

Governance of Elementary Education: An Analytical View

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Abstract

Pakistan's education system suffers from enduring issues of inequality, access, enrollment, quality, and opportunity at every level. It is a problem which has garnered quite a lot of attention over the years, particularly after the increased focus of other developing countries on combating the same issues. Education at the elementary level requires special attention because this is the most critical stage of an individual's entire academic trajectory, and has important implications for the country as well. The Punjab government has recently launched many new schemes in order to increase enrollment rates and to provide this basic facility to the vast millions deprived of it. The method chosen for this purpose has been public-private partnerships and privatization, with the help of millions of dollars in aid from international donor agencies. This paper argues that these projects initiated by the Punjab government are based on neo-liberal policies which challenge the spirit of public service and aggravates the imbalances already existing in our society. This paper improves upon the literature for governance practices in Pakistan, and uses the field of elementary education to discuss what the use of these new governing policies has meant for the education sector and all of its stakeholders. The paper concludes that the implementation of new public management policies has undermined the right of education for all, and has made the private sector responsible for the provision this right. The study recommends that these aspects require policy revisions in order to reverse the damage incurred through these reforms.

Keywords: Developing countries, governance, privatization, public-private partnerships, neo-liberalism, new public management

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Introduction

The issue of educating the vast masses in developing countries grows increasingly dire as population expands rapidly and the role of the state diminishes. This crisis affects many South Asian developing countries, including Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Bangladesh etc., and is a main reason for widespread poverty, economic inequality and slow economic growth in this region. The urgency of the issue is reflected in the declaration of United Nations Millennium Development Goals regarding universal primary education for all children by 2015.

Pakistan's education system suffers from a similar, extensive crisis; at present, Pakistan has the second largest population in the world of out-of-school children. This issue is further exacerbated by certain policy failures as well as cultural beliefs and practices. Pakistan's primary education quality and enrolment rates lag behind many of its South Asian counterparts, and poses a major challenge for the overall well-being of the nation itself (Samaratunge et al., 2016). Primary education is the defining period in an individual's life, and carries within it the responsibility of being the cornerstone of a country's economic, social and cultural development. Therefore, the society's responsibility towards it increases tenfold. The Pakistan government has brought in the private sector to improve educational quality and availability; the twin methods of public-private partnerships and privatization have been extensively used in schools in order to improve the condition of primary education. The schemes of public-private partnerships (PPP) and privatization towards elementary education popularly began to be implemented in 2016, with the announcement by the Punjab government to privatize 5000 public schools. The plan was to privatize schools to private NGO's as well as to private individuals (Khan, 2017). The motive for implementing this widespread privatization has been described as the enhancement of management and administration of schools as well as improved service delivery.

This study rationalizes that this aggressive involvement of the private sector towards reforming Pakistan's public education sector is based on a deeper, neo-liberalist ideology. This ideology has been named the New Public Management (NPM), which seeks to remodel the public sector after private sector values of efficiency, profit maximization and customer satisfaction (Elias Sarker, 2006). Developing countries in the South Asia have seen an extensive application of NPM policies in all matters of local governance, primarily due to a crippling dependence on World Bank and IMF loan programs.

This paper focuses on how this issue has manifested itself in the political and societal context of Pakistan, and how it has impacted the elementary education system in Punjab, Pakistan. Specifically, this paper would analyze how the existing political, economic and societal contextual factors in the education system and local governance hinder the imposition of NPM reforms. This analysis would prove useful towards highlighting the issues in existing governance mechanisms, and would help officials towards formulating education policy which would allow conceding to existing local problems instead of imposing pre-arranged solutions which are ignorant of local context. Additionally, the study would discuss how in countries like Pakistan the reduction of state control means further intensification in existing crises. The imposition of reforms fueled by neo-liberal agendas result in a further loss of social cohesion and economic mobility, and so damage the long term economic status of Pakistan. These results are generalizable for other developing countries as well, where contextual factors have been ignored in favor of NPM initiatives.

