Privatization of education: an ongoing debate

In 1999, the World Bank (IBRD) and the International Finance Corporation launched an Internet-based forum and information facility – the Education Investment Exchange – and commissioned several books on the development of global and private education, particularly in Third World countries. More recently, the International Herald Tribune and the UNESCO Courier published special reports on the topic, providing more fodder for an ongoing debate.

The rapid development of information technology has not only become the driving force of globalization but has also radically changed traditional ways, forms and methods of providing and delivering services worldwide. The provision and delivery of education services are no exception. These newly-created opportunities for diversity of choice in education also fuel a continuing search for improved school management and finance in both developed and developing countries.

Commercializing, or privatizing education implies involving market and individual initiative in the provision of educational services. The concept is often mistaken for private schools only. Privatization can take on a variety of forms and can concern any level, stage or element of education as a service and in a number of different combinations. Some examples include: the private management of public schools, or the so-called charter schools; the public funding of private schools through a system of educational vouchers; parental involvement in the financing and management of their children’s education through tuition and user fees; the provision of private services to schools, such as catering, transportation, or the provision of textbooks.

This raises a number of unresolved issues. Should primary and secondary formal education be considered public or alternatively private goods, or a mix of both with proportions hard to estimate, what is called the ‘quasi-market’? Is formal primary and secondary education a State monopoly, or is it a part of the education industry subject to competition and deregulation like telecommunications for example? Should parents be able to choose their children’s...
What's in a name?

Privatization is a buzzword in current educational debate. Not only does it cover different phenomena - it generates conflicting opinions. It fires up personal preferences and it cuts into political ideologies. It is not always easy to follow the debate or get to the heart of the matter - or to what matters. Debates on privatization generate not only heat, but also fog.

Hence the first task for educational planners is conceptual analysis. What are the logical dimensions covered by the term? Basically this boils down to answering questions like the following:

➤ Who owns the schools – public agencies or private organizations?
➤ Who manages them – public agencies or private organizations?
➤ Who finances them – public agencies or parents?
➤ Who decides the curriculum – the authorities, schools or parents?

These questions can be further specified. For instance, when education is publicly financed are funds given to schools or does the money follow the student? The point of posing such a question is that in current educational environments all permutations of answers can be found. We find publicly-owned schools funded by the state and run by public officials administering a national curriculum, or publicly-owned schools managed by private companies with curricula specified. For instance, when

Over the past few years, the IIEP has carried out a number of studies in a wide range of contexts in order to identify what the real life experiments in school organization are, why they have emerged and what are their effects. Some of these studies are condensed and discussed in this issue of the IIEP Newsletter. They should broaden the thinking of all interested in, or concerned with, the question of privatization of education.

Whatever the results, UNESCO's educational mission is clear. No matter how education is organized or through what channels it is provided, the goal is to provide quality education for all. The basis for all our action is clearly stipulated in Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

"Everyone has a right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and vocational education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit."

Gudmund Hernes
IIEP Director
The difference between ‘public’ and ‘private’

Until now, private education has usually been considered as more a consequence of history, traditions, religion and culture of individual countries rather than as a well-defined and customized area for policy and research. Legislation in countries across the world is so different in this respect that the same types of schools are called either ‘public’ or ‘private’ depending on who you talk to, and the variety of terms one comes across include: non-public, non-government, non-state, and independent schools.

The definition commonly used by UNESCO, OECD and the World Bank is that ‘private’ education institutions are not operated by a public authority, but are controlled and managed by a private body or board of governors not selected by a public agency or elected by public vote. Private education institutions may be operated by Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or associations, religious bodies, special interest groups, foundations, or business enterprises, on either a profit-making or non-profit-making basis. In developed countries, private schools are mostly the result of diversified demand and the choice ‘to opt out’ of the public system. But in developing countries, it is the unmet demand and poor access to state education that triggers off the development of ‘private’ alternatives.

What is clear is that ownership or funding do not account for the main difference between private and public schools. Private schools can have any type of ownership or funding, and even be 100 per cent financed by State grants. The difference lies principally in the school’s management. This factor often makes international comparisons of private education difficult, especially in developing countries where many non-public schools are not even registered in official statistics, such as the so-called ‘bush schools’, or ‘spontaneous’ schools set up by village and suburban communities, ‘caravan’ schools which travel with nomadic populations, ‘street’ and ‘garage’ schools for over-aged adolescents who work during the day.

The value of education in a knowledge-based economy

Why is the privatization of education regaining interest and attention worldwide? Briefly, because of several interrelated assumptions:

► Unlike other forms of human activity, education at large has not experienced major changes in organization, management or funding for a long time. Nowadays, the progress in globalization and new information technologies is expected to bring more meaningful changes in both the education process and its management. Key variables such as access to unlimited information, informed choice, diversity in offer and supply, and qualified demand have expanded dramatically through globalization and internet-related technologies.

► The main difference between the past, present and future of education development is that it is no longer a problem of access to information and competence. It is and will be the problem of how to manage and use the overwhelming cascade of information, multiplying in volume every second. The challenge for the future of education is to find viable managerial solutions to the information ‘gulf’ against the 24 hour-a-day time constraint.

