) 

Source: Education International (2009)
Box 14. ADB and UNICEF EAPRO Promoting PPPs in education

A joint report of the ADB and UNICEF EAPRO endorsed PPPs in education stressing, among many possible benefits, their potential for ‘[widening] access to education’.

ADB and UNICEF EAPRO pointed out that the public sector faces financing, delivery and management constraints in providing education for all. In this regard, PPPs can play a complementary role in providing additional finance through various schemes, such as in the case of Adopt-a-School type programmes, and other forms of philanthropy. They can address the problems of overcrowding public schools by making use of private schools to absorb excess demand. PPPs further improve quality by bringing in private sector contributions to knowledge, skills and innovation, both technical and pedagogical ways.

The joint report also discusses the advantages of PPPs in terms of accountability, because of the wider education choices provided and conditioning subsidies on demand,

This is because under PPPs, parents can hold educational providers directly accountable for the quality of service provision (short-route accountability) rather than having to hold providers accountable through the political process (long-route accountability)….Proponents of PPPs argue that not only is short-route accountability good for increasing quality, it is also advantageous in its own right because strengthening local accountability offers a way of influencing the demand for education as well as ensuring its relevance to those being served. (p. 19)

ADB and UNICEF EAPRO see education PPPs at the local level potentially making delivery more efficient, citing the flexibility and innovativeness of non-state providers as compared to state school systems. The transfer of the responsibility of certain areas of finance and provision while the government focuses on policy planning and quality assurance is also considered an advantage.

On the other hand, opposing views assert that for benefits to accrue fully from education PPPs, they require, among others, considerable government capacity in design, implementation and monitoring. A related argument is based on the conditions of the public education sector especially in poorer contexts, where government systems may not yet reach the level of capacity needed to contract private education service delivery, or to effectively monitor and regulate implementation. These limitations can also further erode accountability in the education sector where, the report avers, responsible bodies (i.e., education ministries] ‘...are traditionally among the most conservative, regarding control over curriculum, language policies and politicization of content – and thus may be reluctant to relinquish control to non-state provider partners.

*Source: UNICEF East Asia and Pacific Regional Office and Asian Development Bank, 2011, pp. 18-20*
Part III: The Continuing Debate: For or Against PPPs in Education

OECD Study on market mechanisms and education outcomes

An OECD study (2010) reviewed PPP initiatives in five European countries, the US and China against their goals of enhancing parental choice of school and increasing competition between schools. It noted that while policies differed in terms of form (e.g., charter schools, open enrolment programmes, public choice programmes and voucher programmes), they similarly shared approaches of introducing market mechanisms to generate desirable educational outcomes. The review was limited to educational quality (measured in terms of student scores for reading and mathematics) and equality (measured in terms of indicators of segregation along socio-economic and ethnic lines) (p. 20).

Box 15. OECD study on market mechanisms and education outcomes

The OECD study noted that:

In very general terms it seems that regimes providing parents with more choice bear a risk of increasing segregation between schools in terms of ethnic, socio-economic and ability segregation. (Waslander and Weide, 2010, p. 16)

The OECD study concluded that:

Over the last decade a substantial body of research has emerged related to market mechanisms in education worldwide. Several reviews have been conducted and have come to quite similar conclusions regarding effects of policies aimed at increasing parental choice and school competition. In general, if any effects are found at all, they are small.

Given the efforts taken by governments to introduce market mechanisms by enhancing parental choice and encouraging school competition, and considering the fierce debates in both political and scientific circles, an interesting question is “why are effects found in research so small”? While many reviews conclude with the observation that effects are small, this review takes them as a starting point. An unusual analytical approach was adopted. Behind the intended effects of market mechanisms in education lie chains of assumptions regarding the working of market mechanisms – i.e. parental choice and school competition – in actual practice. These assumptions have been made explicit, followed by a systematic review of available empirical research for each of the consecutive steps in the chain of reasoning. The focus was, therefore, less on effects of market mechanisms and more on the behavioural responses of the different actors involved in education. If similar findings were found from different contexts and from different kinds of research for any particular step, this was considered to be an indication of the robustness of such findings. (Waslander and Weide, 2010, p. 64)
Gain or Drain?