Methodology and Design

This paper uses a qualitative design for findings and analysis. Secondary data tools were used to gather data for this study and included reports, published studies, government and agency documents, laws and policies, surveys from government websites and official websites for UNESCO, ASDB, and UNO. Data was collected from the internet and library. A similar design was employed by Saif (2006), for his study on development in the Third World. The results were analyzed using the dependency paradigm, which was grounded in a critical approach towards social science inquiry. The use of the dependency perspective allows for the analysis of social, economic and political factors which have shaped the implementation of policy reforms in Pakistan over the years. This perspective provides a holistic comparison of all the historic traditions embedded in the governance structure of Pakistan, and proves useful for understanding the broader issues of politics, and the nature of the state and its ties with underdevelopment in developing countries, particularly South Asia. A similar technique is used by Saeed (2012), where the ‘sense making’ technique is used to identify the prevalence of colonial traditions in hospital autonomy reforms across Pakistan, and how this presence influences the role of international agencies in policy making in Pakistan.

The province of Punjab is selected from the population set of all the provinces of Pakistan of Pakistan. The province of the Punjab is the most populous of the provinces of Pakistan, and the instruments of public-private partnership (PPP) and privatization have been enforced in greater numbers here than at any other region in the country. The urgency of the issues plaguing Pakistan’s education’s system are more acutely felt in Punjab, and can be easily generalized across similar populations in developing countries.

Background to the issue

The globalization process, which has gained such rapid ground in the recent decades, can be said to have had a massive contribution towards the application of neo-liberal policies around the world. Using this context, it becomes easier to trace the designs of Pakistan's education policies over the years. Global control is evident in all aspects of Pakistan's governance; a fate similar for other developing nations that are heavily dependent on foreign aid. Education policy has suffered from similar dictations; a development which has only weakened national institutions, while handing over more control to foreign bodies (Saeed, Zulfiqar, Ata, & Rathore, 2015). These global powers in turn have propagated two important components of neo-liberal policies which consisted of heavy involvement from the private sector, mainly in the shape of privatization and public-private partnerships (PPPs).

The beginnings of privatization and PPP schemes can be traced back to the establishment of the Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) in 1991. The PEF was formed as an autonomous body in 1991 through the Act of the Punjab Assembly. The purpose of its creation was to promote private and public responses towards education and to improve education quality in rural Punjab (Maryam et al., 2018). The not-so-subtle intention behind this proclamation was to help and involve private investors in building new schools for the public. Since its inception, this autonomous body has used a demand-driven approach towards solving the matter of delivering education to the public, and has privatized thousands of schools.

This market based approach has drawn widespread support from international agencies, namely the World Bank and Department for International Development (DFID), UK. These agencies provided funds exclusively for Punjab's education policy, headed by the then Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif. With the help of funding from these agencies, Punjab became one of the largest recipients of aid for its education system (Naviwala, 2016). In 2010, some of this aid was channeled into creating the Punjab Educational Endowment Fund (PEEF), created with an endowment fund of Rs.4 billion. This foundation was created on DFID's model of 'deliverology', where service delivery units, in this case public schools, were to mirror standards of private sector efficiency (Carrasco & Gunter, 2019). The functions of PEEF have been defined as providing scholarships to deserving students, which would then create the human capital needed for Pakistan's development.

It is clear that this strong funding and clearly defined policy objectives have propelled education system outcomes and its service delivery in Punjab. The 'deliverology model' was enforced enthusiastically in Punjab, notably through performance audits at the remaining public schools in the province. These performance audits soon became to be regularly enforced on these schools, and proved highly unpopular with the agencies and offices working in Punjab's educational system. The approach led by Chief Minister Shahbaz for this purpose was very autocratic and tyrannical, which ultimately backfired for the educational system. The hyper managerial style of Chief Minister Shahbaz Sharif was further fueled by the donor agencies' pressure for achieving these often impossible targets; targets which were presented by foreign 'development' experts (Azad, 2016).