► Education in terms of value-added knowledge, competence or skills is nowadays taking on more features of productive investment, just as the human capital theory ensures the upward mobility of students. Demand for education is becoming more diversified not only at the level of higher education, as was previously the case, but also at primary and secondary levels, creating a ‘chain’ of stepping stones ensuring more students – the consumers – knew that they were getting value for money. For example, parents are ready to pay extra fees for more advanced and trendy courses for their children than proposed under the regular curriculum, or students are ready to pay for private tuition in order to pass a critical examination.
The challenge of mass education – Private schools in Cameroon

Private schools in Cameroon count for a little over a quarter of enrolments at primary and secondary school levels. At the primary level, schools run by religious organizations are the most prevalent (82% of enrolments), while at secondary level, nearly 60 per cent of enrolments are in non-denominational schools.

Private education in Cameroon, which provides mass education, affects all segments of society: urban, suburban or rural, rich and poor. Although it complements the state system by making an important contribution towards educating young people, it is directly competing with the latter in urban areas.

Parents opt for private education not simply for religious or ethical reasons. Their choice is more often based on a demand for quality and more personalized teaching. Private schools are thus a way of escaping from overcrowded classrooms and the laxity much deplored in the state school system.

Disparities within private education are both economic and social. In stark contrast to well-financed and extremely efficient schools, there are also a number of schools with limited means which are facing considerable difficulties.

Private education can pride itself on being a form of public education service when it serves the neighbouring community (this is often the case for denominational schools). In other cases, it openly targets an affluent clientele, operating like a business, particularly in the case of secondary education in urban areas.

Serving all levels of the population, private education has not been able to avoid the consequences of an economic downturn which has diminished family resources and reduced state grants.

Often obliged to match enrolment fees to family resources in order to keep their clientele, private schools have seen their financial stability threatened. An adjustment was partially achieved by increasing the number of students per class, at the risk of eroding a comparative advantage over the state system, and also by reducing employees’ real salaries. Schools can no longer respect contractual pay levels and have accumulated salary arrears (sometimes over several years), as well as unpaid taxes and social security contributions.

Findings of IIEP research

Since 1997, the IIEP has been involved in the analysis of private and community schools in different development settings.

Traditional types of privateschools, such as religious denominational schools, in both developed and developing countries do not seem to have a great potential for expansion even in decentralized contexts such as the USA, the UK, Australia, Latin America and English-speaking developing countries. Their enrolments did not increase dramatically in recent decades, even in environments favouring local school management and decentralized decision-making. For example, as the largest category of private schools, Catholic and other religious schools are not generally seen as either a substitute or a model for public schools. In more centralized systems, such as in France, where the majority of Catholic schools are State-subsidized and regulated in the same way as State schools, the difference between the two types of schools is subtle. In some developing countries, the proportion of enrolments in private religious schools can be very high (100% of total enrolments in Lesotho, 90% in Zimbabwe, 80% in Botswana); however, these schools depend on the State for teachers and per capita grants.

Interesting experiments with indices for formula funding of all categories of schools in Australia are original but country-specific. Unlike the USA and the UK, where private enrolment at primary and secondary levels is statistically low (about 10% of the total), Australia has a combination of relatively large private enrolment

mobility for students from the very beginning of their studies. In this respect, it has been repeatedly pointed out that prestigious UK universities such as Oxford and Cambridge preferred to admit students from private rather than state schools (The Economist, 3 June 2000).

The value of education is increasing together with its costs and price. Total expenditures per full-time student increased by about 16 per cent between 1980 and 1992 in public higher education institutions in the USA. In contrast, expenditures rose much more (about 43%) at private institutions during the same period. The cost of attendance for undergraduate studies at private non-profitmaking institutions was US$20,000 in 1995/1996 compared to US$10,800 at public institutions. Tuition and other fees were respectively US$13,250 and US$3,900.
Evidently, the best well-established economic make-up of community as the state system. The social and ‘good’ and ‘bad’ schools the same way sector in education is wide, it produces authorities). stockholders (parents and school charged) and benefits to private which meet up to the tuition fees performance (learning achievements companies which have to demonstrate the former (cf. IIEP Newsletter, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, April-June 2000, p. 5).

The underlying element explaining school performance and cost-efficiency is not exactly ownership or source funding, but the type of management that operates the real estate, teaching force and other assets and turns them into better or worse results irrespective of their public or private nature.

The IIEP is currently implementing, on behalf of the World Bank, a study on private technical and vocational education in Mali and Senegal. The boxes accompanying this article refer to various IIEP projects. They illustrate different forms of privatization in different contexts, from private schools in Cameroon and South Africa, to community education in Chad, Mali and Togo, and family contributions to schooling in Benin.

