

UN Committee on the Rights of Child

Day of Discussion on

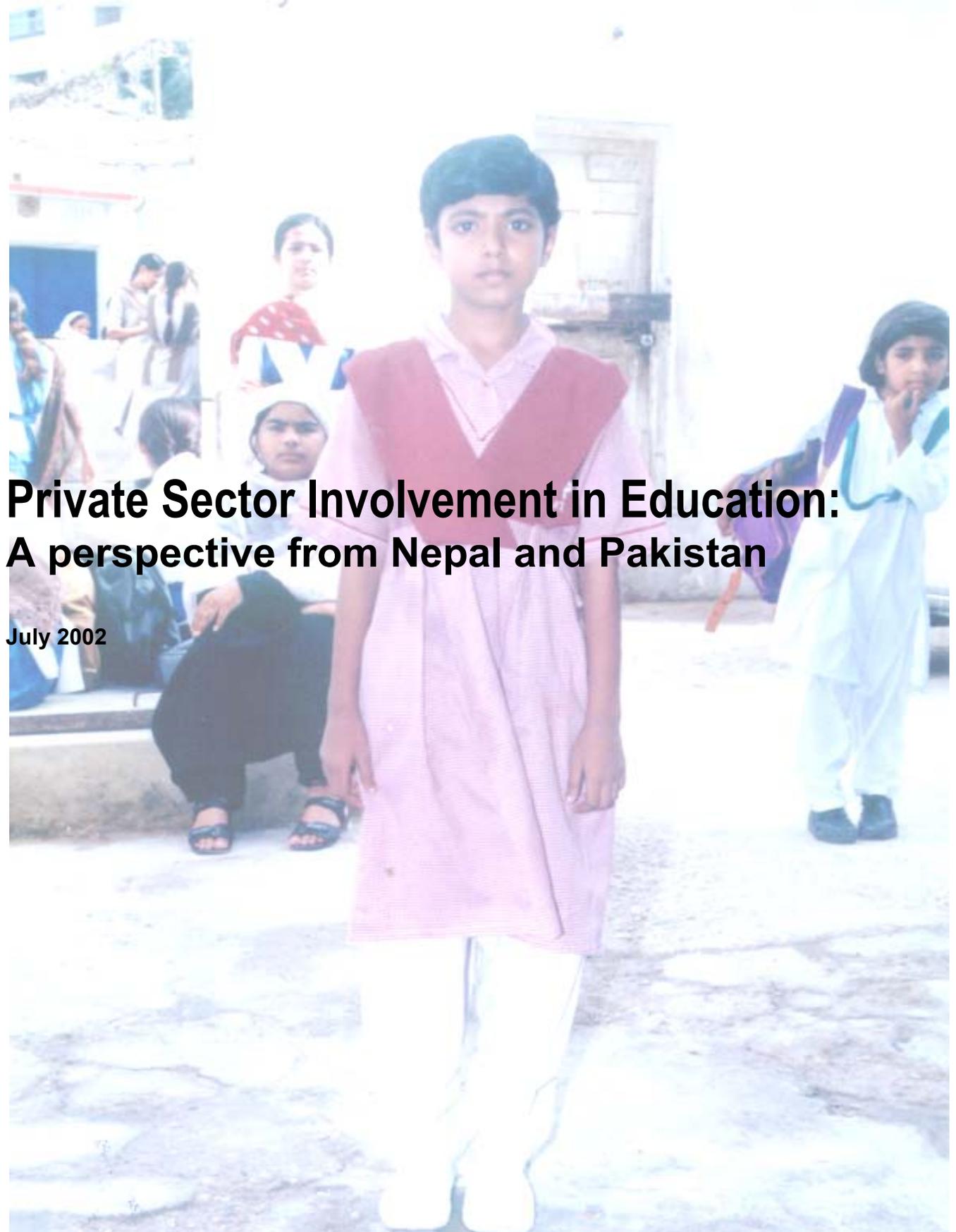
**THE PRIVATE SECTOR AS SERVICE PROVIDER
AND ITS ROLE IN IMPLEMENTING CHILD RIGHTS**

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Submission by

Save the Children UK, South and Central Asia



Private Sector Involvement in Education: A perspective from Nepal and Pakistan

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Summary

This paper seeks to provide insight into the role and impact of private sector involvement on children's educational rights in South Asia. Two case studies commissioned by Save the Children with support from UNICEF, form the primary reference in identifying emerging issues and subsequent recommendations. A first case study was conducted in Jhapa, Nepal and supported by a further case study undertaken in Karachi, Pakistan. In recognition of the regional importance of India, recent studies on private sector provision of education in this country were also drawn upon.