Even as PPP programmes in education continue to be promoted and implemented globally, controversial questions remain over their effectiveness and social desirability as policy options for promoting education access, equity, and quality.

In the light of varying PPP assessments – and in the face of an aggressive push by policy makers to adopt this as a viable provisioning and financing option for public education – it is important for CSOs to launch an in-depth review of PPP initiatives in education using a rights-based framework to weigh how they truly contribute to ensuring equitable access to quality and inclusive education. Arriving at a critical analysis of such PPPs in education remains a crucial challenge, especially as the global community re-evaluates post-2015 development goals and its governance and financing options.

As discussed earlier in this section, one side of the debate claims several positive outcomes such as enhanced parental choice and increasing school competition, improved quality of learning, as well as greater opportunities to mobilise new resources, and introduce innovations to facilitate access of the poor to education.

On the other hand, opponents assert, the push for PPPs in education in Asia-Pacific must be seen in the general context of governments increasingly withdrawing from and de-prioritising social services delivery. Spending least on education compared to the other global regions in the last decades, the region suffers from consistent shortfalls in public education expenditure particularly in most of the least developed and developing countries. To cut on expenditure, governments are increasingly resorting to contractual PPPs such as the outsourcing of education services, the voucher system and the build-operate-and-transfer schemes for huge infrastructure projects. Additional resources are mobilised through user fees, corporate sponsorships and donations. Moreover, the rising trend towards privatised provision of education, as manifested in increasing private school enrolment, the proliferation of low fee private schools and the rapid growth of private tutoring throughout Asia are clear indications of the financing shortfalls and failings of the public school system. At the same time, governments adopt and still strongly pursue structural adjustment policies of deregulation and liberalisation, facilitating the rapid expansion of private sector activity in various sectors including education. As a result, the level of public resources and spending cannot deal adequately with many challenges such as rising school enrolment and worsening congestion in the public school system, and the general deterioration felt and observed in the quality of public education.

PPP initiatives implemented in several Asian countries fail thus far to validate claims by proponents regarding improved access, equity and quality. The country cases below give a sense of the serious concerns raised over education PPPs in education.
Box 16. Education Service Contracting, Philippines

The World Bank (2011) study on Education Service Contracting (ESC) in the Philippines found that not surprisingly, most grantees ‘come from relatively well-off families’. Grantees have to shoulder the fees charged by their private schools that are in excess of the subsidies provided. These fees are in most cases substantial and unaffordable to the poor. (p.3)

The study further highlights the ‘shortcomings’ in the regulatory framework, arising from the fact that the Secretary of the Department of Education sits as ex-officio chair of the Board of Trustees of the administering private agency. Since the programme’s implementation in 1988, there has been no bidding or clear selection process for identifying the private agency to administer the programme and consequently, questions of accountability have emerged. Transparency is another worrisome concern. In addition to the difficulty of accessing information from the administering agency, no external group sits in any management or consultative bodies of the administering agency. Finally, the study also casts doubt on the claim that ESC grantees perform better than their counterparts in the public sector since grantees are selected from among the better performing and relatively well-off students to start with. The World Bank study admitted that this assertion needs validation. (World Bank, 2011, pp. 3-4)

Box 17. ‘Socialization of Education’, Vietnam

Vietnam uses the term ‘socialization of education’ to refer to the participation of civil society and the general public in providing public services, mainly through human resources, physical assets, and financial contributions. In the socialisation of education process, the role of the state diminishes as private sector provisioning and financing expand.