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### Involving the families in financing education – Benin

In several countries in sub-Saharan Africa, even given the absence of an important private sector, families significantly contribute to financing education. In Benin, families are second only to the state in providing educational financing, accounting for nearly a quarter of total expenditure. The proportion contributed by families to educational expenses increased between 1993-1996, not only because of increased student enrolments, but also because of the development of private education.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family spending on education in Benin, 1996</th>
<th>Millions CFA Francs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contributions to state schools</td>
<td>2 151</td>
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<tr>
<td>School fees for private schools</td>
<td>4 567</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purchase of books, supplies and uniforms</td>
<td>6 871</td>
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<tr>
<td>Contributions to administrative services</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total educational expenses</td>
<td>13 767</td>
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<tr>
<td>– Grants and assistance received</td>
<td>– 1 629</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Net family spending for education</strong></td>
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Families pay contributions for the operation of state primary and secondary schools, and participate in capital expenditure, pay university or vocational school tuitions, cover enrolment fees for private schools, purchase books, school supplies or khaki uniforms for students.
In order to meet the demand for education which is not being provided by the state, village communities in some countries have gone about organizing themselves to set up and manage their own schools. This phenomenon, widespread in rural areas, has been developing vigorously in countries like Mali or Togo where community schools account for up to 10 per cent of enrolments at primary level, and nearly 15 per cent in Chad.

Neither public nor really private, and long ignored by the state, their contribution in expanding education possibilities is now beginning to be recognized.

First and foremost, community schools are characterized by the strong local involvement. The school, itself, is often a ‘village project’. The fact that the community manages the school means that there is real integration with the surrounding environment, intense social involvement both in and around the school, and highly motivated teachers often from the community itself. In some countries, the community school model can give rise to interesting innovations such as: adapting the school calendar to rural needs, incorporating local dialects and developing practical community-based activities. In some cases, an NGO provides direct financial support to the community for the school.

In the light of these difficulties, governments wanting to encourage community initiatives must first of all recognize the rights of communities in this area, and create a legal framework in which they can operate generally and manage their schools on a daily basis. Governments must also provide the necessary support for training, supervision, and the payment of teachers. This state involvement should not lead to communities abandoning their responsibilities, but help to preserve the dynamics of such partnerships and the real benefits of community schools.

Although private schools have a long history in South Africa, their right to exist was guaranteed for the first time in the post-apartheid Constitution of 1996 which allows anyone to establish a private school at their own expense, on condition that such schools do not discriminate on the grounds of race and their standards are not inferior to those in comparable public schools. In addition, state subsidies to private schools are neither precluded nor guaranteed. Although the introduction of school fees in state schools and government policy to create public-private partnerships has produced more privatization since the late 1990s, their relative share of the market is small compared to public education.

Private, or independent schools today are those which decided to remain independent. However, these schools have to be registered with the provincial department of education and to do so they should comply with a set of conditions and norms laid down by the government concerning teacher qualifications, curriculum, length of school day, and health and safety norms. The majority of schools currently registered as independent are non-profitmaking religious schools (Catholic, Muslim, Hindu, Anglican, Methodist, Accelerated Christian Education Schools of Tomorrow), but there are also secular independent profitmaking schools.

There are also a fast growing number of spontaneous independent schools, often called ‘fly-by-night’ or ‘garage’ schools because of the way in which they operate. Generally set up swiftly with a lot of publicity in target areas without being registered, they can also disappear overnight. In most cases, these are low- to medium-cost profitmaking secondary schools serving over-age learners or workers aiming to pass the school-leaving exam.

Since 1994, there has also been a dramatic growth in independent schools. Whereas there were 518 independent schools registered with regional education departments in 1994, their number has quadrupled to 2,057 in the year 2000.

Charter schools in the USA – a fast-growing phenomenon

Charter schools are independent public schools, designed and operated by educators, parents, community leaders, educational entrepreneurs and others. They are sponsored by designated local or state educational organizations which monitor their quality and allow them to operate free from the traditional bureaucratic and regulatory red tape that besets public schools. They deliver programmes designed to provide educational diversity and meet community needs. Subject to parental choice, their accountability lies in consumer demand and satisfaction.

The first charter school in the USA opened in 1992 in St. Paul, Minnesota. Their number has since soared from less than 100 in 1994 to 1,700 today and will probably reach 3,000 by 2002, according to Richard Riley (USA Education Secretary under the Clinton Administration). Most of these schools are less than three years old and consequently there has been only one national analysis of student academic performance in such schools. Many of the 34 states with charter schools have either refrained from scrutinizing the achievement data, or are just starting to do so.

Most charters are created by groups of educators, parents and community leaders. Some have been converted from existing public schools and a small number were once private schools. Like district public schools, they are funded according to their Average Daily Attendance (or ADA) and receive funding from the district and the state according to the number of students enrolled.

However, in a number of states, they do not receive the full equivalent of their district counterparts: Minnesota charter schools only receive the state portion (about 75% of a district school’s total per pupil allocation); in New Jersey and Colorado they also receive less than 100 per cent of the per pupil funding. In other states, charters must negotiate their funding in their charter contract, often below the level of funding of their district counterparts. In Arizona, charter students are funded at about 80 per cent of their district peers.

Charter schools receive a portion of the state and district operating funds generally based on student enrolment counts. The portion is determined by the state legislation, and, in some states, is negotiated in the charter contract. For example, a state’s charter legislation determines that a certain percentage of operating funds follows the students. The actual acquisition of that funding, however, falls upon the charter school operators. For example, soon after the Vaughn Next Century Learning Center Charter Schools (San Fernando, California) opened, the district short-changed the school US$811 per pupil. State funding called for US$3,111 per pupil, but the district delivered $2,300. The justification was that elementary schools receive less than junior and high schools. Moreover, a legal settlement that equalised funding for suburban and urban schools hampered further funding.