Save the Children bases its education policy and programming in a child rights perspective, acknowledging the State as primary duty bearer in the provision of free, quality education for all children. There is a recognition however, that the current situation is otherwise with an increasing number of private education providers catering for a variety of income groups throughout the region. This paper explores the analytical and methodological issues in confronting this situation from the perspective of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Of key concern are issues of equity arising from non-state provision of education, in particular the potential exacerbation of socio-economic disparity. In addition, concerns relating to the quality of education provision in private education institutions are raised with clear implications for strengthened State regulation. An underlying consideration for quality provision is the importance for seeing children's and young people' participation as a means to guaranteeing their rights within education.

The paper concludes with recommendations for the Committee on the Rights of the Child with regards to private sector provision of education, including aspects related to the regulation and monitoring of this.

A Child Rights Approach to Education

Rights based approaches to education are increasingly forming the core vision of civil society groups in South Asia, together with UNICEF and international NGOs like the members of the Save the Children Alliance. Evidence of the expanding commitment to rights-based programming is seen in the number of international and national organisations in the region that have embraced this as their operational policy.

A commitment to work within the CRC framework has far reaching implications for education provision across South Asia. This includes an important distinction between a child's right to education and children's rights within education provision.

Article 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) clearly presents State responsibility for ensuring "the right of the child to education...on the basis of equal opportunity". Under this article, States are obliged to make primary education compulsory and available free for all (although they are permitted to achieve this in a progressive manner). Article 29 of the CRC refers to the type of education which States must provide, aiming for the development of children's full potential and preparing them for 'responsible life in a free society'. Paragraph 2 of this article relates specifically to rights and obligations

in private education provision, noting: “ No part of the present article or article 28 shall be construed as to interfere with the liberty of individuals and bodies to establish and direct educational institutions, subject always to the observance of the principles set forth in paragraph 1 of the present article and to the requirements that the education given in such institutions shall conform to such minimum standards as may be laid down by the State”ⁱ. The implication of this is that while States are obliged to allow for non- state education provision, they are equally responsible for ensuring the diverse educational aims and standards in these.

A commitment to rights based approaches in education entails respect of the following principlesⁱⁱ:

- Keeping the best interest of the child center stage, necessitating increased attention to *quality, purpose and relevance* issues. All aspects of a child’s development are recognized as being relevant and this in a variety of arena
- *Fighting discrimination* – whether this be on the basis of gender, ethnicity, caste or other and working for *inclusive* education systems which provide a supportive environment for all children
- *Children’s participation* – both in terms of encouraging active learning and participatory teaching methods as well as ensuring opportunities for children and adolescents to be recognized as legitimate social actors within their communities. In Nepal and Pakistan, as well as in other South Asian countries, children are increasingly involved in defining the purpose of their education and in how schools are run in their interests.
- *Influencing all levels of duty-bearers* – be it at family, community, district and/or, national policy level ; all are significant stakeholders in fulfilling children’s right to a quality education.
- *Indivisibility of rights*: addressing all rights equally implies the need to go far beyond Articles 27,28,29 and 32 of the CRC. All other articles need to be considered in relation to those which address more specifically the educational rights.
- *Partnerships as a principle* for ensuring that children’s educational rights are met

A result of the growing recognition of a rights based approach has been a symbolic commitment of successive governments in South Asia to provide a quality education for children. Governments have acknowledged ownership of education and have equally attempted to demonstrate their commitment in practice. They have attempted to provide more teachers, more schools and better education management information systems [EMIS] – generally in the context of a decentralisation policy of resource management. In addition, the manner in which States are meeting educational rights have featured prominently in the official and alternative CRC reporting from South Asian countries. Despite these efforts however, States continue to struggle in the universal provision of an education which is of sufficient quality- an estimated 56 million children in South Asia remain out of school among 125 million children globallyⁱⁱⁱ. It is in this context that the private sector has emerged as a significant player in the provision of basic education.