These pressures in turn lead towards bureaucratic failures on an already overburdened system; the presentation of unreliable and falsified documents became a norm during these performance audits. This blind perusal of efficiency therefore paid little attention towards effective reforms and important ramifications towards the issue. This privatization agenda and managerial style of 'performance audits' is testimony of the fact that reforms were pushed through without little attention to efficiency, and were little more than 'pumped up steroidal strategies' (Carrasco & Gunter, 2019).

This is not to say that Punjab has not spent enough on its education system; on the contrary, its spending is generous as compared to its resources. Punjab's spending on education equaled almost \$2.99 billion in 2016, an amount which is double the number since 2010. This development can be attributed with the transfer of power from the center to the provinces in the form of the 18th Amendment, which made education a fundamental responsibility of provincial governments. The amendment stated that funding, setting the curriculum, defining syllabus, planning, policy and setting standards for primary and secondary education was to become the primary responsibility of provincial governments. The Punjab government, since then, has significantly increased the budgetary allocations for students for education in the last few years; in 2015-2016, a budget of Rs. 287 billion was provisioned for public education, representing an increase of 85% over the past six years, while on average, Punjab spends Rs. 16,689 per student, with development spending equaling Rs. 1,174 per student (Sial, 2015). However, the total spending on education out of overall expenditure remains low for Pakistan when compared with its developing country counterparts in the region, as illustrated in Figure 1.

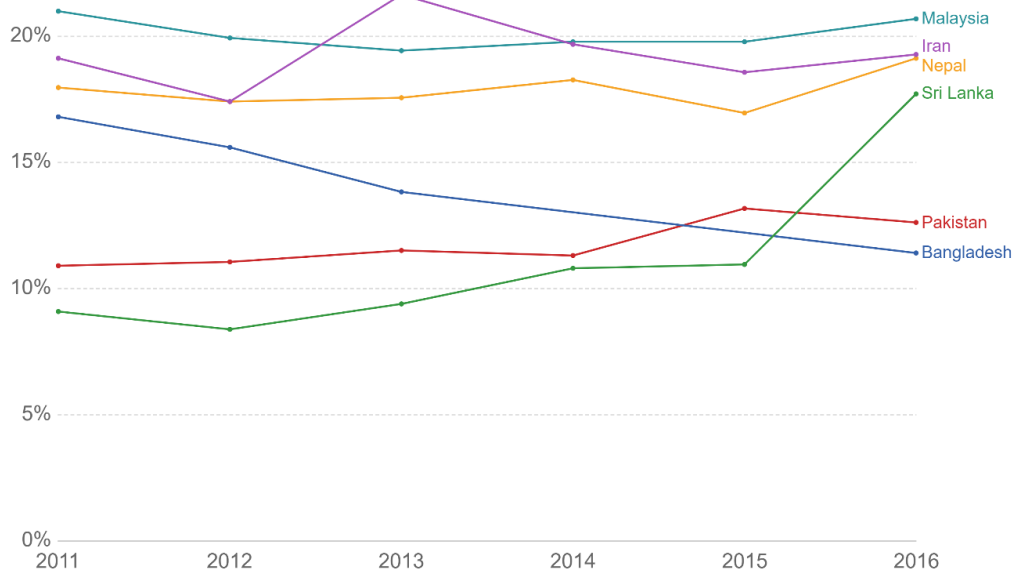


Figure 1. Overall Spending on Education

Source: World Bank, *Share of Education in Government Expenditures*(2017)

While the education spending remains high, the delivery of service remains poor. World Bank and USAID reports on Punjab's performance point out the ineffectiveness of this spending; therefore presenting new targets, and newer challenges to overcome. The solutions to these problems is presented in the policies for decentralization, deregulation, devolution, public-private partnerships and privatizations (Farah & Rizvi, 2007). Thus, institutes such as PEF and PEEF have increasingly focused towards these policy objectives for the purpose of reform.