When a child leaves for a charter school the money follows that child. This benefits the public school system by instilling a sense of accountability into the system regarding its services to the student and parents and its fiscal obligations.

A matter of choice, or conflicting interests?

Although public schools currently outnumber charter schools by more than 40 to 1, the ripple effect being created by charter schools is remarkable. Wherever there is a large cluster of charter schools, public schools begin to behave differently in order to keep up, and in many states their presence is accelerating system-wide school improvement.

While charter schools are having a widespread and positive impact on public education, the movement has often generated a powerful reaction from vested interests. They have faced more than their share of roadblocks,
including both political opposition and operational hurdles.

Capital financing remains one of the most challenging obstacles that charter schools face. Too often little, if any, capital assistance is available and state legislators are only just beginning to amend their laws to allow charter schools more access to state funds.

A handful of charter schools have failed. By the end of 1999, 39 charter schools had closed down, namely 2.3 per cent of the 1,713 existing charter schools. Some closed voluntarily, while others were forced to do so because of low enrolment, administrative or fiscal difficulties, or because their charters were withdrawn for poor management.

Yet nearly 20 per cent of the 1,713 existing charter schools had closed down, namely 2,300. By the end of 1999, 39 charter schools have failed.

For-profit charter schools

At present, for-profit schools are few: they teach some 100,000 students at about 200 schools of the USA’s 53 million children in kindergarten through to 12th grade. But they’re growing fast. In two years, Boston-based Advantage Schools has shot up from US$4 million in revenue to US$60 million. In the five years since it opened its first four schools, the income of Edison Schools Inc. (EDSN) has risen from US$12 million to US$217 million. It now runs 79 schools in 16 states. Some forecasts say in 20 years, 20 to 30 per cent of US public schools will be run by for-profit schools.

Despite initial euphoria and rhetoric, however, it’s far from clear that for-profit schooling will live up to expectations. Indeed, the companies make dramatic claims. Edison and Advantage schools both promise to have most students eventually doing college-level work by the 11th grade, but so far students at some of these schools are still performing poorly on tests. Since many schools have been operating only a year or two, the jury is still not sure whether they improve academic achievement in the long run.

So far, for-profit schools are proving good at marketing dissatisfied urban parents who are lured by school uniforms, strict discipline and a rigorous curriculum, as well as radical changes in staffing procedures. These schools face the same kind of problems as public schools in very tough areas. The challenge for the private companies is that parental demand for choice is the most urgent in the worst-off schools. Initially, critics feared that for-profit schools would try to ‘cream’ the best students away from state schools, but that hasn’t happened. In urban areas, many parents are already prepared to pay a housing premium in order to live in areas with good schools.

Financial management and making profits is yet another problem. Many for-profit schools charge heavy management fees, about 12 per cent of a school’s income in the case of Philadelphia’s Mosaica, for example. To cover the fees and still run the school, they expect to spend less on administration. On average, a district spends about 27% of every dollar on its central office. As Edison expands, economies of scale will help cut that to just 8%. In Edison’s case, most of the savings will be ploughed back into the classroom. That will leave Edison with a 7% per cent profit.

But this model allows no funds for building new schools. Such capital costs can eat up 20% of the annual funding for-profit schools receive. Typically, for-profit schools get the same per-child operating budget as public schools, but no capital funding.

The experiment of the US charter schools is now being introduced in the UK under the name of ‘city academies’. However, unless politicians are willing to give such schools access to taxpayer-backed bonds and other sources of capital enjoyed by public schools, the growth of for-profit schools could be stunted.

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UNESCO Director-General visits the IIEP

On the occasion of the 39th session of IIEP’s Governing Board the Director-General of UNESCO, Mr Koichiro Matsuura, made his first official visit to IIEP in November 2000 to discuss with Board members and staff attending this important annual event. Mr Matsuura, who was appointed Director-General in November 1999, presented his views on the impact of new technologies and globalization on the programmes of UNESCO, stressing the particularly important role of education in relation to the safeguard of human rights and in preserving cultural heritage.

He emphasized that the priority area in education was that of basic education referring in particular to the mandate given to UNESCO at the World Education Forum held in Dakar in April 2000, namely that of providing a central, guiding, co-ordinating role, to promote Education for All. He reiterated his commitment to mobilizing the various actors: the Secretariat, Members States, bi-lateral funding agencies and the more prominent agencies, in order to implement the important mission entrusted to UNESCO.

The Director-General’s visit enabled an exchange of views with the members of IIEP’s Governing Board who were meeting to discuss the Institute’s programme and budget implemented in 2000 and its proposed activities for 2001. He congratulated the Institute for its work in providing training for education officers from developing countries, particularly in basic education. He also highlighted the Institute’s important role in efforts to heighten awareness of HIV/AIDS through education programmes.

IAN DENISON
Private higher education – sharing the responsibility

After the massive privatization of public universities and the proliferation of private institutions of the past two decades, the time has come to review the situation, weed the good from the bad, and renegotiate the state role in the context of new realities.

While private higher education has always been common in East Asia and Latin America where it traditionally caters for two-thirds to three-quarters of the institutions and enrollments, public universities have controlled the best part of the market in Africa, Europe, North America and South Asia.