Private Education Provision in South Asia

To supplement the limited information available on private sector involvement in education Save the Children, with the support of UNICEF, commissioned two Case Studies researching national policy and trends on private sector involvement in education. In both urban Karachi and rural Jhapa, both state and non-state, profit and non-profit education institutions were visited. The case study researchers interviewed children, teachers and parents in a sampling of schools in each of the research areas^{iv}.

There is an extraordinary **increase in private sector-run schools and colleges, of primary, secondary and tertiary education** throughout many countries of South Asia. While data remains largely unsubstantiated, corroborating checks by independent agencies suggest the number of pupils in private education institutions to be far greater than government statistics indicate:

According to one estimate there are some 27,000 private schools in Pakistan. Although compared with government schools these account for 10% of primary schools, their enrolment accounts for 23%.^v

Since the mid 1980s there has been a rapid growth in the number of private schools in Nepal, to the effect that around 12 percent of all primary school students are now enrolled in private schools^{vi}. The private sector claim however, the enrolment percentage in private schools at primary levels to be much higher than the official figure—at 33 percent of the total enrolment^{vii, viii}.

Of significant interest is the finding that there are a **multitude of private schools catering for lower income groups**, both in urban and rural areas.

The Nepal Case Study in Jhapa notes:

“... parents are willing to invest a large portion of the family income in the education of the children. Even lower income groups like riksha-pullers and street vendors are sending their children to private schools, which are... 100% more expensive than the public schools”^{ix}

The Pakistan Case Study confirms this:

“In the last decade we have seen a phenomenal mushrooming of private schools first in the urban areas and more recently in the rural areas, rendering private schools no longer an urban elite phenomenon^x

The different types of private education institutions range from non-profit Community Based schools and Trust schools to the more prevalent profit-making school managed by an individual or corporation. In Karachi, the ‘typical’ private school is a profit-making institution for primary students, owned by an individual and founded within the last 5 years.

Equitable Education Provision

With increasing influence of service delivery models encouraging increased private sector involvement, is a concern of widening socio-economic disparities. The phenomenal growth of the involvement of the private sector is part of a **demand** for education that has been shown to be a local response – at all economic levels – to market forces at work at national and global levels. At the same time there is a strong political move towards improving the **supply** of schools and teachers as part of a decentralisation process that aims to provide a revitalized government-funded public education system based on equity and inclusion. The demand by parents for a more relevant, improved education for their children however, does not seem to have been met for the large part by government.

The establishment of private schools in both urban and rural areas indicates that parents and private school providers have a convergent awareness of what economists call the **private rate of return** to the education of their children. David Woodward in a 1997 paper defines the private rate of return as

...the value of the stream of benefits to the individual [including non-financial benefits] ...

in relation to

...the cost to the individual of obtaining education, including the income forgone by spending time in school [opportunity cost]

The private rate of return indicates the potential for cost recovery – that is how much people should, in principle, be willing to pay for education...^{xi}

Parents who choose in favour of private education are not necessarily doing so for the perceived quality of such institutions, but may also do so for financial reasons. The costs of lower income private schools are sometimes less than the costs incurred by sending children to government schools. While theoretically free, primary government schools require parents to pay for learning materials and many have additional costs required by school administrations or teachers.

Throughout South Asia **gender inequity** in education remains a concern, with girls' primary enrolment representing only 74% of boys' enrolment in 1995^{xii}. Private sector involvement in education has not redressed gender inequity in Nepal, rather has further exacerbated the situation. When having to decide which children will attend private schooling, parents overwhelmingly choose to invest in their sons rather than their daughters. This is noted in the high discrepancy between girls and boys enrolment in private schooling. Parents, especially those in the low-income groups, decide in favour of boys attending private schools as they are regarded as the future breadwinners of a family. In Nepal it was noted that while girls are sent off to stay with relatives and attend government schools, boys are encouraged to stay at home and go to a nearby private school. Furthermore, as the costs of private education increase with the level of study, parents prefer for their boys to continue their education, compelling the girls to drop out.