Mechanisms of Reform

Since the early 90's, the model of public-private partnerships (PPP) began to be implemented in public schools, and the process of privatizing public schools gained more momentum. In this model, a variety of 'arrangements' became apparent; in some instances the government retained control of finances and expenditures and handed over the management to private parties, while in other circumstances, the finances were provided by private partners while the government retained control of curricula and academic calendar. These strategies have labelled the following objectives as key drivers: increased efficiency, generation of resources, and 'improving the governance and quality of social service delivery, particularly for the poor' (Farah & Rizvi, 2007).

One major objective of the PPP model is to reduce the gap between the service delivery differences between the public and the private sector. Therefore, in order to secure PPPs, governments in developing and transitioning nations try to attract the private sector by offering them generous financial incentives, e.g. subsidies and payments for investments (Kakabadse, 2017). The PPP model of heavy subsidization is being relentlessly pursued by the governments of Punjab and Sindh; the PPPs in Punjab are almost entirely administered by PEF, with World Bank providing a helping hand through a series of loans to the provincial government totaling almost \$1.7 billion till 2018 and spread over a time period of ten years (Afridi, 2018).

PEF's model for public-private partnerships of schools encompasses these four categories:

- I. Voucher program where students are provided tuition-replacement vouchers to be spent in low-fee private schools
- II. Programs which provide per-student stipends to existing low-fee private schools
- III. Programs which fund the establishment of private schools in rural or remote areas
- IV. Programs which include public school turnover, where the management of these schools is transferred to private entrepreneurs and civil society members.

The goals for education policy have been set to include Education for All (EFA) and Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Pakistan's Ministry of Education's National Education Policy plan 2017 also adopted the UN's plan for Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) for its education sector, where help from the private sector was enlisted as a major policy imperative. According to the educational National policy plan objectives, 'Public-private partnerships was seen as critical to reaching the goals of access and quality at all levels of education creating possibilities for both voice and choice and improved service delivery' (Chaudhry & Rahman, 2009). The idea of PPPs was further influenced by policy reforms from international development institutions such as the World Bank, USAID, and the Asian Development Bank (ADB), where they dictated the basic structure of PPPs which were to be operationalized in Pakistan, and so determined the market model of educational reform.

The most popular model of public-private partnerships used by PEF has been the 'low fees private schools' (LFPS) model. LFPS regulated under the PPP model is a form of arrangement where these schools are financed and regulated by the government, and may or may not charge fees from students. However, the model may also include variations on terms of the provision of education, financing and regulation (Srivastava, 2016). The popularity of the model has led towards LFPS catering to an increased

number of lower-middle and low-income households, with the number of LFPS being an estimated 70,000 till 2018. This popularity proved to such that it prompted the Punjab government to announce in 2016, more support for these schools. The government has also announced that no new public schools would be built in the province, rather all efforts would be directed towards fostering and subsidizing LFPS.

In return, the strategic benefits from PPPs are listed as follows (Kakabadse, 2017):

- I. Minimized risks in investments in education
- II. Maximum amount of efficiency, expertise, knowledge, skills and flexibility from the private partner
- III. Achievement of the same level of quality in public service as delivered by the private sector
- IV. Achievement of long-term budgetary sustainability.

The objectives outlined in the Ministry of Education's National Action Plan have been somewhat met in part due to the frenzied application of the PPP model in Punjab. The World Bank report on Punjab's education policy points out that the PPP initiatives have increased enrollment rates and the percentages of children passing school. The World Bank report also posits that the new schools working under the PPP model meet the required Quality Assurance Tests (QAT). The key performance indicators as measured by the World Bank show Foundation assisted schools and schools operating under the model of PPP has expanded to include 29 districts in Punjab, while 54000 more schools have received grants and subsidies to improve performance (Bano, 2008).

The QAT evaluation systems preferred by the World Bank has resulted in increased pressurization from PEF officials and other bureaucrats, and has led to new challenges for schools working under PEF partnerships. This new environment of 'fear', which masquerades under quality enhancement, has become a significant new challenge for public schools. All of these reforms, though arguably useful or not, contain in them a deeper, broader ideological agenda. This almost aggressive concern for efficiency, economy and effectiveness has been prescribed for all developing countries through reforms in governance structures. These reform can be termed neo-liberal in nature, and have been imposed, both overtly and covertly, in developing countries since the 1990s. The next section describes in more detail the theoretical and ideological basis for these reforms.

