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**Is Public Provisioning of Secondary
Education Equity Enhancing? A Case Study in
Bangladesh**

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List of Acronyms

BANBEIS	Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
DC	District Commissioner
DEO	District Education Officer
DSHE	Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education
EED	Education Engineering Department
GED	General Economic Division
Govt.	Government
HDI	Human Development Index
HIES	Household Income and Expenditure Survey
INGO	International Non-Government Organization
KII	Key Informant Interview
JSC	Junior Secondary Certificate
LGED	Local Government Engineering Department
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MoE	Ministry of Education
MPO	Monthly Payment Order
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
PMT	Proxy Means Testing
SESIP	Secondary Education Sector Investment Project
SESP	Secondary Education Stipend Project
SEQAEP	Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project
SMC	School Management Committee
SP	Superintend of Police
SSC	Secondary School Certificate
TSR	Teacher Student Ratio
TQI	Teaching Quality Improvement Project
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USEO	Upazila Secondary Education Officer

Abstract

In recent years, the secondary education sector of Bangladesh is credited for its increasing enrolment rate and gender parity. Major debates in this sector are revolving around quality of education and high dropout rate. However, the problematic government school provisioning system in promoting equity is limited in education policy discourse. This paper argues that while direct Government education provisioning through government schools are supposed to address the existing inequality of opportunity in secondary education sector, the Government provisioning itself creating inequity in access to education.

Using the case study method, the paper tried to provide insight on different secondary school provisioning system in one (i.e., Tangail Sadar Upazila) of the 490 administrative units of Bangladesh. Based on the primary and secondary data of the six carefully selected schools of the administrative unit, the study assess the difference among the three types of schools (Government, Non-government MPO and Non-government Private) in terms of resources, academic performance, administration etc. Following that, the paper tried to validate its argument by analysing differential access of students from different socio-economic background to difference provisioning system.

The reveals that limited number of Government schools with limited seat capacity and better educational resources/capacity are serving the need of financially well off segment of urban population. Government is trying to address the education need of rest of the population through subsidizing (MPO provisioning) Non-government schools expense and project based stipend system. With limited resources and capacity, MPO and private schools have become resort of less privileged segment of population. While these segment of population afford less, they pay the more to get less quality education.

Following the human capability approach, while state could expand its direct provisioning for less privileged population, state excluded them from its direct provisioning system. Instead of offering government resources to less privilege class for promoting their equal footing, government exacerbating the exiting inequality through promoting inequity of opportunity in the government provisioning system. Inaccessibility to limited government school provisioning is limiting the window of opportunity of those population who already have limited opportunity.

Keywords

Secondary Education, Equity, Public Provisioning, Bangladesh, Opportunity, Education Policy

Chapter 1

Introduction and Background

1.1 Introduction

The Human Development Index (HDI) Database suggests that the education system of Bangladesh performs less in promoting equality in education. Among the 158 countries (with available statistics), Bangladesh ranked 130 in Education Inequality index¹ in 2015 (UNDP 2016). However, Millennium Development Goal (MDG) progress report 2015 states that Bangladesh made significant progress in increasing equitable access to education at primary level (GED 2015: 35). Though quality in Government primary education is a great concern, Government of Bangladesh is trying to address the equitable access to primary education level through massive nationalization² of primary schools and expansion of school stipend programme. In 2015, with an overall net enrolment rate 97.7 percent, 72% of these enrolled students take opportunity to enrol in government primary schools (BANBEIS 2015).

However, the scenario in secondary education is rather bleak. Though secondary education in Bangladesh has achieved significant progress in terms of Gender Parity³ and Net Enrolment Rate, equity through public provisioning in this sector is a great concern. Located in urban area, very few number of government secondary schools (4.6 % of the total schools) are addressing very few number (3.6%) of the total enrolled students⁴ (BANBEIS 2017a: 37). In contrast to the government primary schools, these government secondary schools are generally performing far better than counterpart Non-government private and government Non-government MPO (Monthly Payment Order) School in national examination⁵. It is speculated that, limited number of government secondary schools with relatively better quality education are selective and biased towards comparatively well off segment of population. Hence, relatively less well-off or poor segment of population are forced to admit in relatively expensive and less performing private or government subsidized non-government schools. The scenario indicate that while government provisioning in secondary school is supposed to be more inclusive, in reality, they are inequity enhancing which perpetuate further inequality in education and society.

¹ HDI calculated 'Inequality in education' in terms of inequality in distribution of years of schooling. The estimation was carried out using Atkinson inequality index and based on household survey data.

² Last year, government nationalized 26,193 nongovernment primary school and allocated relevant budget in FY 2017-18 (CPD IRBD 2017). Previously, these non-government schools were entirely managed and regulated by School Management Committee (consist of members from local government, parents, teachers, influential group etc.). Though initially these schools were set up by individuals, later stages all property and infrastructure were donated to the schools. Government used to support these non-government schools through partial teacher salary, teacher training and infrastructure development. Through nationalization process, directorate of Primary Education take the whole responsibility of these schools.

³ Net enrolment is higher among girls (60.43%) in compare to the enrolment rate of boys (49.17%) (BANBEIS 2017a: 91)

⁴ Adjusted Net Enrolment Rate in secondary education of Bangladesh is 55.25% (BANBEIS 2017a: 91).

⁵ However, in selective divisional cities private and MPO schools performs (in terms of result) same as the public schools (Bdteletalk 2017).

This research paper will try to explore the above mention paradox empirically in limited geographic area of Bangladesh. Following a case study method, this paper will compare between selected government and nongovernment secondary schools of the respective study area. Thereby, the aspect of exclusion, equity and equality in secondary education level of Bangladesh will be analysed to understand the gaps in existing government policy and intervention framework.

1.2 Research Problem: Justification and Relevance

“Education systems play a crucial role in promoting citizenship, identity, equality of opportunity and social inclusion, social cohesion as well as economic growth and employment” (Shrivastava, and Shrivastava 2014: 820). In fact, equity in opportunity to have access to education system promotes ground of achieving equal capability. Educational equity is an important means of achieving social equality (Zhang et al 2014: 80). To promote equal opportunity in secondary level education, National Education Policy of Bangladesh aims to mitigate discriminations among various secondary educational institutions and among various socio-economic, ethnic and socially backward groups as long as necessary (MoE 2010: 21). However, it is debatable to what extent this stated policy objective has been materialized with resource allocation, other policy instruments, programs and implementation of those policies and programs.

In Bangladesh, secondary education⁶ includes student aged between 11 and 15 studying in grade six to ten (Table 1.1). There are three streams of education i.e., General Education, Vocational and Technical Education, and Madrasa Education (faith based), regulated by different directorate and policy⁷ under Education Ministry of Bangladesh. General Education stream, accommodating around 10 million students, is often considered the mainstream education in secondary level. There is considerable debate revolving about differential treatment/policy of government towards these three streams. These debate address class selective stream, quality of education, government finance, poverty status of students etc. across the stream. However, very little is known about the government differential treatment towards students within general education stream.

Table 1.1: Education Structure of Bangladesh in Brief

Approximate age	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	17+
Approximate Grade				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	12+
Level of General Education	Pre-Primary			Primary				Junior Secondary			Secondary		Higher Secondary		Higher education	
Level of Vocational & Tech.	Not Applicable															
Level of Madrasa Education					Ebtedayee				Dakhil				Alim			
Basic, Compulsory and Free education: Primary education (grade 1 to 5)																
Source: UNESCO (2007: 1)																

⁶ Secondary school includes junior and secondary section; and secondary college includes higher secondary section (Table 1.1). In this paper, higher secondary section (often noted as college education) are excluded because they are managed under different policy administrative units and policy.

⁷ Education Policy 2010 of Bangladesh also have separate policy sections for these three streams of education

There are four types of school operating in secondary level general⁸ education: Junior Secondary Schools (grade 6 to 8), secondary section attached⁹ to Primary school (grade 1 to 8), Secondary Schools (grade 6 to 10) and School & College¹⁰ (grade 6 to 12). These schools are managed under three type of management: Government, Non-government MPO (government subsidized) and Non-government private. Particular characteristics of these three type of schools are-

- **Government (or Public):** There are 941 government secondary schools operating in Bangladesh. Every aspects (administration, academics, finance etc.) of these school are managed by Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education and Ministry of Education.
- **Non-government MPO:** These schools initially start as nonprofit private schools having the donation (land, infrastructure, salary etc) of generous people or community people. Complying the minimum standard of government, these school later on are enlisted in for Government support. The support system is called MPO which stands for Monthly Pay Order. Government provide salary of enlisted teachers and staff of MPO schools through monthly pay order. Government also provide training, student stipend and infrastructure support to these schools. Though the school is manage by School Management Committee (SMC), Ministry of Education (MoE) and Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education (DSHE) regulated this school in terms of permission, recognition, student enrolment process, tuition fees, staffing pattern, curriculum, teacher recruitment etc (UNESCO 2007a: 14).
- **Non-Government Private:** This type of schools are managed and owned by profit oriented individuals. These schools only need permission from government to operate in certain area.

The table 2.1, compiled from the data of Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Statistics, clearly shows that government provisioning in secondary education is insignificant under the above mentioned three type of education framework/arrangement. There were only 941 Government schools among the 20,449 secondary schools in 2016 (BANBEIS 2017a: 37). Among the 10,184,364 students, who are currently studying in secondary level, 3.59% student study in Government schools which are mainly urban based (Loc cit.). Rest of the student studies in either Non-government MPO schools or Non-government private school. All these statistics imply that, more than 96% of the students at secondary level are not included under the direct government provisioning system.

⁸ As the management and policy process of these three streams of education are different, this paper only focused on General Education.

⁹ To implement education policy 2010, Government has plan to extend primary education up to grade eight. Conforming to the plan, some primary schools already has included grade 6 to 8. While Ministry of Education regulate the secondary education level institutions, these secondary section attached to primary schools are regulated by Ministry of Primary education

¹⁰ Among the higher secondary colleges (typically include grade 11 and 12), some colleges have attached secondary sections.

Table 1.2: Institution, number of teacher and students by school management type (BANBEIS 2017a:37)

Level of education	Management type	Number of institutions	Number of total teachers	Number of students
Junior Secondary School	All school are Non-Government	2324	19020	385086
Secondary School	Government	327	7600	272897
	Non-Government	16149	194605	8565892
	Total	16476	202205	8838789
Independent secondary school total		18800	221225	9223875
School and College (attached secondary section)	Government	12	546	15765
	Non-Government	1035	21782	867449
	Total	1047	22328	883214
Government primary (attached secondary section)	Government	602	Not estimated as teachers are included in primary school	77275
Only attached secondary school total		1649	22328	960489
Grand total Secondary level (independent+attached)	Government	941	8146	365937
	Non-Government	19508	235407	9818427
	Total	20449	243553	10184364

Different empirical studies suggest that government schools have better resources and academic achievement than private schools and students from well off household are availing those schooling. A survey carried out in 2004 indicated that among the student of government schools, 96% of the student are from the richest 40% population of Bangladesh; in contrast, 70% students of the non-government schools were from that richest segment of population (FMRP 2005: 4). This implies that government schools are more selective towards richest segment of population. The study also indicates that students' achievement in government schools were better than that of non-government schools (Loc. cit.). Al-Samarrai (2007: 9) reveals that government expenditure per-student is Bangladesh Taka (BDT) 5,568 (equivalent to USD 68.61)¹¹ for government schools and BDT 1,727 (equivalent to USD 21.28) for non-government schools. Hence, in these process, high income group in Bangladesh receive lion share of public finance in education sector (Karim 2015: 79). These findings indicate that while public provisioning is supposed to reduce inequity in access to education through providing provision for less well-off students, it actually is doing the opposite.

However, in last decade, secondary education was subject to major intervention by government to increase equitable access to quality education. For instance, programme like 'Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project' (initiated in 2008) is trying to address the access and quality of education in 12,000 secondary level government and non-government institutions (SEQAEP 2016). In the present context, it is worthwhile to study (based

¹¹ In this paper, currency is converted using the Inter-bank exchange rates of the Central Bank of Bangladesh (i.e., Bangladesh Bank) as on Nov 15, 2017. On this particular date, the exchange rate between BDT and USD was 1 USD= 81.15 BDT.

on the previous and present empirical scenario) whether the existing provision of government school is equity enhancing or, in reverse, it is creating long term inequality through inequality of opportunity. The study will also add insight on whether government policies of addressing 97% secondary level students through subsidized non-government schools is worthwhile in promoting equal opportunity. However, under limited scope and time availability, this study will not address inequality of outcomes of this process.

1.3 Research Objective

Objective of this research paper is to provide insight on the loophole in public secondary education provisioning. The paper aims to produce knowledge base and recommendations for the education policy makers of Bangladesh concerning existing gap in policy and programme philosophy for promoting equity in secondary education.

1.4 Research Question:

Main research question-

Do government policies and associated intervention ensure equitable access and opportunity to secondary education for socio-economic disadvantaged groups in Bangladesh?

To address the main research question, more specific sub-questions are:

1. What are the differences between government and nongovernment schools in terms of resources, facilities, administration and academic achievement?
2. What is the enrollment process and to what extent do socio economically disadvantaged students have access to these schools?
3. What specific policies can ensure better access for socio-economic excluded students?

Chapter 2

Conceptual Framework

The research paper will frame the research problem within the following broader conceptual framework: normative categorization of education policy; inclusion in education; capability approach.