Three types of non-public institutions resulted from the socialisation programme:
- semi-public - schools are state-owned, managed by public authorities but funded by parental fees
- people-founded schools - owned/managed by NGOs or private associations, and funded by parental fees
- private schools - owned/managed by private individuals and funded by parental fees.

While not the typical contractual PPPs implemented in other countries, these emerging partnership arrangements may be classified as distinct forms of PPPs in education. They may also tend to evolve closer to MSPs in education.

Initial studies on the socialisation programme found several issues of quality, equity and transparency that attributed to the lack of clear guidelines and regulations on socialisation in the education sector. Availability and adaptability did improve but affordability remained a problem. The research findings also showed that access actually worsened for disadvantaged groups, particularly the rural poor. The research further cited a problem of transparency because of the lack of community participation in policy development, implementation and monitoring.
Box 18. Punjab Education Foundation, Pakistan

In Pakistan, the Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) implemented a voucher programme for selected slums that was designed to allow parents to enrol their children in low-fee private schools using state funding. The coverage of this programme, however, proved far too limited to cover the huge gap in education access and quality. A larger initiative administered by PEF, the Foundation-Assisted Schools (FAS) programme, provides a per-child subsidy for children enrolled directly in private schools located in poor districts of Punjab. Reaching out to a bigger number of children, the programme significantly increased PEF’s beneficiaries from 8,573 students in 2005 to 529,210 students in 2009. A third-party evaluation conducted by Innovative Development Strategies (IDS) gave a generally positive appraisal of the programme but noted that the coverage of the PEF-FAS initiative ‘is only a drop in the bucket considering the enormity of the education problem that it seeks to address’ (ADB, 2010, p. 26).

Another view forwarded by the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2009 in its background paper – surveys show that access to private schools is not universal rather private schools choose to locate in richer villages and richer settlements within villages, limiting access for poor households’ (Bano, 2008, p. 26). Moreover, the PEF-FAS programme was also shown to be focused on a province with already better education indicators in terms of literacy, enrolment rates and gender parity than most other parts of the country. The programme is largely dependent on continued funding from foreign donors which may not be sustainable over the long-term. The Report also took note of the lines of authority and accountability which have become blurred as responsibility for running the programme no longer rests with the Ministry of Education but with semi-autonomous foundations (Bano, 2008).

Underpinning the arguments articulated by key proponents of PPPs in education such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, are the ideological assumptions that markets, competition, deregulation and free ‘choice’ generate efficiencies, innovation and better outcomes. In this frame, education shifts from being a public good that benefits the whole of society to a commodity for individual benefit. It ceases to be a shared resource which states have the obligation to offer its citizens but becomes a consumer product which private entities can profit from and over which individuals have to assume primary responsibility as they individually benefit from it. The state ceases to be fully responsible for delivering education services directly to its citizens but rather, assumes the role of contractor, monitor, and evaluator of services delivered by a range of providers.

This role undermines the state’s ability to deliver an obligation to democratising access and ensure equal opportunities for all its citizens to quality education. Introducing the dynamic of competition and free choice in public education translates to penalising schools with ‘poorly performing’ students who are assessed against externally defined measures that are known as valuable to the market. Schools are therefore pushed to select students who are likely to perform better – privileging those who enjoy historical advantages in economic wealth, social status, gender, ethnicity, and making it more difficult for the majority of poor people to leave behind lifetimes and generations of poverty and deprivation.
Towards a Framework for Assessing PPP Initiatives in Education

Given the contrasting evidence and ongoing debates related to PPPs in education, further monitoring and research are needed to further deepen analysis on the issue, informed by concrete evidence from the practice of a wider set of countries especially in the Asia-Pacific region. As ever, education rights activists should undertake rigorous scrutiny of the frameworks and the evidence from real-world experiences of education PPPs towards proactively contributing to the efforts in developing well-targeted, responsive policy options on education financing and governance that genuinely guarantee the right of all citizens to education of good quality.