The mechanisms of change and NPM

NPM policies derive out of a pro-market neoliberal ideology. The term ‘neoliberalism’ itself has a variety of various meanings, but the following definition would suffice to be used as a construct for this paper:

‘Neoliberalism’ broadly means the agenda of economic and social transformation under the sign of the free market that has come to dominate global politics in the last quarter century. (Connell, 2010, pp. 22,23).

The major influence of public sector reforms in developed and developing countries is influenced by this neo-liberal agenda of the new public management ideology. The NPM ideology may be explained as a set of beliefs which favor pro-market and anti-state neoliberal ideals, the utilitarian principles of public choice theory, and strategic economic policies such as privatization, deregulation, and liberalization (Bovaird & Löffler, 2004). Reforms undertaken and implemented under the NPM ideology suggest that public sector organizations should focus on customer management, decentralization, competition, public services contracted out to the private sector, increased user charges, and that the market forces of demand and supply should determine the affordability and availability of state services to the public. The NPM ideology in itself reflects a loss of faith in the government, and views federal spending as wasteful, consequently seeks to ‘improve the public sector’ (Denhardt, Denhardt, & Blanc, 2013).

After the successful implementation of NPM in developed countries and the pressures of international donor agencies such as World Bank and IMF, developing countries were forced to conform their public administration systems along the lines of NPM. The popularity of these policies has been in part due to the adoption of free-market economics and neo-liberal frameworks as the ideal modes of production in developed countries after the 1970s. As part of this shift, the concept of the welfare state was rendered inefficient, the state model of goods and service delivery was forsaken, and the private sector was championed as the ‘efficient’ and fair administrator of goods and services (Koliba et al., 2017). As a result, over the past two decades, the world economy has undergone massive changes, after reforms undertaken in the shape of privatization, decentralization and deregulation. These processes had not only affected the government’s strategies but also the governance of public bodies. The proposed outcome of these changes has been to facilitate the growth of the domestic market at home and abroad (Haque, 2004).

Some of the distinguishing features of NPM reforms are as follows:

- I. The vast advocacy of privatization schemes and PPPs for the provision of even the most basic of necessities,
- II. The development of action plans where the focus is to address the styles of governments and governance, and which rejects the old traditional model of the welfare style of public administration (Hood, 1991).

The evidence of donor support for NPM reforms in developing countries becomes more evident when it is considered that all major international funding bodies, including the World Bank, IMF, the United Nations Development Program etc., have unanimously advocated the principles of reinventing governance in the form of free market economics, and have subsequently introduced reforms which include performance related targets. These performance based targets and development plans have all been imported from Western capitalist nations with advanced economies and strong democratic traditions, and which have been duly imposed on developing countries (Haque & Mudacumura, 2006),

The dependency created by these international bodies makes the host country vulnerable to 'suggestion' for improvement in existing governance structures. And in some cases, it is demanded that these countries follow free market principles in order to be eligible for aid. Conditions for this aid also mean that subsidies are discouraged, and governments are forced to privatize and raise tax rates in order to fund further loan payments. The host country's dependency on this aid ensures that these conditions are usually met, and so the structural changes in their markets and governance structures are ensured (Jaamdar, 2006). It has been further observed that these international funding institutions (IFI's) have been particularly keen to prescribe these pro-market reforms to nations which are significantly in debt to these agencies.

This dependence on aid has been the fate of Pakistan as well, and this dependency defines, rather dictates, the policy framework which the government will devise. After loan acceptance and agreement, the host country formally signs the Policy Framework Paper, which enlists the conditional ties the loan amount is subject to. This conditionality usually entails pro-market reforms, and a commitment to the free-market economics as preferred and, prescribed by, Western capitalist nations. If the government concerned already has incorporated market friendly mindset, the conditions imposed on them are usually not so severe (Jaamdar, 2006).