After the Second World War, two main trends in ownership and control of institutions emerged. First, up until the late 1970s, there was a national move towards the state developing higher education for all in Europe. At the same time, for the new nations of Africa and Asia, the establishment of public universities became a symbol of self-reliance and national pride. China nationalized its universities in the 1950s, and Pakistan in the 1970s. Second, from the 1980s onward, these trends reversed and there was a global move towards private ownership and management of higher education institutions.

The rise of market ideology in development changed attitudes and investment priorities shifted from social sectors ensuring equity to tradeable services and goods aimed at enhancing economic growth. Market-friendly reforms in education encouraged diverting resources from higher to basic education on the one hand, and to reducing public spending on higher education, on the other. Needless-to-say, empirical research on rates of return became a convenient tool for propagating market ideology to education. The changing political climate in Eastern Europe, the financial inability of governments to continue operating on the same scale in developed countries, and the implementation of structural adjustment programmes in developing countries pushed privatization of higher education even further.

Private involvement in higher education can be divided into two main categories: privatization of public institutions and private higher education institutions.

As regards the first, privatization of public institutions, this can take on the following forms:

➤ The privatization of services in public institutions whereby public utility and student support services are contracted out to private agencies on a full pricing basis.
➤ Cost-sharing – entailing cost recovery from the students themselves through tuition fees and/or student loans. In the 1990s, student loans became common in Ghana, Malawi, Nigeria and Thailand and in the UK, universities were given the choice of becoming privatized with deregulated fees.
➤ State-financed privatization – the voucher system is an example of promoting competition and privatization through public funding, permitting parents to choose schools and universities for their children. In the USA, some states like Florida have already legislated on this issue; California, Michigan, New York may follow. New Zealand introduced vouchers on a large scale in the 1990s, but realised after a decade that the system increased educational disparities between social groups.
➤ The corporatization of universities – some universities have established cost centres, companies or corporations with operational autonomy. For instance in Malaysia, corporatization allows state universities to borrow money, acquire investment shares and enter into business ventures in order to cover much of their operating expenses. In Tanzania, Dar-es-Salaam University has even created profit-making companies within the university. Many universities have established cost centres either at the departmental or university level to regulate the income generated from various sources. Nevertheless, unlike companies and corporations, cost units do not have complete operational autonomy.

Under private higher education institutions, we find the following patterns:

➤ Private universities/institutions. These have mushroomed in countries such as Argentina, Bangladesh, Bolivia, Columbia, Kenya, Mexico and Zimbabwe where three types of institutions exist: those funded by religious groups, those operating as non-profitmaking organisations, and profitmaking commercial institutions.
➤ Corporate universities. These are basically business firms, such as General Electric, IBM and ABB in Zurich, which create corporate universities to provide continuing education for their staff.
➤ Privatization through deregulation policies and advances in information technology have globalized higher education as a transnational
operation mainly through private providers.

### The effects of globalization

Globalization has favoured cross-border twinning and franchising arrangements between universities, and e-learning facilities have increased the number of private providers of courses, programmes and diplomas. The Jones International University, Chicago, USA, is one of the first fully accredited on-line universities in the world. Virtual universities and distance learning modes have improved access to privatized services to an increasing number of people worldwide. The most quoted profit-making virtual university is Phoenix University (USA) owned by the Apollo Group. However, virtual universities are not confined to the developed world - the African Virtual University is a good example of multinational university operating in a developing country.

E-learning has created new alliances in higher education, such as Universitas 21 (a company set up in the United Kingdom with a network of 18 leading universities in 10 countries) or the Big Four Alliance (Stanford, Princeton, Yale and Oxford). Columbia and London Business Schools now offer joint degrees, just as New York's Stern University, HEC in Paris and the London School of Economics offer Trium Executive MBA Programme. Chicago University has campuses in Barcelona and Singapore. Many Australian universities have winning arrangements with universities in Malaysia and other African countries. Franchising arrangements among universities of the developing world are also becoming common. In this respect, the AMA International University of Dhaka is a joint venture between Bangladesh and the Philippines.

Many recently-created private institutions are small in size, offering market-friendly courses, very often to employed adult learners, generally in Business Administration, Information Technology, Engineering and Medicine. Student fees form the backbone of their finances, accounting for at least two-thirds of their revenue. New private universities have a very small share of regular staff - generally less than 20 per cent - and rely on lecturers from the public sector to carry out the teaching. Many institutions maintain an international language as a medium of instruction.

Private universities have succeeded in retaining the students at home for higher studies by providing a foreign degree course at a lower price. In this way, they have met the social demand for courses not offered by traditional public universities. However, the cost of private education is still very high and this is prohibitive even within non-profitmaking institutions. E-courses being perhaps more expensive than face-to-face courses, the operation of private universities at times conflicts with equity concerns.

### What lies ahead?

Education is too expensive to be left solely to the private sector or market forces. Private corporations are unable to replace the state in education. Inefficiency of the public sector does not necessarily imply redundancy. The state is the guardian of common interest and equity concerns. However, there is good scope for re-negotiating the state's role in the context of new realities. The state has a comparative advantage in regulating provision, performance and quality assurance, rather than in financing and directly supervising the operations. The private sector has an advantage to respond to social demand, corporate requirements and market needs, as well as ensuring the efficient management of institutions. At the same time, both corporate growth and national development require educated people. Promoting education can therefore be shared responsibility based on a common vision and social commitment.