Normative Model of Education

It is necessary situate this study in relation to the policy debate about the political and economic dimension of education. Robeyns (2006: 69) argued that education policy can be normatively categorized in three models: human capital theory, right discourses and capability approach. These categorizations are significant tools to locate particular education policy in terms of its objective and rational regarding role of education. Three categories are:

- Human capital theory: Policy based on human capital approach consider education as an instruments of creating skills and knowledge which in turn lead higher productivity and wage (Robeyns 2006:72). Hence, this approach sees education in economic, fragmented and instrumentalist way (Op. cit.). It seems that, if education investment in certain group of population (e.g., male) seems more productive than investing on other group (e.g. female), this approach will go with that particular investment.
- Right discourse: This discourse uphold that education is a human right and it should be guaranteed to all, even when the return of such investment is nil (Robeyns 2006:75). In education policy domain, this discourse is linked with the Education for All (EFA) philosophy and endorsed by organization like UNESCO, UNICEF (Loc. cit).
- Capability approach: Going beyond human capital (instrumentalist) and human right (as intrinsic legal right) approach, capability approach include consideration of human well-being (inequality, poverty etc.) within social arrangements (Robeyns 2006:78). Considering various possible functioning (e.g., being educated, holding a job) of individuals, this policy approach focus expanding the capabilities of individuals through creating opportunity to attain those functioning (Loc. cit.).

The research paper will try to locate existing secondary education policy of Bangladesh in these categories. Situating policy in these framework, it is convenient to see their potential and loopholes. For instance, the primary education policy of Bangladesh is now trying to locate it in right based approach through promoting “Education for all” and nationalization of primary schools (UNICEF nd: 1). Robeyns (2006:69) argued that such approach has pitfalls because of its rhetoric nature, explicit focus on government, and sole reliance on ensuring the legal right to education (not taking into account quality, social and cultural factor of discrimination). This argument seems valid when UNICEF in its report (nd: 2) stated that the major challenges in primary sector of Bangladesh are poor quality of education, high dropout rates, promotion of equity and accessing education.

In Bangladesh, secondary education policy is quite different from Primary and tertiary level education policy. Dominance of subsidy based MPO provisioning and project based intervention are salient features of secondary education policy. Normative models of education will be utilized in this paper as a conceptual lens to see these provisioning. Policy leaning towards particular model will inform us the loophole and strength of such policy in relation to loophole and strength of such model. For instance, if secondary education policy of Bangladesh lean close towards human capital approach, it would be possible to analyse gap in terms of its instrumental insight and indifference to issue like equity, gender, cultural aspects of education (Robeyns 2006:72).

It would be pertinent to analyse the present policy philosophy and problem in relation to specific capability approach lens. Referring Amartya Sen, Walker (2005:103) held that Capability approach is about freedom and it propose for expansion of appropriate environment for human thriving. Hence, in education context, capability approach not just suggest formal entitlement to school but also address all socioeconomic and cultural condition to have those entitlement and converting them to opportunities (McCowan 2011:293). Sen (as cited in Klasen 2001: 3) argued that- for disadvantaged segment of population (by birth or background) it is not enough to have equal access to primary goods, rather they need additional access to achieve similar capabilities.

This approach can be operationalized with the following allegory in the context of secondary education of Bangladesh. For instance, X and Y are two kids from richest and poorest segment of population. Therefore, they are different in terms of external axis which is wealth (Walker 2005: 106). Now, parents of X avail better education for X in primary level and made X more competent for getting admission in better secondary schools. If the education system fail to mitigate the gap in secondary level on equity basis, the gap between X and Y in terms of capability will increase. Therefore, while freedom of X to choose from alternative functioning (e.g., being educated, holding a job, being healthy) will expand, freedom of Y to choose from such functioning ultimately will be squeezed. This scenario can be exacerbated throughout higher education. If narrowly defined, students like Y will face inequality of opportunity throughout their life span and overall inequality in society will persist in long run. Hence, existing inequality in society of Bangladesh may be perpetuated and exacerbated through inequality of opportunity created by inequity in education system.

Social Exclusion in Education System

As exemplified above, education policy and system can exclude disadvantaged from realizing their functioning. According to UNESCO, these exclusion in education system are manifested in different form and expression, for instance exclusion from entry into a school (e.g., through barrier like pay entrance fees and tuition fees; strict eligibility criteria for entry) and having necessary health and wellbeing needed for learning (UNESCO 2017b). Klasen (2001:9) argued that these form of exclusionary education process promote unequal participation and access to education for children; and subsequently translate to social exclusion as adults. In Bangladesh context, Hossain argued that school exclusion is turning out to be a new route for social exclusion as excluded are finding them-

selves as minority (as most are availing education) and they are denied of economic opportunity, social inclusion and knowledge needed for citizen engagement (Hossain 2010: 278).

Social exclusion can be defined in terms of barriers and disadvantages that hinder individual to participate in social, economic, cultural life, and alienated him/her from mainstream society (Duffy, as cited in Klasen 2001:1). However, in conceptualization of education inclusion, it is also necessary to consider social justice issue, for instance equity (Sayed and Soudien 2003:9). Sayed and Soudien (2003:11-14) argued that for reducing inequality- rather than focusing on providing same opportunity for all, it is needed to consider that people live in unequal, heterogeneous and asymmetrical position (in intersection of race, gender, class, region, language etc) and thereby deserve differential treatment. Klasen (2001: 2-9) claimed that as equal starting point is not enough to promote equal capabilities, addition intervention by society is needed for disadvantaged for being integrated in meaningful social and economic life.

Economic dimension is not the only dimension of exclusion in education. Kabeer (2006: 65) argued that apart from disadvantages in income and assets, social identity and cultural devaluation (based on gender, ethnicity, religion, migration status, locality, age etc.) also promote certain disadvantage which lead to durable form of inequality and poverty. For instance, Social marginalized population in India like *Dalit* ('untouchable' castes), *Adivasis* (tribal groups) and religious minorities disproportionately more exposed to poverty (Loc. cit). Hence, economic background of children is not the only determinant of exclusion in Education. Moreover, it is not only the case that state actively or passively exclude those of segment population from public provisioning, it also happens that because of the socially construct inferior identity they actively excluded themselves from the mainstream public provisioning. For instance, Kwong (2011: 877) argued in her studies that, migrant families in Beijing had tendency to send their children to migrant base school and these children are "creating their own marginalized world". While 3% of these children had any interaction with the urban children, these practice deterred their integration into the community and reinforce their stereotype identity (Kwong 2011: 877-880). Therefore, investigating the determinant and mechanism of exclusion in Government schooling provisioning in Bangladesh require not only poverty aspect but also socio-cultural aspect.

The causal relation between income inequality and learning inequality can be unsettled when welfare states affect the distribution of educational outcome (West and Nikolai, as cited in Burchardt and Hick 2017:6). Burchardt and Hick (2017: 5) argued that Sweden were able to reduce the gap between high and low achievement in learning through providing free universal education up to college and provisioning of extra resources for children with special needs. Therefore, the nature of government provisioning is significant determinant of learning inequality and subsequent lifelong experience of inequality.

However, extra resource and provisioning for disadvantages students are not the sole inclusionary mechanism. In fact, in some cases these short of practice are also susceptible for exclusionary practice. Hossain (2010: 1278-1279), for instance, claimed that popular 'conditional cash transfer' approach in primary education sector of Bangladesh fail to reach adequately to the poorest segment

of population due to unfavorable conditionality, less informed program theory, distortion in programme implementation level. Preference of selection committees on merit (deserve) over poverty (need), preference on girls education on maternalist ground (e.g., caregiver) and lack of commitment to address out of school poor boys (often child laborer) are some the factors that embedded social class distinction and these factors in turn recreate this distinction (Hossain 2010: 1274-1279).

Social class distinction and preference of public and private schooling by certain class also has impact on exclusionary practice. In this respect, Whitty (2001:291) argued that social exclusion need to be analyzed considering children from both advantaged and disadvantaged background. He argued that preference of middle class in “self-exclusion” from public school (for attending elite private school) or “colonizing” particularly well performed public school both have impact on the disadvantaged students (Loc. cit.). While such “self-exclusion” of middle class may leads to less attention and resource for those state school, on the other hand concentration of that class on particular public school may crowded out disadvantaged of those area. Hence, Whitty (2001: 292) suggest that it is needed to tackle the denial of working class opportunity which is open for middle class; and for this it is needed to adopt positive discrimination for working class children. This framework suggest that middle class families has more opportunity in school preference which in turn have implication on the preference of working class. It also suggest that state interference is desirable to address the issue of both upper class (preference for elite private school or particular public school) and lower class (social exclusion).

In addition to the argument on how government locates its provisioning and intervention in the education system; it is also an issue of debate - what are the desirable strategies of government provision and intervention taken account of time and space. For instance, Daviet (2016: 1-7) argued to consider education as common good rather than public good on three rational: 1. Concern of equity and social justice prevails over purely economic notion of ‘Market failure’ (usually market failure justify public goods/state provision), 2. Non-state actors shared state responsibility (e.g., NGOs, private sector); 3. Decision making process influenced by new form of inter and intra network. For instance, in case of Bangladesh, philosophy of donor countries and institutions are important as some of the large project in secondary education in Bangladesh is donor driven. Therefore, Daviet (2016: 7) claimed for space of variety of providers in education sectors while considering state as the guarantor of equity.

Government education policies and strategies can create exclusionary practice. Sen (2000: 14) distinguished between two types of exclusion: active and passive exclusion. While in active exclusion, some people are denied from some opportunity through deliberate policy; in passive exclusion, deprivation resulted from circumstances/social process/policy which are not directly intended to create such exclusion (Sen 2000: 15). Hence, education policy framework may create such arrangement and institutions which deliberately or inadvertently can promote exclusionary practice. In light of this conceptual framework, it would be worth enough to see whether government existing policy framework promote active or passive exclusion.

Normative categorization distinguished different education policy philosophy and their rational in three broad categories. This paper will try to locate existing government secondary education policy and approach in these categories; following that, paper will analyze relative strength and weakness of the policy in light from its normative category. The paper will then put light on the concept of inclusion and exclusion in education system and society, and assess the existing exclusionary practice in secondary education level (relevant to research question two in Table 5). In this regard, intersectional approach will inform the assessment to analyze the exclusion by socio-economic class, gender, and ethnicity background. Capability approach in congruent with specific focus on equity and equality will be used to justify the value of equity in secondary education system and its long term implication in equality of opportunity. Hence, it would help to distinguished between government and non-government schools in terms of their capacity to promote equal capabilities (relevant to research question one in Table 5).

Chapter 3

Methodology

This research paper is based on primary data and secondary data using quantitative and qualitative mixed methods.

3.1 Selection of Research Site

Secondary Schools in a specific area of Tangail district (i.e., Tangail Sadar Upazila¹²) of Bangladesh has been selected where different aspect of particular Government, Non-government MPO and Non-government private schools are compared. Hence, the study not intend to generalize the scenario of whole Bangladesh; rather it uses case study method to find answer of the research question focusing on specific geographical space.

3.2 Secondary Data Collection and Analysis

At the initial phase, secondary data analysis carried out using following database: database of Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics (BANBEIS) and Household Income Expenditure Survey (HIES).

BANBEIS: Based on some basic indicator, BANBEIS compiles a quantitative database of all educational institute of Bangladesh. Though this data do not address all aspect of research question, they provide some basic scenario relevant to research question in secondary educational institutions of Bangladesh.

Household Income Expenditure Survey: Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) conducts extensive national household expenditure survey in five year interval. The recent survey was conducted in 2015. Though the official report of that survey is published in 2017, the database of that survey is not available for detail analysis. Hence, in this study, the database of the survey in 2010 will be utilized to assess what type of schooling was availed by what type households (in terms of income and expenditure). The survey covered 12,240 households of Bangladesh and among these households 40 households were located in respective study area (i.e., Tangail Sadar Upazila). It is very hard to make any conclusion based on the data of 40 households. Hence, data of 280 sample households of Tangail district were analyzed to indicate the pattern of type of schooling and socio economic background of households avails particular type of schooling. It is noteworthy that, this case study focus on one Upazila of 12 Upazilas of Tangail district. However, it is worthy to focus also on rest 11 Upazilas as most government schools located in study Upazila and they are supposed to serve the population of rest 11 Upazilas.

Information from these two databases are analyzed to address research question focusing all Government and Non-government schools of Tangail district and Tangail Sadar Upazila. These information will be then complement to and triangulated with the findings of primary survey (specific to case schools). Table 3.1,

¹² There are 64 districts In Bangladesh. These districts are farther divided into 490 Upazilas (administrative unit)

shows the purpose of analysing secondary database to address the research question.

Table 3.1: Research question relevant information from secondary database.

Database	Student Result	Household poverty	School Infrastructure	Teachers education	Basic education statistics
BANBEIS	√		√	√	√
HIES		√			√

Holistic comparison will be made between all of the Government and Non-government schools (i.e., 53) located in study area. According to BANBEIS database, there are 523 secondary level schools operating in Tangail districts. It is noteworthy that, among these schools, there are only 17 Government schools which accommodate 2.1 percent of the total secondary level students (See Appendices III).

3.3 Primary Data Collection and Analysis

3.3.1 Quantitative Data: Educational Institution and Household Survey

In next stage, quantitative approach have been used to estimate socio-economic profile of students/parents, school facilities, achievement, budget allocation (government subsidy, self-fund).

Selection of Educational Institution

Six from the 53 secondary schools of Tangail Sadar Upazila have been selected under this research project for in-depth study (Table 3.2). There are mainly three type of schools based on management (i.e., Government, Non-government MPO, Non-government private school) operating under the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education. These six institutes are selected from three type of school considering following criteria: rural-urban, boys-girls-coeducation, similarity (in terms of number of students). It is noteworthy that technical/vocational and Madrassah (faith base) education sector is managed by separate policy and institutions. Hence, it is very hard to generalize all institutions in single framework.