States and individual private educational institutions have attempted to ensure educational equity in a variety of ways, the most common being that of providing scholarships to

children from lower income families. While this is an effort to be commended, experience in Nepal shows that this has not resolved issues of disparity. “A national average of 10 percent of students in private schools are found to have been offered partial or full scholarships, however this has not helped to increase access of poor and underprivileged children to private schooling. As private school policies are not sensitive about social equity, most of the students who enjoy scholarships do not necessarily represent socially underprivileged communities^{xiii}”. **The Nepal Case Study suggests that marginalised and poor communities from the remote areas have not gained from the development of private schools.** As a majority of these are profit oriented, they are concentrated in urban and rural areas with sufficient transportation facilities. As a result, the distribution of private schools is highly unequal, with 33% concentrated in the more affluent central development region and only 11% located in the least developed Mid and Far West regions. Another ‘equity’ mechanism currently being piloted in Nepal, is the recent obligation of private schools to place 1.5 % of their annual income into a national Rural Education Development Fund which will support public schools in remote rural areas. The impact of this model on educational equity will need to be closely monitored over the next few years.

While private sector involvement in education has been officially supported within the recent Education Sector Reforms in Pakistan, there is a suggestion that tension is arising within communities. This has emerged very clearly in Nepal where existing social unrest is based on a widening disparity between those with access to quality services and those without the opportunities to improve their socio-economic situation.

An argument often tendered in favour of the privatization of education is that fees provided by non-poor families allows the State to spend a greater amount of their budget on ensuring the educational rights of children from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. What must be equally considered is the increasing State spending in support of private education institutions, to the detriment of public schooling. In Sindh Province, new education ordinances recommend that the State provide direct and indirect financial assistance to private schools, notably through tax incentives.

Ensuring Educational Quality

Both the Pakistan and Nepal Case Studies indicate that private education initiatives are a response to local parental demand. This is not due primarily to a shortage of government schools, rather a concern to buy a “better” education than the government presently provides in the State schools for their children

Their decisions to send their children to private schools are therefore guided more by the poor performance of public schools. The parents from the lower income group identified irregularity, negligence and indiscipline of the teachers, large class sizes and a lower standard of English language learning as the reasons why they decided against public schools. The parents from the lower income group were keen to stretch their family income to the extreme in order to continue their children’s education in private schools.^{xiv}

What is considered “better” by parents about the private education provided is (1) the increased contact hours, (2) the regular attendance of the teachers and (3) the improved pass rate of the private school in the qualifying certificate examinations. Private school

classes are found to have smaller teacher-student ratios, making it possible for the teacher to provide individual attention. In Nepalese government schools on the other hand, it is not uncommon to note class sizes of 90 to 95 children. The qualifying examination is directly linked to the perceived increase in job opportunities in reachable localities in the wake of deregulation and economic liberalisation. In Nepal, an average of 44% of public school students pass their School Leaving Certificate, against the 86% of successful private school students^{xv}. Parents have found accumulating evidence within their communities of the benefits of their children passing a national certified examination.

There is a common assumption that the quality of private schooling is higher than that provided by government schools. While this may be true for a select number of private institutions, it is by no means the case for a majority. In Nepal for example, it is noted that almost none of the teachers in private schools have teacher training qualifications and furthermore, little interest in obtaining these. It has been noted that a majority of private pre-schools in Nepal “are small, poorly resourced local business ventures used by many low-income families. The quality of the experiences offered to children are often very inadequate...either [it is] custodial childcare with no attention to the child’s developmental requirements or an inappropriate attempt to mimic the Grade 1 curriculum putting pressure on young children to read and write at an age when broad and varied support for development has been found far more productive.”^{xvi}

Children from poorer families can not afford to attend higher quality private schools and must therefore turn to lower quality schools which do not provide children with the skills needed to develop to their full potential. On balance, children in private education institutions of Nepal and Pakistan are not being provided with the quality of education which clearly emerges as an obligation for the State within the CRC.

A regulatory framework is fundamental to ensure that children receive such a quality education, with the onus on the central State level to provide and implement a strong regulatory environment. A key aspect of the strong political move in India, Pakistan and Nepal towards the decentralization of service provision, is an increased regulatory role for the State over services provided at decentralized levels. A contradiction does emerge however, between the support of many international donors for the need of State regulation in a decentralized system and a simultaneous pressure by various international institutions in favour of private sector involvement, for complete de-regulation. This situation is further compounded by a lack of State capacity to implement such frameworks.