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**Massive privatization in Kazakhstan**

Recently the government of Kazakhstan adopted an unusual radical measure – 100 per cent privatization of higher education institutions in the country between 2000-2005.

Before the country's Independence in 1991, all levels of education in Kazakhstan were state-controlled, free for students and funded by the state (fellowships, allowances) – as elsewhere in the former USSR, private or fee-paying education was illegal.

But already by the year 2000, Kazakhstan had 54 public and more than 100 private higher education institutions. In 1997, the country introduced a national examination at the end of secondary education, and on this basis, in 1999 introduced a system of publicly-funded student grants and loans to cover the costs of higher education. Those who obtain state grants and loans can choose to study in any institution, the state will finance it directly according the 'money-follows-the-student' principle. The entire system of higher education is gradually becoming fee-paying. The role of the state is to regulate the supply of and demand for disciplines through the grant-loan ratio.

This new policy is designed to increase competition among the increasing number of institutions in an effort to consolidate and regroup them into powerful teaching and research complexes, eliminating the non-viable ones. More financial autonomy should also help them to improve university-industry partnerships and recruit a better staff as well as restore dilapidated buildings and modernize equipment.

**Source:** *Education finance and budgeting in Kazakhstan* by K. Kousherbaev.

Allocating resources for education in Latin America

On 15 and 16 November 2000, IIEP-Buenos Aires organized an international seminar on ‘Financing and allocation of funds for education’ at its Headquarters in Buenos Aires. Attended by experts and Ministry of Education personnel from both European and Latin American countries, representatives from academia, as well as participants in IIEP-BA’s third regional course on educational policy, the seminar’s main aim was to take stock of existing methods for financing education and allocating resources in the light of recent changes which have taken place in the region as well as its socio-economic context.

Over the past twenty years, Latin American countries have undertaken a series of reforms in their education systems intended to improve the competitiveness of their economies through a more qualified labour force while at the same time strengthening their democracies by giving its citizens training in civics. Of course, these reforms are taking place in the midst of profound fiscal crisis which varies in intensity from one country to another, but which affects the entire region. It is generally accepted that education is a crucial component in development policy, but it is also recognized that decisions in this area are often harshly affected by the scarcity of resources.

Thus, although scarce resources are a constant concern in the history of education financing in Latin America, the situation worsened in the 1980s due to the aforementioned fiscal crisis which occurred just as enrolments increased, teachers’ salaries deteriorated and reforms were introduced.

In this context, the seminar presentations focused on the following topics:
- education funding;
- equitable allocation of resources within the sector;
- the link between resources and results in the education sector;
- efficient and effective spending;
- alternatives to state sources of funds; and
- sustainability and management of educational reform.

Special attention was given to international experience in education financing; the principles of equal opportunity and outcome and the mechanisms of resource allocation used in achieving these aims; the role of incentives in improving sectoral efficiency, rate of return and its limitations as a guide for investments in education; the role of the state in financing and providing services; and international experience in non-state delivery of education services.

During the seminar, it was possible to take an in-depth look at these problems as seen by specialists in the economics of education. In the final session of the seminar, it was also discussed from the viewpoint of decision-makers in the field of education.

Naturally, opinions were not unanimous as to possible courses of action. Instead, numerous questions arose as to the pros and cons (or costs and benefits, economically speaking) of existing alternatives in improving equity and efficiency in the management of education systems.

There was agreement that the demand for greater investment in education is legitimate only if it is accompanied by a firm commitment to changing the procedures, modalities, and mechanisms used in allocating and utilizing funds. The current context in which decisions are taken is very different from the past, and the aims of equity, efficiency, and effectiveness cannot be attained merely by applying traditional methods for the allocation of resources.

This seminar is part of a search for alternatives in providing quality education for all. In this sense, equity is a number-one priority, both as an aim and an ideal. This is particularly so in Latin America, one of the most inequitable regions of the world, and where inequality is on the rise. But it has been proven for some time now that equity is a key component of economic competitiveness, particularly with respect to perfect competition. Without social equity, it will be difficult to govern society and to ensure sustained economic growth.

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III-EB BA Regional Course

The Third Regional Course in Educational Policy Planning organized by the IIEP-Buenos Aires in Argentina, which brought together 25 participants from all over Latin America, officially ended on 1 December 2000. Two participants from the Buenos Aires course integrated the Advanced Training Course in Educational Planning and Management at IIEP’s Paris Headquarters in January 2001: Alicia B. Romero de Cutropia (Argentina) and Jorge Marroig Salaverria (Uruguay).
The term ‘privatization’ in Latin America has been applied to events as dissimilar as the reform carried out in Chile in the early 1980s and a widely disseminated and provocative proposal to transfer school management to local governments, made by an influential thinktank in Argentina in the early 1990s. In abstract terms, voucher schemes are generally felt to be privatization-oriented, and yet experiments such as Colombia’s effort to subsidize students from rural areas are difficult to categorize in this way. The most vociferous critics of recent reforms in the region catalogued them as privatization-oriented, yet paradoxically, in all these instances, the governments concerned took an active role in formulating and implementing education policies of a structural nature with heavy state financial involvement after decades of relative stagnation.