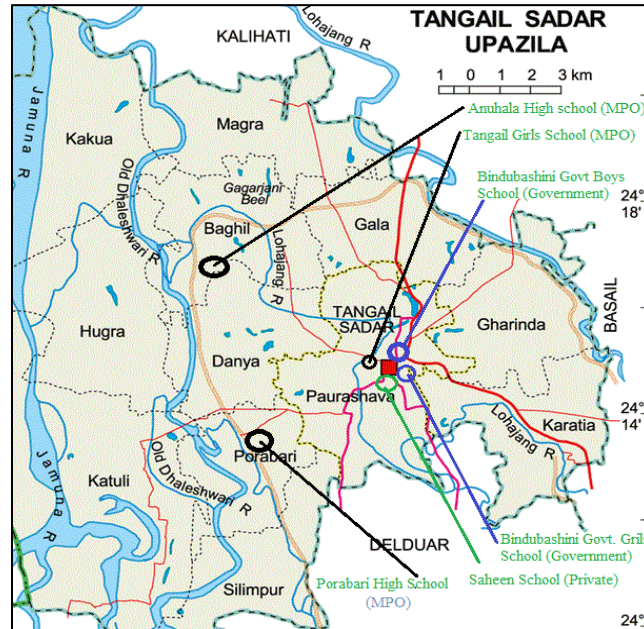
Table 3.2: Name of Schools under the study

	Management	Name of the School	For whom	Area	Total school in respective area of similar nature
1.	Government	Bindubasini Govt. Boy's High School, Tangail	Boys	Urban	4 (all urban)
2.		Bindubasini Govt. Girl's High School, Tangail	Girls	Urban	
3.	Non-Govt MPO	Tangail Girls School	Girls	Urban	40 (rural 23; urban 17)
4.		Anuhala High School	Coeducation	Rural	
5.		Porabari High School	Coeducation	Rural	
6.	Non-government private	Saheen School	Coeducation	Urban	9 (rural 4; urban 5)

Rational of selecting particular Schools:

- Government Schools: All government schools in case studied Upazila are located in urban space (Map 1). Hence, there is no option to select government school from rural setting. Among the four Government schools, one school is basically primary school (managed by Ministry of Primary Education) and has recently included grade 6 to 8 (attached secondary section). Therefore, this school is not considered while in case selections.

Map 1: Spatial distribution of studied schools



- Bindubashini Govt. Boy's high school is selected as it is the only boys' school in the studied area. Among the rest two government girls' schools, Bindubashini Govt. girls school is selected in study as it include relatively large number of students. Hence, the school is more comparable to other institutions.

- Non-government MPO school: As the MPO schools are more dominant in rural area of Bangladesh, two school are selected from rural area. At first stage, all MPO schools are listed which are located between the periphery and center of the Upazila. Students of the peripheral areas may have option to study urban school in adjacent Upazila. Hence, to understand the school and student characteristics of hard to reach area, school located between two urban centers are selected. In next stage, considering the large catchment area and number of students, Anuhala and Porabari high school is selected for the study.

- Non-government Private School: There are 9 private school located in the study area. Though official statistics suggest that there are 4 rural school of this kind, all of these private school located in urban or very close to urban area. Among these schools, there are 3 schools which are well established and similar in nature in terms of student number, reputation, year of establishment. Among these school, Saheen School is selected because of the easy accessibility to the information of this school.

Selection of Respondents

Primary data on socio-economic profiles of students and their parents have been collected using sample survey on 1015 students' households of grade six and nine. One of the rationale behind selecting grade 9 students is that all of these students had appeared in grade eight centralized national JSC (Junior School Certificate) examination and their performance in this exam is available for review. Moreover, as the dropout rate is quite high in secondary level education, it is necessary to focus both on entry grade (grade six) and end grade (grade

nine). Apart from focusing on socioeconomic aspect, it is necessary to address the research question from intersectional approach. Hence, information on gender and ethnic status also need to be considered while devising sample distribution and selection of respondents. Students have been selected using systematic random sampling and data has been collected with the help of Research Assistant. Detail distribution of sample is shown in table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Detail distribution of sample grade, class and students

	Name of the School	For whom	Total number of section in Grade 6 & 9	Total sample section	Number of sample students		Total sample size
					Grade 6	Grade 9	
1.	Bindubasini Govt. Boy's High School, Tangail	Boys	6	2	55	38	93
2.	Bindubasini Govt. Girl's High School, Tangail	Girls	6	4	105	112	217
3.	Anuhala High School	Coeducation	7	4	115	154	269
4.	Tangail Girls School	Girls	6	4	73	117	190
5.	Porabari High School	Coeducation	4	2	81	52	133
6.	Saheen School	Coeducation	4	2	52	61	113
Total			32	18	481	534	1015

Sampling procedure: There are total 32 section were found in grade six and nine of the respective case study schools. Among these schools, at least one section have been selected from each grade. Hence, at least two section from each school were surveyed. However, considering greater number of section, 4 sections have been selected from Anuhala School. Four sections also have been selected from Bindubashini Govt. Girls School as students of two section were admitted at grade 1. In fact, apart from this school, all secondary school admit students at grade six. Except Anuhala School, all school assigned student to section disregarding their merit and economic condition (based on lottery). Hence, all section can be considered similar in student characteristics. Based on this assumption, this study select sample schools using random sampling. Using lottery method one or two sections selected from two to four sections of respective grade. However, In Anuhala schools student with better merit were admitted in first section i.e., section A and B. Therefore, for Anuhala School two section have selected from each grade balancing the merit of students (Section A and D). All students of respective sample class were considered as sample household of the survey.

Household Survey

Estimation of household poverty status through household income and expenditure survey is very time consuming and costly. For instance, questionnaire of “Household Income and Expenditure Survey¹³ (HIES) 2010” of Bangladesh used by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) includes 400 expenditure items (Schreiner, M. 2013: 1-2). Therefore, household poverty status of the respective sample household will be collected through indirect approach.

¹³ After every 5 years, BBS carry out Household Income Expenditure survey. Data of this survey do not provide indication of relationship between household socio economic status and their attainment of public schooling.

There are several indirect poverty assessment approach are available to target the beneficiary of Government social safety net programme and various intervention of Non-Government Organizations (NGOs). Proxy Means Testing (PMT) is one such method of targeting beneficiaries of under social protection programme. In this specific study, PMT has been used to assess the socio economic background of sample households.

The education Ministry of Bangladesh is now executing two specific programme i.e., Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project (SEQAEP) and Secondary Education Stipend Project-2 (SESP) to increase the quality and access to secondary education. World Bank supported SEQAEP project uses PMT Method to target the beneficiary of its stipend programme. As discussed earlier, it is hard and time consuming work to select beneficiary using complicated survey like HIES. However, based on HIES question and findings, it is possible to narrow down huge list of indicators to specific observable proxy indicators. Though these proxy indicators have less precision power, they are very handy to assess large number of household within very short period of time.

SEQAEP is currently using 27 indicators (with different weight) to select its beneficiaries (See the questionnaire in Appendices II). Local Government Engineering Department (LGED) of Bangladesh Government are carrying this survey in half of the secondary schools of Bangladesh. Based on the response of 27 question by the household, household score card is devised and a cut of point is assigned. Household below the cut-off point are selected to stipend program. In this survey, the same 27 questions are used and based on that data a household poverty score card is devised. Based on the household poverty score, households' economic condition are compared.

Data Processing and Analysis:

Following the editing and coding of quantitative questionnaire, data is entered into SPSS programme. Analysis of quantitative data is made using statistical tools like - mean, standard deviation, co-efficient of variation, graphs, and association measures.

3.3.2 Qualitative Data: Interview

Qualitative approach has been used to explain the situation from the point of view (e.g., logic, philosophy and opinion) of different stakeholder of the process; for instances policy makers, executing authority, school administration, teacher, students and parents of student. In addition to that, relevant government policies, program, projects document, intervention relevant to that district have been appraised through interviewing Tangail District Education Officer (DEO) and respective Upazila Secondary Education Officer (USEO). Pertinent record (students and teachers' statistics, academic results etc.) and administrative document (admission procedure, budget, facilities etc.) of these government and non-government institutions has been collected from the key informant of the sample schools and reviewed in conjecture with Upazila level data. Distribution of Key informant and interview respondent by numbers are delineated in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Distribution of respondents for semi structured interview

Respondents category		Number of respondents
Key Informant Interview		
1. Official of Directorate of secondary and higher education		1
2. Head Teachers of Schools	Government	2
	Non-Government MPO	3
	Non-Government Private	1
3. Upazila Secondary Education Officer (USEO)		1
4. Academician/researcher		1
Semi Structured Interview		
1. Students		5
2. Parents of Student		3
3. Teachers		3
Total		20

3.4 Overall Coordination between Research Questions and Methodology

The overall coordination between research questions and methodology has been depicted in concise matrix format in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Coordination matrix between research questions and methodology

Research questions	Information set	Data gathering methods
What are the difference between government and nongovernment schools in terms of resources, facilities, administration and academic achievement?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructure Capacity (classroom, laboratory, toilet, computers, materials of construction, library etc.) • Number of students by grade, gender, disability, ethnicity • Student retention rate, attendance • Academic qualification and training of teachers • Students performance in Higher Secondary School Examination (at completion of Grade 10) • Source of financing (e.g, government allocation, fees from students) • Budget allocation of the schools • Teaching quality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Review of the Database of Bangladesh Bureau of Education information and Statistics (BANBEIS) ▪ Annual School Reports of five selected schools ▪ Dataset of “Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project (SEQAEP)” ▪ Key Informant Interview (KII) with 6 Head Teacher (top authority of school) ▪ KII with Assistant Director (Secondary School), Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education, Bangladesh ▪ KII with DEO and USEO ▪ Interview with parents, students and Teachers
What is the enrollment process and to what extent do socio economically	• School admission requirement	▪ Review of Education Ministries instruction (order, notification)
	• Differential education fee paid by students’ household	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ KII with the Head Teacher ▪ Interview with parents

disadvantaged students have access to these schools?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Socioeconomic profile of the students by Government and Non-government schools • Gender and ethnic differences (dropout, completion rate, result etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Structured Interview with students' household (sample survey) ▪ Interview with teachers, parents and students
What specific policies can ensure better access for socially excluded students?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing plan Government intervention strategies for the Non-government schools • Existing Nationalization process at primary and Higher secondary level • Good practice within Bangladesh (e.g., primary education) and across other countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ KII with one relevant ministry officials (if possible) ▪ KII with Head Teachers ▪ KII with relevant researcher/academician on this sector. ▪ Review of relevant literature

Chapter 4

Difference between Government and Non-Government School

Greenwald et al. (1996: 384) in their study concluded that school resources are significantly related with student achievement. Moreover, one sort of resources has impact on other sort of resources. For instances, schools offering less salary (financial resource) for teachers or having class room (physical resource) with no electricity are less able to compile quality teaching staffs (human resources).

However, not only the total resources that does matter, but also how resources are distributed among the institutions and thereby among the students is crucial. Chiu et al. (597) argued that equity of opportunity works in practices because equal distribution of government scanty educational resources among the schools have positive impact on aggregated student performance. For instances, Chiu et al. in their study revealed that three top scoring countries (Hong Kong, Finland, and South Korea) in mathematics, reading and science had a policy of equal funding per students (Loc. cit.)

Therefore, it is necessary to map and analyse difference in resource provisioning landscape among the three types of school. This chapter analyses how the different type of schools are equipped with different type of resources, provisioning, inputs for academic achievement etc. These differences in selected case studied schools are tried to be validated with the national statistics.

4.1 A Brief Historical Development of Schools

“Government school has historical legacy, great people studied there; why don’t I admit my children in those well-known reputed school”

-Parent of one student currently studying in government school

The above rational of preferring government school also resonates in the voice of interviewed students while most of them opined that reputation of government school is one of the reason of preferring government school over other schools. This indicate that historically legacy and student performance in government schools has created intensifying demand for enrolling in government schools.

Both of the case studied government schools were established in 19th century, while non-government schools established over time (Table 4.1). Government intervention to those non-Government MPO Schools is also recent phenomena.

Table 4.1: Case studied schools by year of establishment (BANBEIS 2017d)

Name of School	Management	Year of establishment
Bindubasini Govt. Boy's High School	Government	1880
Bindubasini Govt. Girls High School	Government	1882
Tangail Girls High School	MPO	1967 (MPO in 1984)
Anuhala High School	MPO	1940 (MPO in 1984)
Porabari High School	MPO	1896 (MPO in 1999)
Saheen School	Private	2010

The national figure also exhibit the same trend. Statistics of BANBEIS (2017a:117) shows that 47 percent of the government schools were established prior to 1947 and after that period the rate of increase has been decrease considerably (Table 4.2). In contrast, 89.49% Non-government schools have been established after 1947 (Loc. cit.). It implies that after the colonial era, establishment of government schools lost its momentum.

Table 4.2: Establishment of Government and Non-government schools in Bangladesh (BANBEIS 2017a:117)

Type of school	Before 1947	1947-1971	1972-1990	1991-2000	2001-2016	Total
Government.	159	122	42	3	13	339
% of Govt.	46.90	35.99	12.39	0.88	3.83	100.00
Non-government	2015	5041	4308	5844	1961	19169
% of Non-govt.	10.51	26.30	22.47	30.49	10.23	100.00

The above trend in national statistics and case studied statistics suggest that, government of Bangladesh (including Pakistan era) is historically reluctant to increase direct provisioning through government school. Government took the alternative approach to include private/community schools in its subsidy MPO system. Three MPO schools in Tangail Sadar Upazila i.e., Anuhala, Porabari and Tangail Girls high school are examples of such grand initiatives.

Among the nongovernment schools, dominance of profit oriented private schools (e.g., Saheen School) is relatively a new phenomenon in Tangail Sadar Upazila. Non-government private schools got its momentum in Tangail Sadar Upazila in 2010 by addressing the excessive demand for education and the inability of MPO Schools to promote quality education.¹⁴ Therefore, non-government private schools in Tangail Sadar Upazila are the response of inadequate direct government provisioning and inefficient alternative government MPO strategy.