Subsequently, the World Bank has played an instrumental role in promoting the private sector in Pakistan's education reform, and its support for PPPs has grown stronger over time. World Bank funding for the Punjab education project is result and

performance based, where targets are strategically pre-defined. The favor of PPP for service delivery in education is another evidence of the pro-market agenda and NPM reformation. In the context of Punjab, the World Bank has generally viewed private sector involvement as a very positive direction for the future of education in the province. Future plans towards the education sector include reducing the role of local government such that efficient and quality delivery from the private sector is ensured (Aziz et al., 2014).

Although the performance based systems in education reforms may indeed lead towards some form of betterment in a hopeless situation, it must be noted that reforms such as privatization, deregulation, divestment etc., would result in a loss of sovereign power of the state. The case is apparent in Pakistan, where policy dictates have all but eroded the sovereign authority of our governance system. Implementation of policy without reference to context is contradictory for enhanced performance, and lack of understanding of local needs would only intensify the incongruence. The use of PPP schemes further results in a greater reliance on donor funds, in an atmosphere where there is a high level of distrust for NGOs, the effectiveness of PPP schemes is severely limited. This flaw combined with corrupt and inept political leadership then results in greater challenges towards the achievement of the EFA goals.

Discussion

In order to understand the full implications of this policy, it must be evaluated if the PPP and privatization implementation in Pakistan's public schools has had favorable outcomes. The incidence of risk in the form of substantial political and governance problems has limited the effectiveness of these projects in Punjab. Table 1 summarizes some of the risk ratings assigned to various categories of Pakistan's environmental context.

Table 1

Summary of Risks

Risk Category	Rating
1. Political and Governance	Substantial
2. Macroeconomic	Substantial
3. Sector Strategies and Policies	Moderate
4. Technical Design of Project	Moderate
5. Institutional Capacity for Implementation and Sustainability	Moderate
6. Fiduciary	Moderate
7. Environmental and Social	Low
8. Stakeholders	Moderate
9. Other: Security	Substantial
Overall	Moderate

Note. From "World Bank (2012). Pakistan: Increasing Access and Quality through Education Reforms in Punjab", p.17.

The above summary of risks is proof of the fact that the current governance system is still viewed as inadequate by the World Bank and needs further 'adjustments'. These risk categories would drive future performance targets, which would have to be achieved in order to secure the next round of funding. Thus, the race towards fulfilling targets begins anew, where quality would not be an important concern, and where there are likely to be greater incidences of fraud and corruption. Further evidence indicates that the use of Quality Assurance Tests, a standard set by the World Bank and bilateral donors, is not being met by PEF schools working under PPP programs. Besides, the performance tied incentives has led towards newer criteria for inclusion and exclusion, where only high achieving students are preferred, and those who cannot afford it (Afridi, 2018). This again serves to prove that PPPs have no claim on creating equity nor equality, and that where market forces are allowed to intervene in the matters of basic rights, the 'right for education for all' becomes little more than a rhetoric.

The involvement of the private initiative, and private sector goals, would naturally be in conflict with public sector objectives. It is widely agreed that the objective of universality in the provision of services towards the public becomes replaced with the intent of providing services and goods to only those who can afford to pay. Thus, cost effectiveness and value for money becomes a serious concern in PPP schools. It was evidenced that the stipend per child paid by PEF was inadequate to provide for all the basic necessities at schools, which creates further compromises in quality. Private sector standards for quality and basic needs does not equate with the public sector's definition for quality, which creates further concessions in quality (Afridi, 2018). This drawback is due to a fundamental difference in public and private objectives and opinions, where again neither equality nor equity can be observed.

Concern for controlling costs would also mean downsizings in schools and contract based employments, thus endangering those who look up to the public sector for the safety of their jobs. When teachers' rights would not be protected, it would be highly impracticable to assume that children's rights are protected and secured. In addition to this, when these International Financial Institutions dictate terms for teacher recruitment and training, then school management systems would naturally seek to retain only those professionals who fulfill this evaluation criteria. This would result in downsizing, disguised under new quality enhancement schemes.