Given the disparate nature of the criteria used, there are few points on which there is any consensus. One of these appears to be the view that privatization in education differs from traditional patterns for the sale or transfer of state assets to the private sector. In this respect, whatever it is (or whatever analysts believe it to be), privatization is more of a process than a single event and that is what makes it so difficult to categorize.

Thus, for example if education systems in Brazil or Uruguay, which only subsidize private education through tax breaks, were to adopt some form of direct transfer of public funds to schools as is done in Chile on the basis of the number of students, or in Argentina where the provincial contribution to private establishments varies according to the fees they receive, they would very quickly be labeled as ‘privatization-oriented’. However, in Argentina, this type of subsidy has existed for over 50 years, and subsequent measures taken to improve these mechanisms were not judged as such at the time. Much less the rules which, since the mid-1950s and early 1960s, relaxed the regulations governing private school operations and led to a significant increase in the number of students attending private schools. Today, such measures would again be considered as a privatization policy.

In this respect, another point which the various analyses have in common is that any change in the way the state allocates resources to education is regarded as privatization, regardless of the form or the nature of the change. As often happens, the proposals and even the policies implemented are judged very quickly from an ideological point of view, without looking at the details of the whole scheme. This partly explains why everything not directly related to the traditional state role in allocating resources to and regulating the operation of schools is rapidly labeled as ‘privatizing education’.

What is particularly deplorable is the scant attention paid to the contribution of ‘privatization’ to the efficiency and equity of education systems. This would explain why, despite criticisms of its mercantile approach, school incentives to allocate funds to institutional or other specific projects can constitute not only a significant approach but also encourage greater state involvement. Whatever form these incentives take – whether formula funding, overtime for extra-curricular teaching, or funds for special programmes – they at least correspond to the possibilities and traditions of each system.

Conversely, proposals to increase private costs (such as family contributions), aimed at reducing rather than increasing public investment in education, could indeed be seen as privatization of education especially if accompanied by subsidies and operating rules more flexible than those applied to state establishments, as was the case in Chile 20 years ago and Argentina even earlier.

In theory, such measures do not contribute to improving overall efficiency and can even have a negative impact on equity. Without redressing such measures, the situation that has been observed in the region over the past few years will be consolidated, namely: a highly segmented and hierarchic system will exist, with publicly and privately run schools catering separately for the rich and the poor, that meets the needs of each group according to income and social background.
Evaluating training programmes for disadvantaged groups

In co-operation with Capacitação Solidaria in Brazil, the IIEP organized a seminar on 'Different approaches to the evaluation of training programmes for disadvantaged groups' from 12 to 13 November 2000 in São Paulo, Brazil. A number of interesting issues were discussed in the light of recent experience in the region.

The main aim of this seminar was to take a close look at how evaluations of training programmes for disadvantaged groups are designed, analyze the approaches used in each case, the costs involved, the scope covered and the difficulties encountered. The political implications of such evaluations were also discussed by the participants, who included representatives from Capacitação Solidaria, the International Development Bank (IDB) as well as specialists and researchers from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Uruguay.

The seminar discussions evolved around the analysis of research already undertaken on monitoring and follow-up processes, the evaluation of management, follow-up of participants, and qualitative evaluation methods.

Among the conclusions reached by the participants, the following are worth highlighting:

Firstly, the evaluation of programmes in the region developed mainly in the 1990s and generally concerned recent public programmes and a few innovative initiatives. One of the reasons for this development was that, as they moved towards democracy and modernization, some countries felt it was necessary to account for their actions; others were requested to do so by the funding agencies. Political and budgetary restrictions often prevented the further development of evaluations, partly because the costs were not accounted for in the original design of the programmes, and partly because the proper technical know-how needed both at the implementation and decision-making stages was often lacking.

Secondly, evaluation is not merely a technical issue. The situation in which the programmes are set up have to be taken into account, particularly as regards articulation with public authorities, the macro-economic and social context, as well as the socio-educational and cultural backgrounds of the clientele for whom the programmes are designed.

Thirdly, it is preferable to differentiate between the evaluation of projects, of programmes and of public policy. The projects set up and developed by a training centre can be evaluated individually and the feedback used to reorient the programmes. Alternatively, they can be used as a comparison, within the framework of programme evaluations, to examine the outcome and quality of procedures, to highlight better practices, and/or to obtain input for the future choice of projects. The evaluation of programmes consists in tackling the procedures themselves, their effect on youth and their wider impact (on institutionalized vocational training, the structure of a permanent education system, etc.) on a series of linked actions which include the selection of projects, their implementation and their follow-up. This was the topic discussed at the seminar and on which a number of experiments recently developed in the region have constituted advances, both conceptually and methodologically.

The evaluation of public policy should be more extensive and include not only the evaluation of programmes, but also how policies fit in with their environment and their macro-social impact. Although some experience already exists in the region, there is still a need to develop conceptual and methodological frameworks for the joint evaluation of public policies.