As discussed earlier, government school provisioning had high demand among the parents and students. However, as the number of students increased significantly and supply of government direct provision not increased that much, the demand for government provisioning augmented over the years among students.

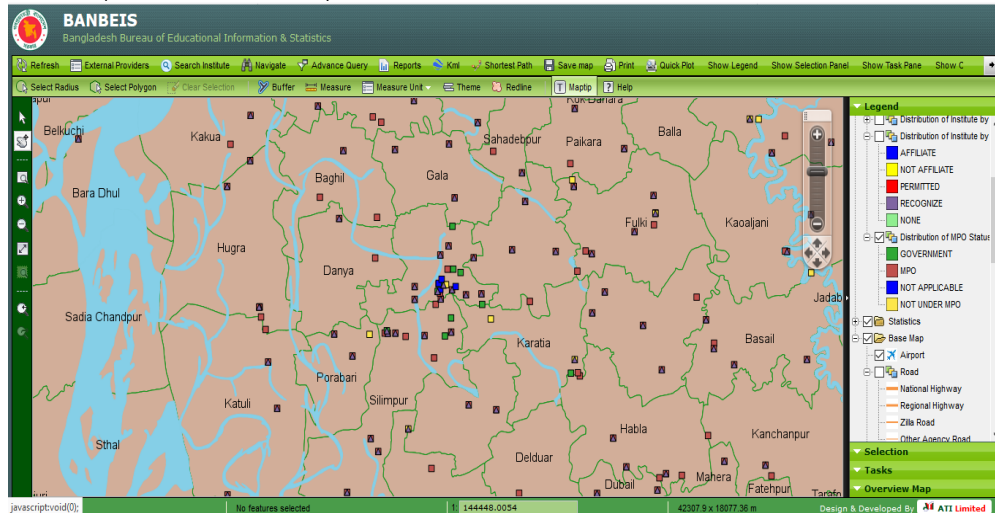
4.2 Location

Spatial distribution of these three type of schools (i.e., Government, Non-government MPO, Non-government private) in Tangail Sadar Upazila have particular features. GIS (Geographical Information System) of educational institutions of Bangladesh, compiled by BANBEIS, shows that all of the government schools in Tangail Sadar Upazila located close to the administrative and urban area (Map 2). Major Private Schools of this Upazila are also located in the central urban area (like Saheen School). However, MPO schools are situated in both central urban area and peripheral rural area. Hence, while all three types of

¹⁴ Interview with Head Teacher of Non-government private school (20 July 2017)

schools are available for urban population, MPO schools are the only alternative for the rural population.¹⁵

Map 2: Screen shot of Educational Institute GIS Map of Tangail Sadar Upazila (BANBEIS 2017c)



Government has policy¹⁶ to increase schools in rural and hard to reach area of Bangladesh with more MPO schools. In fact, government is almost addressing the required number of secondary institutions in Tangail Sadar Upazila with this strategy. According BANBEIS estimation, the entitled number of schools in this Upazila is 55 (in 2016), while the Upazila already has 49 schools (BANBEIS 2017b: 15). This implies that government are forcing rural population of that area into one single choice i.e., Government Subsidized MPO schools.

4.3 Infrastructure Capacity

During the case study, it is revealed that both of the government schools are enjoying better infrastructure and service facilities than that of Non-government MPO and Non-government private schools.

Class room student ratio is one of the important indicators of quality of education (Glass 1982). As shown in Table 4.3, classroom student ratio of government schools is far less than three other non-government schools. However, Tangail Girls High school also perform similar to the government schools. Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that half of the infrastructure of Tangail Girls High school is not made of concrete. Moreover, to accommodate more classes and students, the school has divided many class rooms by temporary partition.¹⁷

¹⁵ Interview with a student of Anuhala High School (Non-government MPO school) (15 July 2017)

¹⁶ Education minister of Bangladesh declared that Government will sanction MPO for those schools which located at area (especially rural and hard to reach area) with no MPO schools.

¹⁷ Observed during the field visit by the author

Table 4.3: Infrastructure at the studied secondary schools in 2016 compiled from database of BANBEIS (BANBEIS: 2017d)

Schools	Class room student ratio	Computer per students	Toilet per students	Books per students
Bindubasini Govt. Boy's High School	77.50	93.00	124.00	5.76
Bindubasini Govt. Girls High School	54.19	61.26	201.29	8.73
Tangail Girls High School	66.92	145.00	174.00	1.49
Anuhala High School	114.53	572.67	429.50	2.25
Porabari High School	160.00	192.00	480.00	1.67
Saheen School	133.83	123.54	133.83	1.56

Both of the government schools have well equipped computer lab. The computer labs were established by separate project of the government. Hence, the computer-student ratio in government schools are better than that of non-government schools (Table 4.3). In fact, computers of MPO schools are also supplied by government. However, such supplies are discontinuous and scanty comparing the number of students.

As shown in the table 4.3, Government schools also outperform non-government schools in terms of availability of books. In arranging better toilet facilities, MPO schools located in rural area suffered the most. It is quite disturbing that around 450 students share a single toilet in Anuhala and Porabari schools.

4.4 Administration and Staff Pattern

In government schools, all employee (teachers and other administrative staffs) are recruited and administered by the Directorate of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education (DSHE). In schools, Head teacher and Assistant Head teacher are the key authority who administer the schools. They are directly liable to directorate and ministry of Education. MPO non-government schools are also accountable to Directorate. Directorate through their district education office and Upazila education office make them accountable to government.

As MPO schools are getting staff salary subvention and infrastructure support from the Directorate, schools authority try to comply government instruction and criteria (e.g., student performance, student fees) to retain the government support (MPO status). Apart from that, School Management Committee (SMC) seems very strong in decision making process.¹⁸ SMC is comprised of representative from school (teacher), parents, donors, directorate officials. However, Non-government private school (Saheen School) enjoys less control from Directorate and SMC.¹⁹

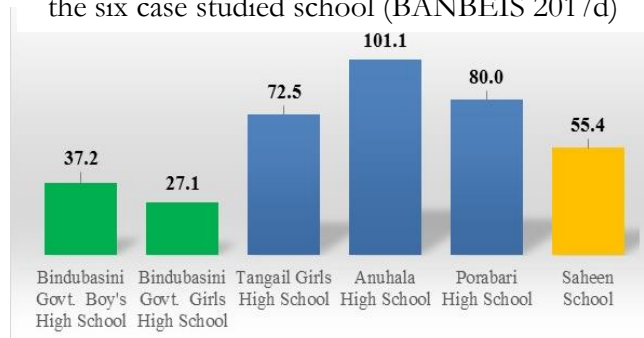
During the survey, significant difference found among the government and non-government schools in Teacher student ratio (TSR). Teacher student ratio is also one of the key criteria of quality education. In both of the government schools, TSR are relatively high compare to the TSR of Non-government schools. For Instances, while in Bindubashini Government Girls High school the TSR is 27, in Porabari High school, the TSR is 101 (Figure 4.1).

¹⁸ Interview with Head Teacher of Porabari High School (25 July 2017)

¹⁹ Interview with Upazila Education Officer (18 July 2017)

During the interview with Head master of Porabari High School it was revealed that Government have fixed the number of teaching staff in each school. Only this fixed number of teachers are supposed to get government salary subvention. This fixed number

Figure 4.1: Teacher Student Ratio (TSR) among the six case studied school (BANBEIS 2017d)



of teacher is one of the reason of high TSR in MPO schools. However, MPO schools can arrange part time teacher (in addition to MPO fixed number of teacher) with their self-arranged finance. School authority of MPO schools tries to arrange these additional salary of the Non-MPO part time teacher through charging extra money from the students.

Table 4.4: Number of teachers and students in schools (BANBEIS: 2017d)

Schools	Student	Total Teacher	Part time
Bindubasini Govt. Boys High School	1860	50	0
Bindubasini Govt. Girls High School	1409	52	0
Tangail Girls High School	870	12	1
Anuhala High School	1718	17	5
Porabari High School	960	12	2
Saheen School	1606	29	0

As shown in Table 4.4, both of the government schools enjoy better number of teachers compare to the Non-government schools. Among the Non-government schools, private schools has greater number of teachers. As this school relies solely on the tuition fees from the parent of students and faces fierce competition from other private schools, they try to recruit more number of teachers for their reputation.

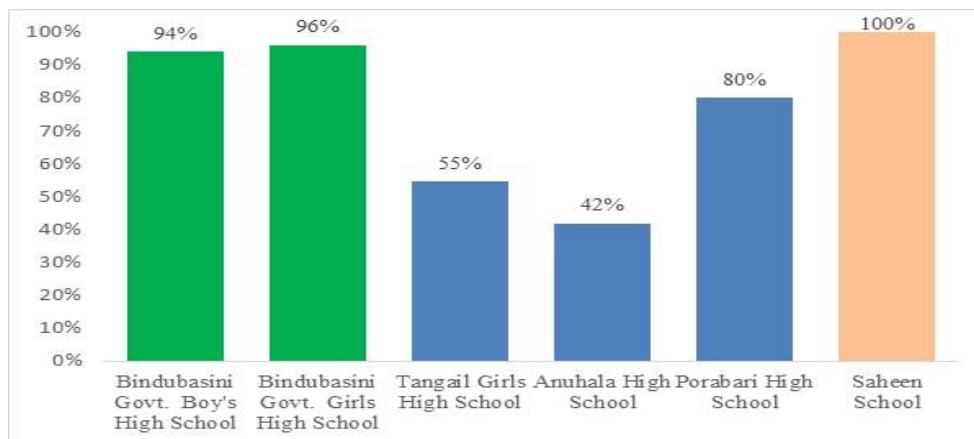
4.5 Teachers Qualification

Teaching staffs of Government School are recruited by the central ministry. On the other hand, teaching staffs of MPO schools are recruited by the school administration and SMC. According to respondent students of respective schools, quality of teaching staff is one of the key concern in choosing school. Number of parents opined that teaching staffs at government schools are better than teachers of MPO and private school in providing quality education.

It is very hard to assess the quality of teaching staffs among government and nongovernment schools for comparison. Bangladesh Bureau of educational information and statistics conduct biannual survey to assess the teaching quality at higher secondary level educational institutions. However, they don't have district disintegrated data. Hence, this paper took alternative approach to compare the teachers of government and non-government schools. Result of teachers in their graduate level education is considered to understand teachers' academic excellence. Figure 4.2 shows that more than 94 percent teachers of studied government schools have 2nd class (more than 45% marks) grade in their graduate

level programme. However, teachers of MPO schools relatively less performing than teachers of government schools.

Figure 4.2: Percent of teacher having 2nd class in their graduation (BANBEIS 2017d)



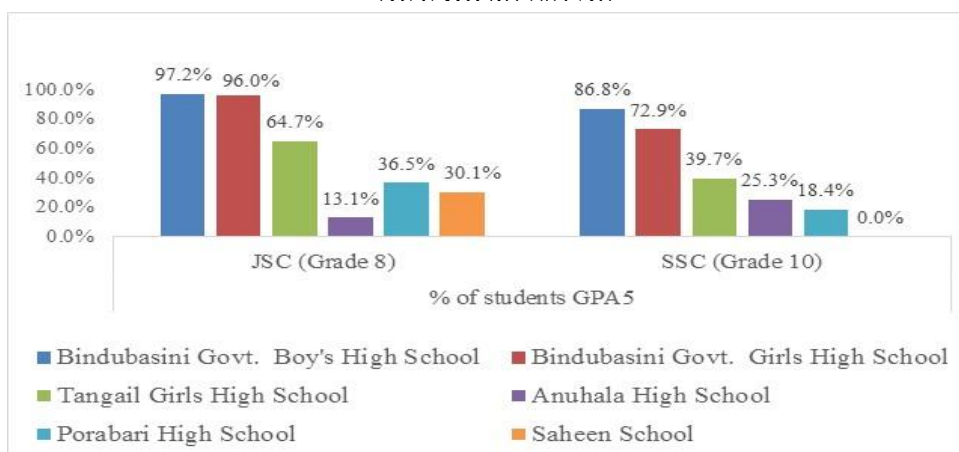
It is noteworthy that number of teachers of Non-government private school (Saheen School) having 2nd class degree is higher than that of government schools. However, while most of the teachers of Government and MPO schools have minimum one year specialized degree on Education, none of the teachers of Non-government private school have such degree. One of the ex-teacher of the private school opined that teacher turnover is high in private school. Non-government private school recruited teachers with higher academic performance. However, these teachers have limited intention to pursue career in teaching sector and switch profession quite often. Hence, teachers of Non-government private school have limited incentive to upgrade their teaching ability.

4.6 Students' Performance

In secondary level, students take part in two public examination which are JSC (Junior Secondary Certificate) and SSC (Secondary School Certificate) examination. Students sits for JSC and SSC at the end of grade eight and ten respectively. As figure 4.3 shows, in both of the examination the students of government school outperform MPO and private schools. It is to note that the private school is not entitled to teach students at grade 9 and 10. Students of this school take part in SSC examination using the name of other MPO school. In this practice, it is very hard to make accurate estimation of the performance of Non-government private school. Nonetheless, as the result of JSC of Non-government private schools, it is possible to make an indication of academic performance of Non-government private school.

Figure 4.3 shows that more than 96 percent of the students of government schools achieve GPA 5 out of 5 point. MPO schools located in urban area perform relatively well compare to the school located in rural areas.

Figure 4.3: Student academic performance in public examination (BANBEIS 2017d)



Another important aspect of secondary education in Bangladesh is high dropout rate. During the Key Information Interview with the Head Teacher of the studies school, it is revealed that dropout rate is higher in MPO schools. In fact, teachers of MPO schools struggle to keep students in school. For female students, early marriage is one of the key causes of high dropout. As revealed in previous sections, students of Anuhala and Porabari School are more likely to be from poverty prone family. Some of the students of these school live in Char area. These students are forced to involve in income generation activities and therefore drop school in secondary stages.