ASPBAE proposed these assessment guidelines that it hopes will be useful in appraising PPP initiatives in education based on a number of key indicators. The following frameworks and principles informed ASPBAE’s formulation of the guidelines for assessing PPP initiatives in education:

- The Four Basic Criteria developed by Belfield and Levin (2002)
- The 4As framework developed by the late Katarina Tomaševski (2001)
- The ‘PANEL’ model: Participation, accountability, non-discrimination, empowerment and link with the law (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2002)
- ActionAid International’s 10 Points on Promoting Rights in Schools (PRS Initiative)
- E-Net Philippines Study on Education Service Contracting in the Philippines (2012)

**Box 19. Four Basic Criteria**

The framework for evaluation which was originally discussed in detail in Levin (2002) applies four basic criteria phrased as questions as outlined below. ‘These four criteria represent a comprehensive framework for evaluating and understanding the impact of policy reforms on education systems. Each of these criteria must be considered and given corresponding weights depending on the objectives of policy-makers and planners.’ (p. 35-36)

1. Will the reform give freedom of choice to those demanding education? ‘This criterion refers to the rights of families to choose schools for the children that are premised on their values, educational philosophies, religious teachings and political outlooks.’ (p. 36)
2. Will the reform be efficient in terms of time and resources? ‘This criterion refers to the maximization of educational results for any given resource constraint.’ (p. 39)
3. Will the reform be equitable, i.e. fair to all students, their communities? This refers to a ‘universally accepted goal of schooling: the quest for fairness in access to educational opportunities, resources and outcomes by gender, social class, race, language origins and geographical location of students.’ (p. 45)
4. Will the reform generate the social cohesion that an education system is expected to contribute to an effectively functioning society with common values and institutions?

*Source: Belfield and Levin 2002, pp.35-45*

**Box 20. The 4As Framework**

The concept of the 4As was developed by the former UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Katarina Tomasevski (2001). It provided a powerful yet simple and practical framework for understanding the concept of the right to education expressed in more tangible terms by the 4As - Availability, Accessibility, Acceptability and Adaptability. The framework identifies key state responsibilities and obligations in delivering quality education to all and outlines a set of indicators to assess state performance and accountabilities. The 4As has, since then, been used as a basic framework to guide stakeholders in ensuring that the right to education is respected, protected, and fulfilled. The principles of participation, accountability, and empowerment are captured within this framework.

The concept of the 4As as contained in General Comment No. 13 on the Right to Education elaborates Article 13 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) which was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1966. The relevant provisions on the 4As in General Comment No. 13 are quoted below:

6. While the precise and appropriate application of the terms will depend upon the conditions prevailing in a particular State party, education in all its forms and at all levels shall exhibit the following interrelated and essential features:

(a) **Availability** - functioning educational institutions and programmes have to be available in sufficient quantity within the jurisdiction of the State party. What they require to function depends upon numerous factors, including the developmental context within which they operate; for example, all institutions and programmes are likely to require buildings or other protection from the elements, sanitation facilities for both sexes, safe drinking water, trained teachers receiving domestically competitive salaries, teaching materials, and so on; while some will also require facilities such as a library, computer facilities and information technology;

(b) **Accessibility** - educational institutions and programmes have to be accessible to everyone, without discrimination, within the jurisdiction of the State party. Accessibility has three overlapping dimensions:

Non-discrimination - education must be accessible to all, especially the most vulnerable groups, in law and fact, without discrimination on any of the prohibited grounds;
Physical accessibility - education has to be within safe physical reach, either by attendance at some reasonably convenient geographic location (e.g. a neighbourhood school) or via modern technology (e.g. access to a “distance learning” programme);

Economic accessibility - education has to be affordable to all. This dimension of accessibility is subject to the differential wording of article 13 (2) in relation to primary, secondary and higher education: whereas primary education shall be available “free to all”, States parties are required to progressively introduce free secondary and higher education;

c) Acceptability - the form and substance of education, including curricula and teaching methods, have to be acceptable (e.g. relevant, culturally appropriate and of good quality) to students and, in appropriate cases, parents; this is subject to the educational objectives required by article 13 (1) and such minimum educational standards as may be approved by the State;

d) Adaptability - education has to be flexible so it can adapt to the needs of changing societies and communities and respond to the needs of students within their diverse social and cultural settings.