Finally, with regard to the specifically methodological aspects, it was generally felt that:

➤ the evaluation of procedures and their outcomes are complementary and, therefore, designing and linking these evaluations together constitutes an efficient use of resources;

➤ the evaluation of a programme's impact mainly consists of follow-up studies on what happens to graduates, but it should also include the impact on other social parties involved (firms, training centres, public organizations in charge of design and supervision, etc.);

➤ qualitative and quantitative approaches can be linked throughout evaluation. Both approaches are relevant whether they concern the evaluation of processes or of impact. Although the evaluation of procedures is basically qualitative, it generally highlights quantitative data and can be included in intermediate surveys monitoring and reorienting programmes. Also, although the evaluation of impact is mainly quantitative, it is interesting to introduce qualitative elements such as in-depth interviews of focus groups in order to interpret the results.

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A taste of mountain life
ATP trainees visit the Dauphiné region in France

As the last leaves of autumn are scattered by the November wind, participants in the IIEP Annual Training Programme traditionally undertake a visit to a region of France in order to study the French education system. This year, Grenoble in the French Alps near the Swiss border was chosen as the focal point of the visit, and from 16 to 22 November, the 2000/2001 group of trainees not only had a close-up of French education, but also a taste of French ‘cuisine’ and a first glimpse of the winter snow.

Tucked away in the Rhône-Alpes region, Grenoble is rich not only in scenic diversity and tradition, but also in economic activities. For a brief week, it provided a chance for everyone to get to know the French education system better, see how it meets the needs of local communities, and also to learn more about a region in the host country.

One fine morning, after an eventful start, a high-speed train whisked the group from the Gare de Lyon in Paris to Annecy to discover: a city with canals and an old quarter huddled along the lake at the foot of snowy summits; primary schools and collèges, town and regional councils always ready to discuss education amidst friendly receptions; and last but not least, a new cuisine and, for some, the long-awaited Beaujolais Nouveau wine.

The following day, packed into a bus and singing in unison, the group departed for Chamonix along a succession of jutting Alpine summits, up to the snow-covered tourist town. For many trainees, it was their first contact with snow and ice-sliding. A few hours of Sunday rest and mountain sightseeing was followed by a visit to a ski school and an exciting encounter with the personnel and helicopters of the Chamonix mountain rescue team.

The last stage of our journey was Grenoble, a city of progress and tradition which royally received us in its lycées, local council and education offices. A special thanks to the catering school which prepared a magnificent meal for us served in style under silver bell-shaped dish cover. Receptions hosted by the city mayor and the Rector were in perfect keeping with the setting, and with the warm and positive feelings which were present throughout the entire Dauphiné tour.

If one were to evoke some key moments, what comes foremost to mind would be the questions from young students curious to know more about the countries and customs of our trainees; the devotion of schoolheads, proud of their schools; the keen interest of elected representatives; and on a more basic level, the beauty of the landscape, the novelty of new tastes and high-spirited local dances.

Pierre Runner
During the coming year, the Virtual Institute of IIEP will offer a number of distance education activities – both courses and discussion forums. In addition to these, a new activity will be offered to the network of former IIEP course participants – a listserv discussion group – to facilitate contact among its members.

### Distance education courses

**Management of industry-university relations**  
(12 March – 22 June 2001)

Offered in co-operation with the European Centre for Strategic Management of Universities, this course has been developed for English-speaking senior managers of university-industry relations in the Eastern European region. It will address issues of strategic management of university-industry relations, interface, financial and personnel management. Interaction will be through Internet and the web and participation on invitation only.

**Education sector diagnosis**  
(Autumn 2001)

The course is aimed at senior level education officials and experts in the Asian region who are in charge of sector or sub-sector reviews or studies, or the monitoring of educational development and policies. It will provide basic information and a practical orientation to the purposes, content approaches and ways of presenting education sector analyses; the main methods, instruments and indicators used for assessing trends, achievements and problems of educational development and the strengths and weaknesses of education sector management; important aspects of implementing an education sector diagnosis.

### Internet forums

**A forum on Financing secondary education**  
(15 February – 30 March)

This forum, which is intended for representatives of ministries of education and donor agencies, will offer an opportunity to discuss the important issues related to financing the expansion of secondary education. The language of the forum will be English.

A summary of the discussion will be made available on the IIEP web site, and upon request.

**A forum on a key topic in educational planning**  
(Autumn 2001)

Open to former IIEP course participants and other interested persons, this forum, in English, will address a key topic in educational planning and based, as in previous forums, upon a title in the series, the Fundamentals of educational planning.

Specific information will be available in the next issue of the IIEP Newsletter.

### New activity

**Keeping in contact with colleagues**

Early in 2001, IIEP will establish two Internet discussion groups for former course participants to use to contact one another in order to discuss issues and concerns in an informal manner. One group will be created for Anglophones and the other for Francophones.

Former IIEP course participants form an important network of individuals working in the area of educational planning and management. And, as those of you who are part of this network know well, the exchange of information and experiences is central to the teaching and learning philosophy of the Institute. You shared your own experiences and learned from your colleagues during IIEP courses, and thereby constituted a very valuable resource for each other. The discussion groups are intended to give support to the IIEP network and to facilitate interaction between its members.

All persons who are currently on the Virtual Institute mailing list will be invited to participate, and will be sent information about how to use the discussion group.

### Send your e-mail address

If you are a former IIEP course participant and have not already done so, please send your e-mail details to Susan D’Antoni at s.dantoni@iiep.unesco.org or the IIEP Web site at http://www.unesco.org/iiep
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