In contrast, prevalence of dropout rate is minimum in government schools. Teachers of government schools attribute this low dropout rate to the education and conscious level of the parents of government school students. This perception implies that parents of students from Non-government school are less educated and conscious.

The dropout rate in Non-government private school is lower than that of Non-government MPO schools. However, dropout rate in Non-government private schools is higher than that of government schools. One of the reasons behind this trend is that some student change their school and admitted in MPO schools. This change of school take place if parents fail to cope up with the tuition fees of Non-government private schools.

4.7 School Financing

Source of school financing has significant influence on school resource, facilities, management policy. For instance, difference of infrastructure between Government and MPO schools is largely determine by source of finance (Table 4.5). As noted by one teacher of government schools-

Because of government direct support, they (government school) have enough resource and surplus for development. They can afford to buy loud speaker (Photograph 1) for assembly costing 1 lac taka (USD 1232), while we always struggle to operate with our existing fragile classroom'

Photograph 1: Newly purchased speaker of Bindubashini Girls School (P. Credit: Author)



Table 4.5: Source of financing of different type of schools²⁰

Government school	Non-government MPO school	Non-government private school
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teacher and staffs Salary from Government • Salary of non-government staffs (e.g., security force) from students • Cost of some events and facilities (sports, library, student common room) paid by students • Infrastructure development by Education Engineering Department (EED) under ministry of education • Cost of teachers training bear by government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Salary of Teacher and staffs listed under MPO from Government • Salary of Teacher and staffs not listed under MPO from students • Cost of all events and facilities financed from student tuition fees • Infrastructure development by EED. • Donation of businessman, influential person. • Cost of teachers training bear by government 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All cost are financed from student fees.

Under a Government project both of the government schools have separate computer lab, while none of the MPO schools have such lab. Indication of contrast of resources between Government and MPO schools are shown in following two photographs (Photograph 2 and 3).

Photograph 2: Lab at MPO schools
(Photo credit: Author)



Photograph 3: Lab at Government school
(Photo credit: Bindubashini Poribar)



Moreover, though government and MPO schools have same source of funding for infrastructure development, they get differential treatment.²¹ Both of the government schools have infrastructure made of concrete. However, most of the classrooms of the studied MPO schools are made of CI sheet. These CI sheet build classrooms are more vulnerable to natural disaster, heat, rain etc (see photograph 4 and 5).²² Ministry of education through Education Engineering Department (EED) undertakes the responsibility of school infrastructure renovation and development activities. Due to budget constrain, EED prioritize

²⁰ Compiled with the information Head Teachers and Annual Audit Document

²¹ Interview with a Teacher of MPO school (25 July 2017)

²² Interview with Head Teachers of Anuhala High School (25 July 2017)

schools for infrastructure development. Hence, while Porabari schools are having major infrastructure development facilities, Anuhala School is relatively lag behind.

Photograph 4: CI sheet built classroom at MPO school (Photo credit: Author)



Photograph 5: Concrete built classroom at Govt. school (Photo credit: Author)



Financing also has impact on school management policy. MPO Schools arrange donation from influential person. Because of donation, the donor became a member of school management committee and have influence in school management. Moreover, as government finance salary of the staffs, education ministry through local education office has significant control over school.

On the other hand, Government schools get their fund from central government. Hence, some other government institutions have influence over these schools. For instance, admission test of the school takes place under the supervision of district administration office.²³

Annual Audit document (2014-15) of Anuhala High Schools shows that they have three sources of Fund. As shown in Table 4.6, majority of the income of MPO Schools (in 2014-15) came from students. Government is contributing 43% of the total income of the school. However, thought such document of government schools was not accessible, one staff of government school opined that major source of government school is government. The information implies that compare to Government schools, MPO School have to rely more on student fees.

Table 4.6: Source of fund of Anuhala High School in 2014-15 fiscal year²⁴

Source Head	Specific source/purpose	Total fund
Government	MPO Staff Salary, Stipend, Govt. donation	USD 28,943 (43% of total income)
Non-government	Tuition and different fee from students, income from central examination board for arranging exam (exam fee from students)	USD 35,273 (52% of total income)
Other	Donation, lease of school resources	USD 3,454 (5% of total income)
Total		USD 67,670

²³ Interview with a Teacher of Government School (22 July 2017)

²⁴ Annual Audit Report of Anuhala High School

Chapter 5

Enrolment and Access

From the previous chapter, it is evident that case studied Government and non-government secondary schools in Tangail Sadar Upazila are differently equipped with resources and facilities. Moreover, Government schools are performing better than non-government schools in terms of students' performance. Parents and students attributed this better performance to better resources and facilities in government schools.²⁵ Hence, that chapter substantiate the claim that government secondary education policy leads an unequal resource distribution among the schools and created unequal space opportunity.

In this chapter, it will be analyzed whether students from different socio economic background have differential access to this given unequal space of opportunity. If differential access is there, the chapter will also examine how students and parents experience that differences. Following that, the chapter shades light on the existing secondary education policy option in promoting equity in secondary education using the conceptual framework.

5.1 Admission Process

Government has two separate rules for governing the admission process of Government and Nongovernment schools. The two rules seem more or less similar apart from composition of admission processing committee (MoE 2016a, 2016b). Nonetheless, among the three type of schools, students face hardest admission process in government school. As the number of applicant is far greater than the number of seats, Government schools adopt strong student selection process.²⁶

Teachers of a Government school argued that- in 2016, around 1,500 girls took part in admission test to be selected against 120 limited seats of Bindubashini Govt. Girls High School.²⁷ Hence, in this school one student had been selected from every 12 students.

Moreover, Government schools allow major admission in grade six.²⁸ These practice turns out to be very competitive and burdensome for students. Shanu, parents of one applicant of Government School, stated that-

Dream of my child is almost finished! She prepared hard and took part in government school admission test in grade six; but she could not succeed. Now, the door for her to admit in government school is closed permanently. I had no other option but to admit her in MPO School or expensive private school'

Statement of Shanu implied that grade six is a transition phase of student life. Interesting to note that, I studied in grade five for two years as my parents wanted me to go for government school admission test in consecutive year. If a

²⁵ Interview with parents and students of government and nongovernment school (24 and 25 July 2017)

²⁶ Interview with a teacher of Bindubashini Girls' School (1 August 2017)

²⁷ Interview with the Head Teacher of Bindubashini Girls' School (1 August 2017)

²⁸ One government secondary school has attached primary section. Student of primary section have direct access to secondary section. In addition to that, very limited number of admission take place in other grade (to fill the vacant seat)

student fail to get admit in government school during that phase, quality education becomes uncertain for them.

Generally Non-government MPO schools do not face tremendous pressure of students. However, few MPO schools with good facilities and academic performance get more number of application than their available seats. One respondent informed that these schools charge extra fees from the students. MPO schools (Tangail Girls School) located in urban area get more students than their capacity and can afford to be little bit more selective in admission process. However, Annuhala and Porabari Schools (located in rural area) don't need to be selective as applicant are smaller compare to available seats. Moreover, as the dropout rate is high among these schools, they can admit more students at grade six. Eventually, the number of students reduced significantly in higher grade. Non-government private school try to accommodate as much as student possible. In fact, the private school has their own marketing strategies. Often teachers of Non-government private school are forced to bring certain number of students for admission.

Constitution of Bangladesh declared (article 28.3 and 28.4) that no citizen shall be discriminated on admission to any educational institution and state can make special provision for the advancement of any backward section of citizens (The constitution of the People's Republic of Bangladesh 1972). In line with the declaration, the two admission rules of Ministry of Education have special provision (quota) for freedom fighters (5%), student passed from government primary school (10%), disable students (2%), children of specific government employee (2%), and student from Lillah boarding (1%) (MoE 2014a, 2016a, 2016b). However, it is noteworthy that, except disable students none of the quota categories address the backward section of citizens (e.g., Indigenous population, certain caste, people of char area, household living under extreme poverty line).

While both of the rules proposed for lottery system in grade 1 (primary section) admission, they instruct merit based admission to secondary education institutions (MoE 2016a, 2016b). Hence, in secondary education, merit is uphold over backwardness of citizen. While government provisioning through government schools could correct the bias, it is actually exacerbating the scenario. According to the admission rules, if one child of a household are admitted in government school, another child from the same household will get preference in admission (MoE: 2014a).

5.2 Students' Economic Background

One of the hypothesis of this paper is that limited government schools are more selective towards economic well-off segment of population. To assess this statement, secondary database of HIES (carried out in 2010) and primary survey data are analysed. Findings from these databases are presented in following sections:

Household Income Expenditure Survey 2010²⁹

Among the 280 sample households in Tangail district, total 74 household members are found who were studying in secondary schools. Among these students, 16% were studying in Government schools (Table 5.1). It is noteworthy that, none of the students were studying in Non-government private schools as such sort of schools were relatively new phenomenon during that time. Moreover, the data also indicate that share of students studying in government schools in 2010 is more than share in present times. It is because while the number of government schools remain static, number of Non-government MPO and Non-government private schools and their students have been increased in consistent with the increasing enrolment rate over the years.

Table 5.1: Number of sample students in HIES by type of their schools

Type of school	Number of students	Student in percent
Government School	12	16.2
MPO school	62	83.8
Total	74	100

The data of HIES reveals that students of government schools are relatively economically better off than the students of MPO school. While average per capita household income of students from government schools were BDT 4663 (equivalent to USD57.46), for students of MPO school such income were BDT2554 (equivalent to USD31.47) (Table 5.2). The data also indicates that household of government school students had at least minimum per capita income to sustain livelihood adequately. For instance, among the 12 sample household of government school students, only one household was living below the upper poverty line standard as defined by Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics. On the other hand, among the 54 households of students from MPO schools, 8 households were living below the upper poverty line (Annex table 1). Considering this 9 sample individuals who were living under poverty, only one students had access to the government school.

Table 5.2. Households' per capita income of students by school type.

Type of school	Household per capita income		
	Mean	Minimum	Maximum
Government School	4662.9	1026.3	23316.1
MPO school	2554.3	467.8	18092.5

The above data of Tangail district clearly suggests that, households of the student of government schools are economically better off than the household having student in MPO schools. Moreover, government direct provisioning addressing only one household from the nine households which are living below the upper poverty line. These implies that government direct provisioning through government schools is class bias in selecting students.

Sample Survey in Six Case Studied Schools 2017

As discussed in methodology section, 1015 students are interviewed using 27 indicators designed for PMT in secondary schools of Bangladesh. Each indicators and relevant variables have different weightage point. Using the weightage point, a poverty scorecard is devised for 1015 households. In this scorecard, the more one household get score, the more that household financially better off.

²⁹ This section is based on the HIES 2010 database.

Using the above mentioned logic, the survey revealed that economic background of the students of government schools are better than the economic background of the students of MPO and Private Schools. While the average score of households of government schools students is 23, the average score of households of MPO and Private schools students are -16.79 and 13.04 respectively.

Using the score of households, all households are listed in highest to lowest order. Following that, among the sample household, top 40 percent households (i.e., 406 households) and bottom 40 percent households are separated. The data shows that among the top 406 households, majority (56.2%) sending their children to government school; while, among the bottom 406 households, only 5.2 percent of the households able to send their children to Government school. Majority of the bottom households (i.e., 89%) manage to send their children to MPO School.

The data can be interpreted in alternative approach. In the sample, there are 310 households having student in government schools. As shown in Table 5.3, among these households 73.5% belong to the top economically well off households. Among the 592 households having children in MPO School, majority (61%) households belongs to economically bottom 40 percent households. It is a common assumption that students from relatively well-off households would afford expensive private school. However, the data shows that 21% of the household having children in Non-government private school belongs to the bottom households.

Table 5.3: Distribution of household by type of school and economic status

Type of School	Total household	Household belong to top 40 percent households		Household belong to bottom 40 percent households	
		Number of Household	% of total household (column 2)	Number of Household	% of total household (column 2)
Government	310	228	73.5%	21	6.8%
Non-government MPO	592	112	18.9%	361	61.0%
Non-government Private	113	66	58.4%	24	21.2%
Total	1015	406	40%	406	40%

All the above estimation indicate that among the six case studied schools, Government schools are more prone to accommodate students from economically better off households. On the other hand, relatively less well-off households are accommodated in MPO and Private schools.

5.3 Student Fees Structure

In the previous chapter and above two sections, it is evident that limited number of government schools with better education facilities accommodating students from relatively wealthier households. Because of the stringent admission procedure and location of the government schools, less well-off households are forced to send their children to MPO and Private school. However, against this backdrop, it is relevant to examine the education cost burden of such school provisioning.

Government School:

Student fees at government schools is defined by specific rules of the Ministry of Education and the same fees structured is followed in all Government schools of Bangladesh (MoE 2014b). Including school tiffin cost, student need to pay around BDT 140 (USD 1.73) per month. Including annual admission/session fee, total fees varies around BDT 3500 (USD 43.13). Based on the interview with students, a typical fee structure at Government school is devised and presented in table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Tuition fee structure in Bangladeshi currency i.e., BDT (grade six to nine) at government schools

Annual fees		Monthly Fees	
Admission	12-15	Tuition fees	12-15
Print	175	Tiffin	75
Magazine	60	Miscellaneous	55
Sports	100		
Cultural events	75		
Library	40		-
Laboratory	40		
Farewell	100		
Some other fund (e.g., scout, common room, garden management, student welfare, health fund, id card)	350		
Miscellaneous	200		
Exam fee	650		
Total Annual Fees	1802-1805	Total Monthly Fees	142-145
Total Fees (12 months fees + Annual fees) = 3506-3512 (excluding tiffin 2606-2612)			

Non-government MPO School:

Tuition fees at MPO and private schools varies significantly. Though government tries to regulate admission and tuition fees of MPO schools within a threshold with different circulation, often the tuition fees go beyond that limit (MoE 2016b)³⁰. MPO schools rationalize the excess tuition fees for addressing the school development activities and salary of Non-MPO teachers³¹. Tuition fees of MPO schools varies between BDT 90 and BDT 300. In addition to that the annual charge in MPO Schools varies between BDT 500 and BDT 1100 (Table 5.5 and 5.6).