### The 4As Framework

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Box 21. ‘PANEL’ model: Participation, Accountability, Non-Discrimination, Empowerment and Link with the law

The Rights-Based Approach to education differentiates between delivering a service and enabling a right. It goes beyond the identification of beneficiaries, quantity and outcomes, and includes concepts of responsibility, quality and processes (Jonsson, 2003). The RBA stems from the standards and principles enshrined in international human rights law; therefore, the RBA is a compilation of legal frameworks and their official legal interpretations. In theory, these concepts form the key elements of the ‘PANEL’ model: Participation, accountability, non-discrimination, empowerment and link with the law (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2002, 2004).

They are universal and inalienable, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. They promote equality, equity and inclusion. Private providers of education are accepted in human rights covenants as they contribute to freedom of choice, a central part of the education components of both the UDHR and the ICESCR. However, freedom of choice can only be understood to exist if the type of education delivered adheres to the guiding human rights principles, which for education include:

**Participation**

In human rights terms, ‘education shall enable all persons to participate effectively in a free society’ (ICESCR: Art. 13.1). Participation is linked to free access to information regarding States’ decisions concerning education, monitoring bodies and private providers of public education. Whether it be civil society or private providers, the State must ensure that accurate and appropriate information on human rights conventions, principles and provision is made available (CRC: Art. 42). Efforts must also be made by the State to ensure all members of society, from children to community leaders, are able to participate and take action in decision-making processes without fear of persecution.

**Accountability**

States have the obligation to promote accountability in education. This includes the creation of mechanisms both within the government and citizen led, to monitor and hold the State accountable for delivering on its obligation to respect, protect and fulfil the right to free education and for adhering to minimum educational standards of quality learning (CESCR, GC 13: §46).

These mechanisms must monitor ‘education – including all relevant policies, institutions, programmes, spending patterns and other practices – so as to identify and take measures to redress any de facto discrimination’ (CESCR, GC 13: §37). In the same vein, schools must also have transparent and effective systems for monitoring and local people should be involved in governing bodies, management committees or parent groups.
Non-Discrimination
The right to non-discrimination means that all education must be accessible and of good quality to all children, ‘irrespective of the child’s or his or her parent’s or legal guardian’s race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth or other status (CRC: Art. 2).

Empowerment
The State must promote strategies which ‘enable’ the beneficiaries to claim their rights. This applies particularly to those that are marginalized, including girls and women. This can be done by raising awareness about rights and enhancing people’s capacity to use and demand their rights. It is important that people’s voices are heard, that their capabilities are expanded so they can transform their lives and the education system. The right to education is considered an empowerment right or multiplier because it enables a person to benefit from other rights (Coomans, 2007).

Link to Law
This requires the education system to be explicitly linked to international human rights law and its standards and to the principles of non-discrimination, empowerment, participation and accountability. While the State must respect private initiatives and the parental right to choose a provider other than itself, governments are also obliged to ensure private and other providers adhere to human rights principles and are regulated to meet minimum education standards.

Source: Excerpts from Ron-Balsera and Marphatia, 2012, pp. 218-220

Box 22. ActionAid International 10 Points on Promoting Rights in Schools (PRS Initiative)
ActionAid and the Right to Education Project collaborated in an initiative which aims to secure free, compulsory, quality public education for all. While the PRS approach focuses on strengthening public education, it still supports links in advocacy and policy efforts as well as building capacities for all stakeholders specifically students, children, communities and civil society. Apart from the simple charter of 10 rights, the PRS initiative also provides a set of indicators in the form of a survey. The 10 rights were mainly derived from the 4As framework by Katarina Tomasevski.