The use of the voucher program model in PEF schools also underlines a strong ideological background. The voucher programs minimize the role of state as the provider of the service, while fostering the competition through the entrance of the private sector. In this instance, there would naturally arise the consequence of private players bidding for profitable returns through the issuance of these vouchers, and the absence of subsidies

would aggravate this competition. In addition, opening up the market or ‘freeing’ the market also assumes that the market is naturally virtuous in itself so there is little need to regulate it. On the contrary, the involvement of the private sector in the provision of basic services, and privatization, has only resulted in market failures so far. One major market failure from this voucher system is that it did not bring more choice to the underprivileged nor did competition bring improved quality to the education sector (Malin, Hardy, & Lubienski, 2019).

The use of PPP programs has had little systemic impact towards improving the educational standards of Pakistan, where ground realities have impacted the use of these schemes. The issue plagues other South Asian countries as well, where the spending on education has increased but innate political and societal factors have reduced the usefulness of these initiatives. In Bangladesh, for example, the absence of political commitment and vision as well as weak institutional capabilities has limited the effectiveness of pro-market programs, while in Sri Lanka, a culture of corruption and patronage ensured that donor funds were not spent on governance reform schemes. However, the reform programs in Malaysia and Singapore were relatively more successful since the two countries already had strong political and economic systems in place, and were compatible with NPM traditions (Samaratunge et al., 2008).

Finally, it must be observed that these pro-market reforms have not only occurred in the education sector but in a variety of other public sector domains. Policy reforms of a similar nature have occurred in major public institutes, including hospitals, higher education bodies, airlines, steel mills etc. A common feature among these reforms has been the award of autonomy in the shape of deregulation and governance changes, and the withdrawal of subsidies and grants such that these entities are then required to generate their own funds. The consequences of these reforms had to be borne by the public, which had to face increased user charges and the loss of permanent jobs, thus adding burdens to an already overstrained public (Saeed, 2013).

Conclusion

Policy directives under the NPM framework were proposed to developing countries in order to make their institutions more efficient, effective and profitable. The most common methods to impose these has been privatization and public-private partnerships. The outcome of these reforms in developing counties has been subject to existing flaws in their governance structures, which the NPM agenda does not address. Some developing counties such as Singapore and Malaysia have had considerable success with NPM, while countries such as Pakistan and Bangladesh have suffered from worsening socio-economic conditions after the imposition of the NPM agenda.

This study shows that the education reforms at the elementary level in Pakistan have brought the same issue of worsened governance challenges, where the drawbacks from these reforms are far more resounding than their proposed benefits. The PPP and privatization schemes were implemented with great hopes for progress, and were implemented very enthusiastically across schools in Punjab. The study challenges the rhetoric behind this reforms and reveals that the outcome has been very limited, and has led towards negligible systemic effect in Pakistan's education system. The over reliance of these schemes on donor funds and NGO support has resulted in a critical financial instability of the state, and the result is neither increased equity nor increased equality. In an environment where state officials are corrupt and inefficient, and where private sector involvement is inconsistent, the PPP and privatization schemes contribute greatly towards disintegration and divide rather than the goals of EFA and sustainable development in the education sector.

It is therefore very important that future policy towards all public sector institutions must be aligned with clearly defined outcomes, and where public welfare is the main concern rather than impossible performance targets. The political leadership of Pakistan must also become responsible towards its public, and must clearly define goals for improvement in matters of governance, finance, human resources, and school curriculum.

Recommendations

The study presents the following recommendations based on the conclusion:

1. Innovations in teaching methods and the establishment of a universal schooling system, at least at the elementary level. The government should dictate curriculum for schools which must be imposed in private schools as well, this is to ensure that an equal quality of education at the elementary level is being provided in both private and public schools.
2. The primary focus of all future policy should be towards eliminating all difference between private and public schools; there may also be collaborations between the two on methods to improve service delivery in public schools, which may have a more beneficial impact than a partnership.
3. Policy makers must understand their duty towards public welfare, and should not entrust the private sector for the provision of basic and fundamental goods and services. .

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