Table 5.5: Tuition fee structure in BDT (grade six to nine) at Non-government MPO Schools (Anuhala High School)

Annual fees		Monthly Fees	
Admission	500	Tuition fees (including all miscellaneous cost); No tiffin is provided	90-120
Exam fee	400-500		
Total Annual Fees	900-1000	Total Monthly Fees	1080-1440
Total Fees (12 months fees + Annual fees) = 1980-2440			

³⁰ Interview with Upazila Secondary Education Officer (19 July 2017)

³¹ Interview with a Head Teacher Of a MPO schools (19 July 2017)

The difference partly attributed to the lack of affordability of students in rural area. As Anuhala school located in rural area and try to attract children from low income households, school administration try to bend the tuition fees to retain as much students as possible³². In fact, the tuition fees in Anuhala School is closer to that of government schools (disregarding tiffin cost of government school).

Compare to the Anuhala High School, Tangail Girls School (locating in urban area) afford to get students from relatively more well off households. Hence, these school can charge more to students. However, these school charge considerable more tuition fees than Government schools. According to Head teacher of Tangail Girls School, they are in fact charging less cost compare to some other MPO schools located in this area. He noted name of one school which charges around BDT 10,000 (USD 123.29) annually on a typical student.

Table 5.6: Tuition fees (in BDT) structure (grade six to nine) at Non-government MPO Schools (Tangail Girls School)

Annual fees		Monthly Fees	
Admission	1100	Tuition fees (including all miscellaneous cost); No tiffin is provided	200-300
Exam fee (2)	500-600		
Total Annual Fees	1600-1700	Total Monthly Fees	2400-3600
Total Fees (12 months fees + Annual fees) = 4000-5300			

Non-government Private School:

Tuition fees at Non-government private school respond the market. Considering the tuition fees of competitive private schools, Saheen School fixed the monthly and annual fees for students. Often Saheen School offers discount (in form of scholarship) for meritorious students. As shown in table 5.7., students of Saheen School pay considerable high education fees compare to education fee at Government and non-government MPO School. The total annual fees paid by a typical student of this school is around 3 to 4 times (USD 168.8 to USD 194.7) higher than that of government and MPO schools.

Table 5.7: Tuition fees (in BDT) structure (grade six to nine) at Non-government Private School (Saheen School)

Annual fees		Monthly Fees	
Admission session fee	1100	Tuition fees (including all miscellaneous cost); No tiffin is provided	1000-1200
Exam fee	300		
Total Annual Fees	1400	Total Monthly Fees	1000-1200
Total Fees (12 months fees + Annual fees) = 13700-15800			

Using the data of sample survey, association among households' economic status, student tuition fees expense and type of schooling are summarized in Table 5.8. The table suggest that student from less well-off households pay the same tuition fees (in rural MPO Schools) like an economically more well off students pays to government schools. In fact, students of urban MPO schools

³² Interview with the Head Teacher of Anuhala High School (19 July 2017)

and urban private schools, who are predominantly from middle income household, pay more than the students of upper income households in government schools.

Table 5.8: Association among type of schooling, economic status of student households and tuition expense.

Student by type and locality of school	General Economic Status of households ³³	Education expense (compare to expense of government school students)	Obtain facilities and services (compare to facilities/services of government school)
Student of rural MPO schools	Living in bottom economic strata (bottom 40% households)	Same	Low
Student of urban MPO schools	Living in middle economic strata	High	Low
Student of urban private schools	Living in all economic strata (especially in middle strata)	High	Low
Student of urban Government schools	Living in top economic strata (top 40% households)	-	-

As discussed earlier, Government s are guided by some specific tuition fee structured informed by specific rules. However, such specific rules are absent for governing Non-government schools, which allow them to follow unguided tuition fees. For instance, government indirectly allow MPO School to accrue additional tuition fees in 2016 when new pay scale for government official adopted. An order of Education ministry stated that MPO School can increase maximum 30% of the students tuition fees to increase the salary of teachers (MoE 2016c). This 30% range allow schools to be more arbitrary in fixing tuition fees.

Moreover, this policy approach implies that the burden of new pay scale for government teachers is supposed to bear by government, while burden of salary increase of MPO schools supposed to bear by poor students of MPO schools.

5.4 Relevant Government Policy and Experience of Stakeholders

Data of six case studies school suggest there are sharp differences among the government, nongovernment MPO and Non-government private schools. Inequality among the institutions in aspects of resource, facilities, quality, education cost etc are quite sharp (chapter 4). Hence, students who admit to these schools with differentiate facilities also faces unequal provisioning. Moreover, the data suggests that particular type of schools include student with particular socio economic characteristics (see section 5.2). The data also indicate that, this

³³ Calculation based on sample survey in the six case studied schools. All households are categorized in 10 deciles. Following that, concentration of households by type of school in the deciles are measured.

inequality in opportunity (differential access to resource) manifest in inequality in outcome (e.g., academic performance).

While the government direct secondary education provision could address the issue through enhancing provisioning and opportunity (on the basis of equality philosophy) or addressing disadvantages segment of population with limited resource (on the basis of equity philosophy); in practice, government strategies took the opposite road.

Though budget is increasing for secondary education, the problem is its pattern of utilization

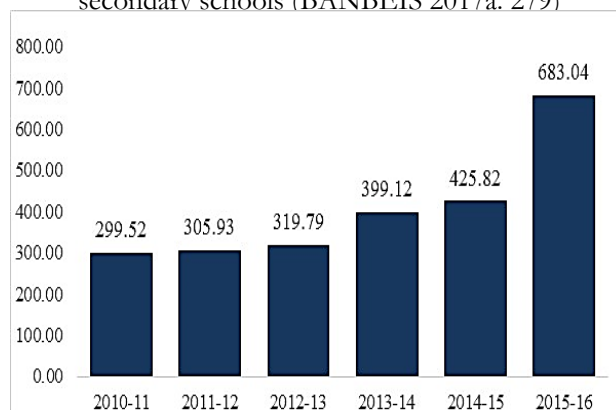
Share of public expenditure on education in Bangladesh is the minimum considering the other south Asian countries. In 2015, total public expenditure as share of total GDP was only 2.18 percent (BANBEIS 2017a: 278). However, in last two fiscal year education sector (including secondary education) is getting special preference from the government. In fiscal year 2017-18, the share of education budget in national budget has gone up by 14 percent compared to previous year and reached 12.6 percent of the total budget (*The Daily Star* 2017a). However, this budget has limited attention to increase direct expenditure in secondary education through government schooling provisioning.

In primary education and tertiary education, government is focusing on increment of government direct provisioning. For instance, government has taken the policy to nationalize most of the primary schools. In 2016, there were 73,396 primary schools in Bangladesh among which 38,406 schools were government schools (BANBEIS 2017a: 75). In fiscal budget 2017-18, government has announced to nationalize 26,193 more primary schools in following year (CPD IRBD 2017). This initiative will increase the share of government primary school to 88 percent of the total primary school. Similar effort of government has also been manifested in tertiary level education. Recently, government has announced to nationalize 283 non-government college (*Bdnews24* 2017).

Pattern of Utilization One: MPO Expansion

Taking the alternative route in secondary education sector, government is focusing on expanding more MPO institutions and number of teacher getting MPO. As shown in figure 5.1, over last six years budget for salary subvention to Non-Government MPO teachers and staffs has been increased significantly. This implies that instead of expanding government direct provisioning (i.e., government schools), government prefers to expand its existing support to MPO schools.

Figure 5.1: Expenditure (in million USD) of the Government on salary subvention to Non-Government secondary schools (BANBEIS 2017a: 279)



In fact, over last five years the share of salary subvention for Non-Government teachers to total revenue expenditure has been increased quite significantly in secondary and higher education sector of Bangladesh. While share of salary

subvention (non-government institutions) to total revenue budget for secondary and higher education was 61.83 percent in 2011-12 fiscal year, it has been increased to 83.17 percent in 2014-15 fiscal year (BANBIES 2017:279). These figure provide clear indication that government want to concise its intervention in secondary education sector through salary subvention for MPO schools. In Tangail Sadar Upazila, the same trend of MPO expansion has been exhibited over recent decade (BANBEIS 2017b: 15).

As discussed in previous chapter and sections, limiting direct government services and expanding MPO services are not addressing equity issues. In contrast, limited government school are class bias and providing better service to those privilege section of population.

Pattern of Utilization Two: Project Focus

Apart from MPO subvention, different government projects at secondary level like SESP (Secondary Education Stipend Project), SEQAEP (Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project), SESIP (Secondary Education Sector Investment Project) and TQI (Teaching Quality Improvement Project) are designed to address the need of disadvantages student with extra resource and provisioning (details of the programme are shown in Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Three secondary education project at a glance*

Name of project	Fund	Area covered (No. of Upazila)**	Number of students received stipend**		Feature of the project
			Total	Girls	
SEQAEP	Government and World Bank	250 (51% of total Upazila)	1,855,896	1,119,748	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Address both quality and access in secondary schools by incorporating intervention like additional class, stipend, library development, community involvement, etc.) • Network of NGO, private sector and government • Targeting based on household poverty estimation
SESP-2	Government	183 (38% of total Upazila)	1,165,061	915,077	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stipend focus • Priority for female education • Conditionality like class attendance and academic performance get preference
SESIP	Government	54 (11% of total Upazila)	299,432	202,087	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Priority for female education • Also includes infrastructure development intervention
*Statistics are of the year 2015-16					
**Source: BANBEIS (2017a: 279)					

However, this project based intervention (financed from non-revenue budget) are also problematic in addressing equity in secondary education sector. On following ground, I argued that these interventions are not alternative option to direct government provisioning in secondary level of education to reduce inequity.

- Social Protection Scheme: The three projects covered 32.6 percent of the total secondary level students (BANBEIS 2017a: 34). As these projects are female focus, they covered 41 percent of the total female students. Hence, stipend components of these focus are not based on universalization of social protection provision. All of the three programs include list of conditionality with complex methodology to determine beneficiaries. Any scheme designed to cover one third of students is not enough to justify the inequity issues associated in 98 percent students.
- Temporary project base intervention: In fiscal budget 2017-18, share of budget for education has been increased. However, this additional budget is dedicated to these projects (CPD IRBD 2017). Hence, government has not significantly increased revenue budget for education, rather focused on temporary solution of greater inequality issues. In this arrangement, budget determine the number of beneficiaries. Hence, the focus is not on demand side rather on supply side.
- High targeting error: Among the social protection programme in Bangladesh, Secondary and higher education stipend programme is proved as one of the worst performing programme in reaching its target group. According to Barkat et. al. (2013: 84) these programme have around 59 percent inclusion error. It means that 59 percent of the beneficiaries of the programme were wrongly included in the programme. The targeting error is not necessarily outcome of corruption in this sector. As Hossain (2010: 1273) argued that educational officials and teacher working at the field level for selecting beneficiaries often have “middle class bias”. In this selection process, officials preferred merit over poverty in selecting beneficiaries (op. cit).

Experience of Stakeholders

Parents' Experience

As revealed during the interview with Jabbar mia (Case 1), he has ambition to open the opportunity of three sons. He did not want to limit their future in the same box (profession, standard of living) he is revolving. However, it is a real issue whether the secondary education system is providing him enough option to choose or forcing him to follow a particular path.

Case 1: Going back to rural home children education

Jabbar Mia is a Rikshaw puller by profession. He has a dream that his three sons will get rid of his poverty by having a good job after their education. He brought his sons to urban area from his rural village for their better education. He had a desire to admit them in Government school so that they can get better education with lower cost. However, all of them fail to get admission in government schools. Jabbar mia believe that as he did not groom his children with better education at primary education level they fail to compete in government school admission test. He attributed his failure to lack of income to provide them additional private tuition. Failed to admit them in government schools, he admit them in Non-government private schools. However, expenditure in Non-government private school and good MPO schools is too high for him. Hence, he is thinking off sending them to village and admit them in rural MPO schools which require relatively less tuition fees.

As revealed in findings section, in almost all indicators related to infrastructure, academic performance, facilities etc. government schools outperforms the non-government schools (MPO and for profit). However, this path (direct government provision) is highly selective towards the best (in terms of merit). As revealed in the case studied schools, merit of students is correlated with the economic background of the parents of students. Hence, government provisioning is targeting the best students (with better economic background) for best outcome. In this system, three of sons Jabbar Mia were not considered for the best outcome. Certainly such approach resemble the human capital approach where aggregated economic outcome (higher productivity and wage) is the main currency development.

However, secondary education policy has not relegated Jabbar Mia and his sons to market of education sector. His sons are already the outcome of ‘Education for All’ approach at primary education which is enlightened by human right based approach. Education policy of Bangladesh continues this approach in secondary education in minimalist way. Through expanding the government support in secondary sector by investing in MPO schools, government is trying to establish education safety net for less meritorious students. It implies that government is not ready to take sole responsibility of taking care of majority of student in secondary education.

Adoption of these two approaches (human capital and human right) by the government devoid of capability approach. Current secondary education system has narrowed down the horizon of option to choose for the majority of less privileged students. Therefore, less privileged group have less freedom to choose among schools and appropriate environment (e.g., school provisioning) to thrive their capabilities (Walker 2005: 103). Even if these less privileged segment of population want to widen their option of education, they have to bear very unfavourable trade off.