The Charter and indicators support the development of local, district and national reports on the state of education rights, based on citizens’ perspectives and mobilisation. Our research to action approach promotes evidenced-based advocacy and campaigning, which we hope will lead to sustainable change.
Framework Adopted by E-Net Philippines on Public-Private Partnership in Education

The Education Network, Philippines (E-Net) completed a study on Education Service Contracting in the Philippines and proposed a framework for evaluating the PPP initiative based on four assessment criteria: social cohesion, efficiency, equity and sensitivity. The framework asserts that a good and acceptable partnership should promote social cohesion through shared understanding of the objectives and implementing mechanisms of the program. It should adopt a common focus and direction for all stakeholders. It should encourage the involvement of stakeholders and their contribution to generate additional resources.
The partnership should ensure that public resources are used efficiently – that the allocation of resources is consistent with the country’s needs and priorities, and aligned with education policies, goals and strategies; that funds are disbursed promptly and in a timely manner; that resources are used for their intended purpose within the target time frame; and that there is transparency and accountability in the allocation, disbursement and use of resources.

The partnership should ensure equity and inclusion of the marginalised, excluded and vulnerable sectors of society. Lastly, the partnership should promote sensitivity to gender, ethnicity and socioeconomic class. It should uphold and value the rights of the learners, recognise their particularities and differences, and take affirmative action to ensure the inclusion of disadvantaged groups.

**Figure 14. E-Net Framework on Education PPP**

Source: E-Net Philippines, 2012

**ASPBAE Framework and Guidelines for Assessing PPPs in Education**

ASPBAE affirms that education is a fundamental human right as enshrined in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and elaborated further by the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1966. ASPBAE adopts the framework of the 4As as a broad guide in forging partnership and developing cooperation with other groups. As elaborated in ICESCR General Comment No. 13 on the Right to Education, education must be available (free with adequately trained teachers, infrastructure, facilities and materials); accessible (inclusive and economically/physically accessible to all); acceptable (relevant, non-
discriminatory, culturally appropriate, and of good quality with safe schools and professionally trained teachers); and adaptable (responsive to changing context and to needs of students/learners of diverse backgrounds).

Partnerships in education must be based on a firm commitment to uphold the right to education and a shared dedication to address inequity in education and to reach out to the poorest, the socially excluded and other disadvantaged groups, particularly marginalised girls and women. Guided by this basic framework and enriched by the discussion of the different frameworks above, ASPBAE proposes the following six areas as core indicators for evaluating PPP initiatives in education. Although there are certain aspects that overlap with one another, each area complements the rest and is, thus, just as important as the others.

**Figure 15. ASPBAE Proposed Framework**

**Equity** – equal access to education, ensuring adequate guarantees to reach out to all regardless of economic status, sex, ethnicity, language, religion, political persuasion, property ownership, disability and residency status and taking affirmative action to prioritise the poorest, excluded and disadvantaged groups.

**Sensitivity** - gender and cultural sensitivity of the school environment, policies and practices; curriculum, pedagogy and educational materials; and school infrastructure, facilities and equipment. While we recognise cultural diversity and value sensitivity to different cultures, cultural practices and beliefs should not be used to justify any act leading to or causing the denial or violation of human rights, to which human beings are universally and equally entitled to.
Quality – apart from provisions of key inputs and learning outcome indicators, quality education ensures that learning is relevant to developing the full potential of individual human beings as well as the development of their communities and societies. It is context-based, culturally-sensitive, empowering and contributes to social progress.

Efficiency – alignment of expenditure with government policies, goals and strategies; consistency of allocation with education needs and priorities; transparency, accountability, timeliness and appropriateness of financial transactions; sustainability and adaptability of the partnership arrangement.

Empowerment – recognition and adequate guarantees for the rights of teachers, students, children and labour, including the rights of teachers and school employees to organise and unionise; the rights of students to organise and join political activities; and the exercise of academic freedom.