As an integral feature of a quality learning experience, **children’s participation** must be considered in determining the success of education institutions. The process involves children expressing their own views and contributing to decisions taken that affect them. Children’s participation in decision making almost immediately leads into issues regarding representation and learning. An example of children’s participation is an initiative supported by Save the Children US which fosters children’s active participation in their education. This has entailed a self-assessment process in which children, parents and teachers discuss ‘What makes a good school?’ Indicators are identified and agreed upon which are then used to make a collective assessment of the status of their school, in terms of how child-friendly it is. Finally, everyone jointly develops a school improvement plan.

The Karachi Case Study consulted children and young people in the process of the research. In a Karachi private school, one of the boys, Sheikh Jhazeb Ali Saddiqui, aged 12, commented that he is “very fond of learning computers”:

When asked what he would like to see added to his school his first response was additional computers. Though the school is small and does not have any ground for sports, Jhazeb said they are contented playing in the fields and the streets by their houses and he would rather see the school bring in more computers and offer computer classes to their students.^{xvii}

Sheik attends a low income private school in Orangi, an enormous “slum” in Karachi. Another child, Erum Aaziz, 10 years old and attending a government girls primary school, loves her classes, games and has a favourite teacher. However, she felt “...it would be nice to have greater access to computers at her school, as the school does not have any currently”.^{xviii} These are not merely anecdotal. Nor is it an issue of finding out in a significant statistical sample how many children want computer classes instead of playing fields. Rather it is a **process and a continuing system of consultation** by which schools allow their pupils to determine collectively what they prefer within specific funding parameters and within consideration of their best interest. Private schools are already responding to parental preferences, within the context of market forces [“If we offer computers and classes rather than playing fields and equipment we’ll have higher enrolments....”].

It would seem from the case studies that children and young people are not overly concerned whether their school is private, government or a combination of both. What is of concern is the extent to which the school provides them with a challenging and safe learning environment emulating the rights to which they are entitled. This finding has also emerged from evaluations within South Asian countries relating to preparations for the UN Special Session on Children.

Whereas proponents for an increased role of the private sector in education point to a greater **accountability** within such schools, this has not been reflected in the information collected from Nepal. Parents of children attending a rural government school cited the difficulty in involving community leaders in advocating for increased resources for the government school. This is due to the fact that most of these leaders prefer, and have the means, to send their children to private schools and are therefore not interested in advocating on behalf of the public school. As a result, the most marginalized in the community are obliged to send their children to an increasingly poor-quality government school receiving dwindling resources.

Public Private Partnerships

A variety of public-private partnerships (PPP) have been established among education institutions in South Asian countries, the economic, educational and social benefits of which are widely disputed. In Pakistan for example, the private sector has been encouraged under recent Education Sector Reforms to take on the management of low performing government schools.

An example of a successful public private partnership in South Asia is that of the Quetta Urban Fellowship Programme, in Balouchistan, Pakistan. The project aimed to stimulate girls schooling through the creation of private girls’ schools in poor urban neighbourhoods and resulted in an increased enrolment of both boys and girls – although there were neighbourhood variations.

Another form of educational partnership in South Asia is that between public and non-profit institutions. It is underscored in South Asian countries by decentralisation of both decision-making and funding.

Three forms of **non-profit and private partnerships** in Pakistan are described further:

- Non-formal primary schools, owned by communities and managed by NGOs, either directly funded by donors and government or indirectly by donors through government.
- Community schools, managed by school management committees [SMCs] composed of parents and teachers. There is representation of the Education Department by officials formally appointed to the SMC. They are funded by donors through government or through semi-government organisations.
- Fellowship schools tend to take in lower middle class families as well as children of poor families. They are owned by communities and managed by parent education committees [PCs]. They are funded by donors, through government, but also charge some fees.

In India, the Public Report On Basic Education [PROBE] was published in 1999. The Report raises equity issues by indicating the poor performance of Indian public education for a large majority of Indian children, situating education in India within a Rights framework. In response to considerable weaknesses within the Indian public education system, three examples demonstrate the potential of PPP's in increasing children's access to quality education.