Case 2: Trade-off between health and education
<p>Opu Das is an employee at Government College. Her husband is a transport worker. Jointly they earn around BDT 13000 (USD 160) per month. Last year her husband had a severe brain haemorrhage and doctor advised him to take regular medicine and not to involve in hard work.</p> <p>Opu das has a daughter name Orpita Das. Fond of Rubik’s Cube, Orpita Das has a dream to be doctor. Last year she tried to get admission at Bindubashini Government School at grade six. Because of sever completion of admission in government school, she could not score enough in admission test to admit in that school.</p> <p>Opu Das took a hard decision to admit Orpita in a Non-government private school knowing that the quality of Non-government private school is not same as the quality of government school and the tuition fee is much higher. Including tuition fee the total Monthly cost of Orpita’s education is around BDT 3500 (USD 43). Opu das is forced to reduce the medication (cost around BDT3000 per month) of her husband and allowing him to do overtime in spite of his harsh health situation.</p>

The case of Opu (Case 2) is an example of this kind of tradeoff between health and education. In ideal situation, Opu would be forced to admit her daughter at a low quality MPO schools with moderate tuition fees (which is same or more than the tuition fees of Government school) to save some money for

her husband treatment. However, she made the harsh decision to open the option of Non-government private school for her child at the expense of potential health hazard or death of her husband. Existing secondary education policy seems having lack of consideration of such socioeconomic and cultural condition of entitlement. Hence, the policy miss one of the notion of development. This example of Opu reminds one personal account of Amartya Sen illustrated in the Introduction chapter of “Development as Freedom” book.

Personal Account of Amartya Sen
<p>During the Communal riot (between Hindu and Muslim) in Bengal, Kader mia had to go for work in unfavourable risky area (community of antagonistic religion) for earning tiny reward. One afternoon, Kader Mia was knifed and murdered by the communal thugs of that antagonistic locality. Before death, Kader Mia shared that his wife told him not to go that hostile area in search of work. However, Kader Mia was helpless as his family had nothing to eat that day</p> <p style="text-align: right;">-Sen 1999: 8</p>

Pointing towards the personal account, Sen (1999: 8) argued that “Economic unfreedom can breed social unfreedom, just as social or political unfreedom can also foster economic unfreedom”. Likewise, one certain aspect of unfreedom (e.g., economic unfreedom) in Opu’s household breed other form of social unfreedom (e.g., health, education) to their life.

According to Sen, for attaining similar capabilities for disadvantages group it is necessary not only to provide equal access but also to provide additional access (Klasen 2001: 3). In Opu’s case, she denied not only additional access but also equal access. Apparently in fair admission test for limited number of seat in government school, all applicant enjoy equal opportunity of access. However, Opu could not afford to groom up her daughter for the admission test with expensive private tutoring. Hence, before starting the competition, daughter of Opu lost the level playing field.

Students’ Experience

Subonra, One of the Girls student of Anuhala High School, stated that-

*We afford less; hence, we deserve more
Government school only for them, who already have enough*

During the interview with students, it is found that most of the students do not have the same sense of deprivation led by type of school provisioning. However, a number of student like Subonra perceived that they are deprived and they operationalized their deprivation quite interestingly. For instance, Akhi, a student of same school informed that-

*As my poor parents are illiterate, they can’t assist me to understand homework
Hence, private tuition is necessary for me which cost me 800 taka/month (USD 80)
Students of government school do not need that tuition as their parents are literature
Therefore, I deserve better education of government school, which can relief me from additional tuition cost*

Response of Akhi indicate some other variables in the issue. According to Akhi they are also disadvantages as their parents are illiterate and less conscious. To overcome the situation, they need to put extra effort (private tuition) which they can’t afford. Therefore, her justification of ‘deserving government school education’ is quite bold. Their sense of deprivation also manifested in not having opportunity to be ‘flourished’ in life, as argued by Sumaiya:

*They (student of government school) are all-rounder!
They get best education
They have the opportunity to flourish
While, we have the threat of early marriage from our poverty stricken family*

Moreover, student living in rural and hard to reach area did not even participate in the admission test of Government school. Government schooling is expensive/unviable for them because of following reasons³⁴:

- Living in government schools means they have to migrate to urban area. This migration lead additional accommodation cost.
- Some of the students involve in household work or child labor in local handloom industries. Hence, the studying in urban government school would force them to forgo much needed income/activities for household.
- Security concern for girls' students is a major issues. One on the student reported that she had a dream to study in Bindubashini Government Girls School. She is not fortunate enough to get admission in that school. Her parents took the risk of sending her to the government school as her brother live adjacent to that government school. However, none of her friends' parents dare to send their daughter to distant urban area for better education. It is noteworthy that, while government boys' school has hostel facilities, Government girls' school does not have that facilities.

Above mention scenario suggest that gender, locality, household poverty all intersect in students' life and filtered them out before the inception of official admission process of Government schools. Like Sumaiya, few of the student of MPO schools denoted themselves as 'we' and students of government school as 'they'. This form of identity dichotomy is found quite sharp during the interview with some students. Hence, exclusionary practice in secondary education have farther implication in class identity formation.

Social Exclusion

In addition to economic dimension, social dimension of exclusion in education is also found significant during the survey. Indigenous community of Tangail district lives in Modhupur Upazila of Tangail district. This community lives in little bit remote and forest area of the districts. Among the 5 Secondary schools in Tangail districts, none is located in that area. Moreover, Secondary schools don't have specific quota for indigenous community. However, to address the indigenous community, tertiary level educational institute of same Upazila (Tangail Sadar) follow quota system. Moreover, as those tertiary level institution offer hostel facilities, indigenous students of Modhupur district migrate to Sadar Upazila to study in that college. It implies that neither government secondary provision is available to that backward population nor existing facilities is ready (in terms of residential facilities) to accommodate them government schools.

This exclusionary practice in secondary education exacerbated another kind of differentiation in tertiary education. During my work in Government tertiary

³⁴ Interview with students of MPO schools located at rural area (15 July 2017)

level college (which is proximate to studied schools), I found very few times indigenous students interacting with other students. In fact, students of higher secondary level students always try select the cohort of interaction from their own previous secondary schools. Eventually, indigenous students forced to form their own cohort of interaction. This practice deter the integration among student from different ethnic background and reinforce the existing form of marginal identity of indigenous community.

In addition to government policy analysis, it is also needed to put light on social class distinction and its association with school preference. Whitty (2001: 291) claimed that middle class preference to certain school or withdrawal from certain type of schools also influence resources, quality, state attention etc of such schools. Moreover, when advantaged class prefer certain type of school, it seems quite less likely for disadvantaged group to get access to those certain type of school (Loc. cit). Hence, inclusion of certain class in certain school leads exclusion of certain class in that respective school.

Teachers of both government and non-government schools opined that throughout the last century Government school of Tangail district is preferred by *Somvranto* (elites) of the society. They also informed that the same scenario was seen in others district of Bangladesh where children of DC (District Commissioner) SP (Superintend of Police), judge were used to admitted in District Government School³⁵. However, in recent years, these *Somvranto (elite)* class try to admit their children in expensive Non-government private school located in the capital city of Bangladesh. Nonetheless, the survey findings conform the claim of teachers and reveals that the scenario of elite preference for government school have not changed a lot in Tangail district. Among the respondents, 20 percent students wanted to admit government school because of schools' fame. Some of the students opined that education in government school is prestigious for them.

This elite preference for government school incur additional state attention for these school. Performance and events of Government schools often highlighted in newspaper in district administration office. According to teachers of MPO schools demands of government school get greater emphasize than MPO schools. It resemble the school "colonizing" by middle class phenomena as described by Whitty (2001:291).

Location of Government in network of secondary education actors in problematic

Location and function of Government in the network of actors in secondary education is problematic. It is an important policy issue where and how government locate itself in this network of actors and how it consider education as goods (public or private or common goods). For example, Daviet (2016: 7) wants to see education as common goods where network of actors participate and state will ensure the issue of equity.

Apart from small number of government schools, two actors are located in the network to address the issue of equity which are Government administration (Ministry, directorate, local education office) and MPO schools. During the study it is observed that apparently Government, private sectors, community,

³⁵ Interview with a teacher of Government School (20 July 2017)

NGOs all presence in the secondary education sector. However, as discussed earlier presence of government in direct provision is very minimum compare to other two education segments (Primary and tertiary level). Presence of NGOs in providing education is absent, though INGO have some project base contribution (like stipend and teaching quality improvement project). During the interview with local government officials, it is revealed government has limited authority over limited number of private institutions. In fact, head of one of the Non-government private institutions was previously marketing manager of a TV channel. One teacher of that private institutions opined about private intuitions that 'It is more about a business than education'.

In the network of actors, expansion of MPO schools and contract between Government and MPO schools (MPO subvention and regulation) suggest that government doesn't like to take the responsibility of educating anymore; rather government rather likes to regulate education. As noted earlier, this minimal government responsibilities of educating through government schools serving the upper class of society. Hence, existing government policies of expanding MPO School creating the passive exclusion where such exclusion is unintended consequence of circumstance and policy.

Experience of different stakeholder of secondary education and existing policy system suggest that, direct government provisioning through government schools is upholding human capital approach. The best service of government is targeting the best students of Upazila disregarding their socio-economic background. Hence, it follows the neoclassical instrumentalist orientation of education. When the best students of best resourced government school outperform the student of other Non-government school, it implies that the government school provisioning is designed to maximize the efficiency.

However, the secondary education policy has not abandoned the right based approach completely. Secondary education system performed remarkable well in ensuring gender equity in secondary education (GED 2015: 45). The sector met the target of MDG and now aligning national five years plans with the SDGs (*The Daily Star* 2017b). Hence, conforming to national and international agenda (like UN), the secondary education policy is trying to address gender parity, reduction of dropout rate, pass rate etc. However, the policy failed to address the equity aspect of accessing to quality education. Because of the loophole in education policy system, if Sumaiya fail to pursue her education with her limited resources and forced to marry early, policy approach certainly are failing to uphold her right.

In this paper, it is apparent that secondary education policy of Bangladesh is less informed by capability approach. Sumaiya should be in the education system not only because it is her right or she will contribute to workforce or she is women; but also because she is human and need the opportunity to function and being whatever she would like to be. When the window of opportunity for Orpita Das is limited in the system, mere access to education is not the ultimate development.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Demand for education as a right is claimed by certain student political wing for a long time. Slogan like “Education is not opportunity; rather it is my right (Photograph 6)” is quite common on the wall different tertiary level institutions in Bangladesh. In fact, recent education policy of Bangladesh envision an education system with reduction of inequality. However, three level of education (i.e, primary, secondary and tertiary) have different response to such movement and broader framework of policy. This paper argues that government provisioning of exiting secondary education policy and practice is promoting inequity instead of reducing it.



The papers argued that among the three type of education providing institutions i.e., Government, Non-government MPO, Non-government private schools, government is not using government school to reach disadvantages population, rather limited number of government schools are serving the need of limited advantages urban population. Government is trying to accommodate majority of secondary students through supporting the non-government (MPO) schools. However, such schools are limited in facilities and quality of education, while incurring higher cost for students having relatively disadvantages background. While in primary and tertiary level of education, government is expanding its direct provisioning through public institutions, in secondary education government expanding the coverage of MPO schools. It seems government prefers existing MPO schools strategy is functional enough to tackle equity issues. In reality, this policy of squeezing direct government provisioning and promoting MPO schools are nourishing greater inequality in society by promoting inequity of opportunity.

Policy options

As discussed earlier, Government is trying to increase the share of education expenditure in national budget (CPD IRBD 2017). As a result, the per capita allocation has been increased from BDT 1,084 in FY 15-16 to BDT 1,944 in FY 17-18 (Loc. cit.). However, how these budget will be utilized to address the equity issue in secondary education is one of the key concern. Some gap in policy, budget distribution and its utilization are discussed below with potential alternative policy options.

- **More revenue budget for education:** Most of the revenue budget for secondary and higher education is utilized for teacher’s salary. Around 88 to 90 percent of the nonrevenue budget is utilized for teacher’s salary (BANBEIS 2017a: 278). Increasing the number of government school

or increasing support for MPO School would increase the share of other public investment (for instance direct subsidy for tuition fees, flow of continuous resource for science lab) for the qualitative development of institutions.

- **Mainstreaming project:** In supplementary budget of fiscal year 2016-17, the budget for Directorate of secondary and higher education was reschedule and reduced (CPD IRBD 2017). Hence, while the budget for directorate is underutilized, budget for project based intervention is over emphasized. In project based allocation from the development budget is not sustainable option to address the long term development of this sector. Hence, the policy option could be to mainstream those project components in directorate regular activities and expand the fiscal space for those activities.
- **Nationalization of MPO schools:** In primary and tertiary level education, government is putting emphasize in increase the number of government institutions. Establishing new institutions or nationalizing existing institutions are two approach that government is adopting to increase the presence of state in human development. For secondary education, it would be better policy option to nationalize those MPO schools as establishing of new institutions requires huge additional budget. Moreover, government is already in practice of supporting the MPO schools.
- **Bearing the all cost of students:** Under the existing secondary education system, government can pay MPO schools the expense of each students. In this arrangement, MPO schools will get agreed upon money and resource against each admitted students. At present, there exist wide discrepancies among the MPO schools in availing government support and subvention. Moreover, MPO schools charge different amount of fees to students. One of the head teacher of studied informed that one MPO school charge eight times more tuition fees from students. Moreover, that school had better support from government institutions. When government will bear all cost of students, it would be easier for government to regulate and minimize this discrepancies.
- **Revision of Quota in admission system:** Positive discrimination can be one way of minimizing the inequity in access to better government provisioning. In addition to increase the number of government school, government need to revise the quota system in admission process. While in government job, 55 percent post are assigned to different segment of population like indigenous, women, location etc. However, in government schools admission system, limited 20% quota system are not based on socio-economic background of the students. Hence, major revision of quota system is needed to address equity issue in education system.
- **Greater attention in minimizing the gap in quality of education:** In case studies, it is revealed that apart from cost of education incurred on students, quality of education is one of the main determinant of prevailing inequity in secondary education system. It is found that government

and non-government school teacher have the same opportunity of having government training. Nonetheless, difference in recruitment system and system of incentive (e.g., job security, status, salary) lead difference in quality of education. Moreover, difference in teaching capacity has been exacerbated when teachers find difference in facilities (adequate teaching materials like science lab) to upgrade their ability. Therefore, teacher recruitment system need to be centralized and transparent. In addition to that, government need to ensure equal facilities between government and MPO schools.