Governance – recognition and adequate guarantees for the participation and representation of all stakeholders in school governance; transparency and accountability in policymaking, decision processes and implementation; information access and dissemination; and, participatory monitoring and evaluation.

This framework can be used as a broad guide to assess state policies on PPPs in education, to evaluate implementation and results of PPP programmes in the education sector, and to appraise specific contracts entered into by the government with private actors.

Specific Guide Questions
The menu of specific questions below serves as a guide or reference in evaluating particular cases of PPP in education. Education advocates and campaigners may develop their own evaluation instruments that consider the national and local context. These guide questions should not be taken as prescriptions but rather as tools for reference towards developing national or context-and case-specific evaluation guidelines.

### Box 23. Specific Guide Questions in PPP Evaluation

**Box 23. Specific Guide Questions in PPP Evaluation**

**EQUITY**

1. Is the PPP programme accessible to all regardless of economic status, sex, ethnicity, language, religion, political persuasion, property ownership, disability and residency status?
2. Are there clear policies and affirmative action to reach out to and prioritise the poorest, the socially-excluded and other disadvantaged groups?
3. Is school information and program widely available?
4. Are admission requirements non-discriminatory?
5. Is the admission process non-discriminatory?
6. Are both direct and indirect school expenses reasonable and affordable?
7. Is the school physically accessible to learners?
8. Are transportation costs to school affordable?
9. Are there clear policies and guidelines promoting inclusive education?

**SENSITIVITY**
1. Are the curricula, pedagogy and educational materials gender-sensitive?
2. Are the curricula, pedagogy and educational materials sensitive to one’s ethnicity, language, religion, residency status and disability?
3. Did teachers receive training in gender and cultural sensitivity?
4. Does the school have enough women teachers and personnel?
5. Does the school have adequate restrooms for girls and women?
6. Is the school environment safe, secured and well-lit?
7. Is the school environment in a non-militarised zone and a non-hazardous zone?
8. Is the school infrastructure child-safe?
9. Does the school have enabling policy and infrastructure for persons with disabilities?
10. Is there a clear policy on gender and cultural sensitivity?
11. Is there a budget earmarked specifically for the promotion of gender and cultural sensitivity?

**QUALITY**
1. Are the indicators on student attendance, survival, completion, learning outcomes, class size and pupil-teacher ratio at par with the national standards?
2. Do students have the prescribed textbooks and educational materials?
3. Is the school curriculum in accordance with nationally acceptable standards?
4. Are the number of school days, class hours and contact time at par with national standards?
5. Are the teachers qualified and professionally licensed?
6. Are the teachers rightfully compensated (at par with nationally/internationally acceptable salary rates)?
7. Do teachers have manageable workloads?
8. Do teachers receive continuing education for development?
9. Is the school environment conducive to learning?
10. Do the school infrastructure, facilities and equipment reach minimum standards?
11. Do the school curricula/course programme include human rights education, gender sensitivity, peace, citizenship, and environmental sustainability?
12. Are the curricula, course programme, learning materials and teaching approaches non-discriminatory, culturally-appropriate and gender-sensitive?
13. Is there an independent evaluation of school environment, student learning outcomes and curricula/course programme that incorporates human rights, citizenship and peace education?
EFFICIENCY
1. Are all partners and stakeholders clearly identified?
2. Are expected outcomes clearly defined? (period of time, quantifying resources, benefits and risks)
3. Are all beneficiaries chosen by means of a fair and transparent selection?
4. Are all partners chosen by means of a fair and transparent selection?
5. Are the financial allocations consistent with government policies, goals, priorities and strategies?
6. Are there adequate measures to ensure transparency in school finances and transactions?
7. Are there adequate measures to deter, detect and sanction corruption?
8. Is the budget judiciously utilised?
9. Are funds disbursed promptly according to budget allocations?
10. Is the partnership sustainable and adoptable under a different political administration?
11. Is there an independent external audit of school finances?