Pratham, an NGO initiated in Mumbai, makes direct links with large corporations to fund a massive time-bound and goal-oriented expansion of pre-school and primary school located within the government system. Pratham has also used private sector partnership for stronger advocacy results with government. *Lok Jumbish*, in Rajasthan, uses international donor funding to both increase primary education provision as well as improve the quality of existing State schools. Both are examples of half-government half-private initiatives to supply better learning opportunities for children.

The *Education Guarantee Scheme* [EGS] in Madhya Pradesh is again different, although decentralised decision-making and responsibility is at the heart of the initiative. It is an example of a government-initiated scheme to extend the provision of schools to communities which demonstrate commitment in the education of their children. The government guarantees to provide a school to communities within 90 days, if they can identify a site as well as a person within the community, who has a 10th grade pass and who agrees to be trained as a teacher.^{xix}

Tension has emerged from the increasing role of private sector in education, both among providers as well as within communities. This has been of note particularly in India, where the initial thrust of external or private monies was only meant to be a short term condition. This was intended to demonstrate at a significant level to government how education might become more cost-effective. There was no intention to engage the private sector or other external sources of funding for education as a long-term solution to the failing education system. In fact, these schemes were based, not on the private rate of return, but on the social rate of return which "...compares the cost and benefits of education to society as a whole... [and] indicates the extent to which society as a whole [i.e. governments of donors] should subsidize education."^{xx}

A recent World Bank Seminar on Private Higher Education in India and China described a deeply negative Indian Establishment attitude towards involvement of the private sector in education provision and the need for a highly constrained regulatory environment for such involvement.

“They are poisonous weeds in the fields of education....

“They could even be called pirates in the high seas of education....”^{xxi}

The World Bank Seminar’s presentation, having highlighted the *Unni Krishnan v. AP* judgment, then summarised the regulatory environment for education as being defined by a “license-permit” system:

- Regulatory environment is complex, multi-layered and bureaucratic
- Regulatory environment does not foster private education
- Private education is either highly regulated or operates entirely outside the system^{xxii}

The presentation includes recommendations that focus on changing the regulatory environment in India substantially in order actively to encourage private investment in education and minimize barriers to entry. This will include:

- Innovative instruments [contracting, demand-side financing, private regulation and information]
- The right regulatory mix
- Appropriate legal framework for private sector
- Strong macro regulatory framework to support private sector^{xxiii}

Given the size of India, its poor public education system for deprived and vulnerable children and the significant variation among states, the tension between the State and private education sector will impact in unpredictable ways on children.

While acknowledging that successful private-public partnerships have a role to play in education provision, they cannot be expected to resolve existing educational inequities nor answer to government commitments to a quality Universal Primary Education. Simply to provide more schools, either through private initiative or public partnership, is not a fulfillment of the State’s obligation to provide children with access to quality education as a right.

Recommendations

Save the Children welcomes this opportunity to highlight key issues on private sector provision of education in South Asia for consideration by the Committee on the Rights of the Child.

Recognising that education is a basic human right, the provision of education is understood as a State responsibility rather than one of private institutions. Having ratified the Convention of the Rights of the Child, South Asian States are under obligation to provide quality education for each and every child.

Emerging from the research in Nepal and Pakistan is the finding that very few children benefit from the higher quality education provided in the top private education institutions. A far greater number are attending private schools that, while increasing their chance of passing a national examination, are not providing a quality education as understood from a child rights perspective. A significant number of families are therefore paying for private education delivery which is offering an extremely low standard of education.

Establishing an appropriate regulatory environment for the provision of private and public schools is crucial. Both the private education sector and the State have a responsibility to work together to ensure that education establishments are meeting State standards, and this within a child rights framework. This will make ground if civil society groups, NGO coalitions and the State work together for the necessary changes to the regulatory environment in each of the countries.

Understanding that Rights based education should be a framework for all educational institutions, calls for greater attention in private and public schools. In response to the low quality education offered in many private education institutions, States need to be supported in defining mechanisms for the monitoring of these. We would therefore recommend that the Committee request States to demonstrate in their Periodic Reports how private sector providers of education have respected the aims and purpose of education as identified by the Convention.