EMPOWERMENT
1. Does the school recognise and respect the rights of teachers and employees to organise, form unions and enter into collective bargaining?
2. Does it respect labour rights and welfare in accordance with national labour laws and regulations?
3. Does the school follow national laws and standards on compensation and benefits?
4. Does the school recognise and respect the rights of students to organise, set up their independent student government and engage in political activities?
5. Does the school recognise and facilitate the publication of an independent student paper?
6. Does the school uphold the rights of the child as enshrined in the CRC?
7. Does the school condemn corporal punishment?
8. Does the school recognise and promote academic freedom?
9. Does the school respect environmental laws?
10. Does the school recognise and enable the participation of all stakeholders in governance and decision-making?

GOVERNANCE
1. Is the partnership in accordance with prevailing laws, education policies and regulations?
2. Does the school recognise and enable the participation of all stakeholders in governance and decision-making?
3. Are stakeholders adequately represented in important school committees and governing bodies?
4. Is there transparency in policy-making, management and decision-making?
5. Are information on school policies, programmes, performance, budget and expenditure open and accessible to all?
6. Are there mechanisms that provide for the evaluation of the school by students, parents and teachers?
7. Is there an independent, credible and regular monitoring/evaluation of school performance and administration?
8. Are the results of monitoring and evaluation open and widely disseminated?

Concluding Statement

In analysing policy options on education financing and governance, ASPBAE stands by the fundamental premise that education is a right and should therefore be guaranteed in any partnership initiative. Education as a right is not a random assertion. It is clearly defined and protected by a very well developed set of norms and obligations that governments and the international community subscribe to. ASPBAE further underscores that the governance, financing, and management of education is primarily the responsibility of the state.

The General Comment 13 on the Right to Education (Article 13 of the ICESCR) recognised that for education to be a meaningful right, it has to be available, accessible, acceptable, and adaptable. Further, the enabling conditions and structures to guarantee the enjoyment of this right have to be set in place, namely: 1) increased and sustained public financing as well as international development cooperation for education; 2) legislation and policies at national levels; and 3) institutionalised civil society participation in education policy making and monitoring, at macro and local levels.

Consistent with the need to make education accessible, equity should be the heart of the education reforms with efforts directed at meeting the education and learning needs of marginalised, vulnerable groups and communities. It should be publicly funded and free. Education should be available, ensuring expanded access and go beyond a singular focus (in the MDG framework) on universal primary education and ensure sustained commitment to the unfinished EFA agenda in its full expression. It should commit to universal coverage of early childhood care and education, basic education including post secondary education, adult literacy, including second chance learning opportunities for all. Progressive and equitable extension of TVET and life
skills, post secondary and tertiary education, within the framework of lifelong learning should be prioritised and attract investment.

The emerging experiences in the Asia-Pacific, challenge and lead ASPBAE and its partners to engage governments, donors, UN agencies, and international financial institutions on the issue of PPPs in education and privatisation – important concerns that are being aggressively promoted particularly in countries with large financing deficits and huge gaps in education.

The issues related to education financing and governance will be a major focus in crafting the post-2015 education agenda. One of the most potentially serious barriers to securing the right to education is posed by the strong push towards education privatisation and public-private partnerships in education.

ASPBAE and CSOs promoting the right to education need to step up efforts towards achieving more decisive impact on shaping the post-2015 education and development agenda. In this context, the ‘social compact’ between states and all its citizens in guaranteeing the full exercise of citizens’ right to education – that is accessible, available, adaptable and acceptable - should be renewed, preserved and strengthened, and critically frame the options for public financing and governance of the post-2015 agenda for education. As such, public education should be free, non-discriminatory, of good quality, and open to all, whether through formal or alternative pathways, with the state duly accountable to its citizens and fully responsible for education provisioning.

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