The Committee has expressed the difficulty in examining how States meet the aims of education, and the constraints of having to depend primarily on statistical measurement of enrollment, attendance and repetition.^{xxiv} Research in Nepal and Pakistan confirms the difficulty in gaging the quality of education currently provided by non-state actors. We therefore encourage the Committee to request the expertise of international bodies in assisting States to develop mechanisms to better ascertain education outcomes/ processes and have these included in the CRC Periodic Reports.

Acknowledging an increasing disparity between families able to afford quality private schools and those unable to afford the costs of lower quality public schooling, the **quality** of education is at risk of becoming a function of the **ability to pay**. Upgrading the quality of education in State schools is therefore key in ensuring that children's educational rights are met. As such, it is important for States to demonstrate a strengthened financial commitment to the public education sector and to ensure that financial incentives for private education does not occur to the detriment of quality state education.

Ensuring appropriate and relevant education resource allocation necessitates the integration of private education institutions in national and decentralized Education Management Information Systems (EMIS).

Addressing the pervasive violence in many schools in this region, corporal punishment being one demonstration of this, further supports the need for a stronger regulatory environment in the education systems of most countries in South Asia. To this end, young people themselves need to be involved in the monitoring of compliance with educational regulations, particularly those concerning children's protection in places of learning. Their participation could be specified in regulatory arrangements for the private sector.

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ⁱ Also reflected in Article 13 (4) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ⁱⁱ Save the Children Alliance Transitions Initiative Paper, South and Central Asia, February 2002

ⁱⁱⁱ Watkins, K., *The Oxfam Education Report*, page 77

^{iv} The case studies included research in 9 schools in Karachi, Pakistan and 4 in Jhapa, Nepal.

^v Niazi, N & Hameed S., *Privatisation in Basic Education: Pakistan Case Study*, page 6

^{vi} Rai, H., *Private Education Provision in Nepal: A Case Study*, page 3

^{vii} Ibid

^{viii} However, this might see a reversal due to a deteriorating security situation and direct targeting against private schools, students and teachers. Since the inception of the Maoist "people's war" in 1996, 41 teachers and 81 students have lost their lives (INSEC 2001). The intensified Maoist attack against private schools since 2000, especially those with foreign affiliation, has caused the closure of about 500 private sector schools. Around 100,000 students and 9000 teachers have been displaced as a result (PABSON sources). In April 2002, schools in 6 far west administrative zones received fresh threats from the insurgents to close down the remaining private schools.

^{ix} Rai, H., *Private Education Provision in Nepal: A Case Study*, page 7

^x Niazi, N & Hameed S., *Privatisation in Basic Education: Pakistan Case Study*, page 4

^{xi} Woodward, D., *Economic Aspects of Education and the Role of the World Bank*, Paper for the NGO Education Forum, June 1997, Save the Children UK & World University Service, page 2

^{xii} Watkins, H., *The Oxfam Education Report*, page 92

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- ^{xiii} Rai, H., *Private Education Provision in Nepal: A Case Study*, page 9
- ^{xiv} Rai, H., *Private Education Provision in Nepal: A Case Study*, page 7
- ^{xv} Ibid, page 8
- ^{xvi} Arnold, C. & Bhattacharya, N., *Seto Guran's National Child Development Services- A Review*, Save the Children Norway, 2002. page 7
- ^{xvii} Niazi, N & Hameed S., *Privatisation in Basic Education: Pakistan Case Study*, page 17
- ^{xviii} ibid
- ^{xix} Jain, L.C., "Unbundling the State" in *Economic and Political Weekly*, October 7, 2000, India, page 3647
- ^{xx} Woodward, D., *Economic Aspects of Education and the Role of the World Bank*, Paper for the NGO Education Forum, June 1997, Save the Children UK & World University Service, page 2
- ^{xxi} LaRoque, N. & Jacobsen, V., *Private Education in India*, Financial Investment Trust, 2000
(www.worldbank.org/education/economiccsd/tools/seminars)
- ^{xxii} ibid
- ^{xxiii} ibid
- ^{xxiv} Hodgkin, K. & Newell, P., *Implementation Handbook for the Convention on the Rights of the Child*, UNICEF, New York, 1998, pg 396