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Appendices

Appendices I

Questionnaire for Household Poverty Profiling

Questionnaire Sheet No.			
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DCI-1

Is public provisioning of secondary education equity enhancing? A case study in Bangladesh

Questionnaire for Students

Avwg †b`vij`vUm G Aew`Z BvUvib`vkbvj BYwUwUDU Ae †mvm`vj ÷vwWR (AvB Gm Gm) cÖwZôv†b Dbæqb Aa`qY wel†q gv÷vm© KiwQ| GB †Kv†m©i Ask wn†m†e, Avwg GKwU M†elYvKg© mœuv`b KiwQ hvi g~j D†Ïk` nj evsjv†`†ki gva`wgK wkÿv †ÿ†Ï wkÿv _©x†`i Rb` mgZvweav†b miKv†ii f`wgKv we†køLY Kiv| Avkv Kiv hvq M†elYvi djvdj evsjv†`†ki gva`wgK wkÿvbxwZ Dbæq†b f`wgKv cvjb Ki†el GB †cÖwÿ†Z, M†elYvwU mdjfv†e mœuv`b Kivi Rb` mvÿvZKv†ii gva`†g Avebvi wbKU n†Z wKQz Z` cÖ†qvRb| mvÿvZKv†ii MÖnY Ki†Z 25 †_†K 30 wgwU mgq cÖ†qvRb

wk†v cÖwZôv†bi bvg:		
wkÿv_©xi Aa`qbiZ †kÖYx:	lô	beg
†mKkb:		
wkdU:	mKvj	weKvj

K). QvÎ/QvÎxi Z`t

- wkÿv_©xi bvgt
- wcZv/gvZvi bvg:
- Awffve†Ki bvg (cÖ†hvr` †ÿ†Ï):
- wkÿv_©xi †kÖwb †ivj bœ^i:
- wkÿv_©x QvÎ b

1. QvÎ	2.
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Dc†Rjv: †Rjv:
- †dvb bœ^i:

L). QvÎ/QvÎxi Av_©-mvgvwrK Ae⁻v m^αúwK©Z cÖ†kæi cÖ†hvR[•]
 DĒ†ii Dci e,,Ē/wUK wPý`vI (cÖ†hvR[•] †ÿ†Î msL[•]v wjL):

8. AwffveK cyiæl bv gwnjv ?	1. cyiæl	2. gwnjv
9. Awffve†Ki ^eevwnK Ae ⁻ v?	1. weevwnZ 2. AweevwnZ 3. weaev/wecwZæK 4. ZvjvKcÖvß 5. Avjv`vfv†e emevmiZ ev wew”Qbæ	
10. Awffve†Ki m†e©v”P wk¶vMZ †hvM”Zv?	1. KL†bv ⁻ <z†j hvqwb 2. cÖv_wgK we”vj n†Z S†i c†o†Q 3. cĀg †k ^a wY cvm 4. JSC/JDC (Aóg †k ^a wY) cvm	5. GmGmwm/^vwLj/mgg v†bi cvm 6. GBPGmwm/mggv†bi cvm 7. wWMÖx/mggv†bi cvm 8. gv÷vim& ev D†aÿ© 9. Rbv bvB
11. Awffve†Ki ^vgx ev`xi m†ÿ©v”P wk¶vMZ †hvM”Zv ?	1. KL†bv ⁻ <z†j hvqwb 2. cÖv_wgK we”vj n†Z S†i c†o†Q 3. cĀg †k ^a wY cvm 4. JSC/JDC (Aóg †k ^a wY) cvm	5. GmGmwm/^vwLj/mgg v†bi cvm 6. GBPGmwm/mggv†bi cvm 7. wWMÖx/mggv†bi cvm 8. gv÷vim& ev D†aÿ© 9. Rbv bvB
12. wkÿv_©xi Awffve†Ki †ckv ?	1. PvKyix (miKvwi/†emiKvwi) 2. AvZæKg©ms ⁻ vb/D†”v ³ v (wbR †ckv- †hgb: †vKvb`vi, wgw`i, †gKvi, ŷz ^a e”emv BZ`vw`) 3. K...wl wfwĒK w`b gRyi 4. AK...wl wfwĒK w`b gRyi (f`vb, BwRevBK, evm PvjK BZ`vw`) 5. cÖev†m Kg©iZ 6. †Kvb Kv†R wb†qvwrZ †bB	
13. wkÿv_©xi Awffve†Ki cwiev†i 14 ermi A_ev Zvi bx†Pi eq†mi †gvU KZRb m`m” Av†Q ?	<input data-bbox="850 1615 986 1682" type="text"/>	msL [•] v (14 ermi A_ev Zvi bx†Pi eq†mi m`m” MYbv Ki†Z n†e)
14. wkÿv_©xi Awffve†Ki cwiev†i 15 ermi A_ev Zvi Dc†ii eq†mi †gvU KZRb m`m” Av†Q ?	<input data-bbox="850 1722 986 1789" type="text"/>	msL [•] v (15 ermi A_ev Zvi Dc†ii eq†mi m`m” MYbv Ki†Z n†e)
15. wkÿv_©xi Awffve†Ki cwiev†i wbR ⁻ ^ KqwU Miæ, QvMj I gwnl Av†Q ?	<input data-bbox="850 1830 986 1897" type="text"/>	msL [•] v (Miæ, QvMj I gwnl †hvM K†i msL [•] v wjL†Z n†e)
16. wkÿv_©xi Awffve†Ki wb†Ri evmM,,†n †gvU KqwU K¶ Av†Q ?	<input data-bbox="850 1937 986 2004" type="text"/>	msL [•] v (e”emvi Rb” e”eüZ K¶ AšÍfy© ³ n†e bv)

17. wkÿv_©xi Awffve†Ki wb†Ri evmM,,†ni cÖavb N†ii †`qvj wK w`†q ^Zix?	1.euv†ki PUV ev PvUvB/cvULwo 3.wUb/ KvV	2. gvwUi †`Iqvj 4. cvKv
18. wkÿv_©xi Awffve†Ki wb†Ri evmM,,†ni cÖavb N†ii Qv` wK w`†q ^Zix?	1.Qb/Lo/cvZv 3.wUb/KvV/Uvwj	2. KswµU XvjvB 4. Ab`vb`
19. wkÿv_©xi Awffve†Ki cwiev†ii wbR`^ †gvU Rwgi cwigvY KZ?		kZvsk (Pvl†hvM`, emZ wfUv I ffov Kiv Rwg †hvM K†i wjL†Z n†e)

**M) QvÎ/QvÎxi Awffve†Ki cwiev†i 20 bs n†Z 28 bs cÖ†kœ
DwjøwLZ mœú` ,wj Av†Q wKbv?**

20. Avjv`v Lvevi Ni (Dinning) Av†Q wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
21. Avjv`v ivbœvNi (Kitchen) Av†Q wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
22. wUDeI†qj (Tube-wel)/cvBc jvBb Av†Q wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
23. evmM,,†n we`y`r (Electricity) ms†hvM Av†Q wKbv ? (cjøx we`y`r/ wcvWwc/ AvBwcGm/ †mŠi we`y`r / †Rbv†iUi ms†hvM _vK†j we`y`r Av†Q e†j a†i wb†Z n†e)	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
24. †UwjwfkB (TV) Av†Q wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
25. ^e`y`wZK cvLv (Fan) Av†Q wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
26. evB-mvB†Kj/ f`vb/gUimvB†Kj/Rxc/ Kvi/ evm/U ^{av} K/ ai†bi hvbevnb Av†Q wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
27. †gvevBj (Mobile) †dvb Av†Q wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
28. j`vÛ †dvb (Land Phone) Av†Q wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2

**N) Av_©-mvgvwrK Ae`v mœúwK©Z Ab`vb` Z_` (29 bs n†Z 33
bs)**

29. wkÿv_©x †Kvb žz`a b,, †Mvôx/DcRvwZ †Mv†Îi AšÍfy© ³ wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
30. we†`†k Kg©iZ cwiev†ii †Kvb m`m` MZ 12 gvm hver UvKv cvVv†Qb wKbv ?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2
31. wkÿv_©x wK kvixwiK cÖwZeÛx?	nu`v: 1	bv: 2

)
32. wkÿv_©x cÖv_wgK we''vj†q Dce,,wĚ †c†q†Q/cvq wKbv?	nu'v: 1 bv: 2
33. wkÿv_©xi cwievi wK wfwRwW A_ev wfwRGd (VGD/VGF) KvW© avix?	nu'v: 1 bv: 2

O) Ab'vb' Z_':

34. Zzwg Dce,,wĚ cvI wKbv?	nu'v: 1 bv: 2
35. wkÿ_©xi wcGmwm/†RGmwm cixÿvi djvdj (wRwcG)
36. Zzwg wK †Kvb miKvwi we''vj†q fwZ©i Rb'' †Póv K†iQ ev fwZ© n†qQ?	nu'v: 1 bv: 2
37. hw` 36 bα^i cÖ†kœi DĚi nu'v nq Z†e Zzwg †Kb miKvwi we''vj†q fwZ©i †Póv K†iQ/fwZ© n†qQ?	1. we''vj†qi †eZb Kg 2. evoxi Kv†Q/hvZvqvZ e'e'v fvj 3. wkÿvi gvb (wkÿK, e'e'vcbv) fvj 4. cixÿvi djvdj fvj 5. cÖwm× we''vjq 6. Ab'' we''vj†qi covi Avw_©K m½wZ Kg 7. wbivcĚvi Rb'' 8. Ab'vb' (.....)
38. hw` 36 bα^i cÖ†kœi DĚi bv nq Z†e; Z†e †Kb †Póv KiwB?	(.....)
39. Avq Ges Lv†''i wcQ†b e'q we†ePbvq †Zvgvi cwievi†K Zzwg †Kvb †kÖbx†Z †dj†e?	1. D''PweĚ 2. D''P ga''weĚ 3. ga''weĚ 4. wbαœ ga''weĚ 5. wbαœweĚ

g~j' evb mgq Ges Z_'' †`qvi Rb'' †Zvgv†K Avš'wiKfv†e
ab'ev` RvbvB

Appendices II
Original Questionnaire for PMT adopted by
SEQAEP

Secondary Education Quality and Access Enhancement Project
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Government of People’s Republic of Bangladesh
Ministry of Education
Directorate of Secondary and Higher Education
PMT Validation Form

PMT Application From
School Year: Date:

Student Serial No (To be filled up by the booth officials)

A. Booth Information (To be filled up by the booth Members)t

1. Booth No: 2. Union Name: 3. Union Ward No:
4. Pourashava Name: 5. Pourashava ward No:
6. Upazila:7.Zila:..... 8. Division:

B. Student Information (To be filled up by the Applicants) t

Day Month Year

1. Student Name:

2. Date of Birth:

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3. Father's Name:..... 4. Father's National ID No (if any):

5. Mother's Name:..... 6. Mother's National ID No (if any):

7. Gender: Boys: Girls: (Please Tick mark into the box for Answer: ✓)

8. Name of Institution where applicant is Currently Reading:

9. Location of Current Institution: Upazila:

10. Present Class/Grade of student : (5/6/7/8/9)

11. For Dropped Out Students: (a) Name of the Institution where enrolled:

(b) Students Dropped out from which Grade : (5/6/7/8/9)

12. Immediate Guardian (if father or mother is not alive):

13. Relationship with the immediate guardian [See Code List 1]:

Code List 1: 1-Grand Father; 2 – Grand Mother; 3 – Uncle; 4 – Aunt; 5 – Sister; 6 – Brother; 7- Other

14. Parent's Address / Immediate guardian Current Address :

Village:..... Post: Union/Porashava:.....

Upazila:.....

15. Is the applicant resident of SEQAEP Upazila ? Yes : 1 No: 2

(Response to Question no.13 is mandatory)

C. Socio Economic Information of the Student

(Please filled up the left side box by using right side Code No):

1. Name of the household Head: _____

Question	Answer	Options
2. Is The Household Head Male or Female?	<input type="text"/>	Male 1 Female 2
3. What is the Marital status of the Household Head?	<input type="text"/>	1.Married 2.Unmarried 3.Widow 4.Divorced 5. Separated
4. What is the highest level of education of the household head ?	<input type="text"/>	1. Never enrolled 2. Primary dropout 3. Grade 5 Completecomplete 4. JSC/JDC(Grade8) complete

5. What is the highest level of education of the household head's Spouse?	<input type="text"/>	5. SSC/Dakhil(Grade10) Complete 6. HSC equivalent 7. BA/equivalent 8. MA+
6. What is the Profession(employment status) of the household head?	<input type="text"/>	1.employee 2. self-employee or employer 3. Agriculture Day laborer 4. Non- Agriculture Day laborer 5. Not working
Question	An- swer	Options
7.How many 14 yearsold or youngerchildren live in yourhousehold ?	<input type="text"/>	Pleasefill in the box by number.
8. How many 15yearsold or olderadults live in yourhousehold ?	<input type="text"/>	Pleasefill in the box by number.
9. How manycattles have in yourhousehold ? (Total numberbuffalo, bull, cow and goat)	<input type="text"/>	Pleasefill in the box by number.
10. How manyrooms inyourhousehold ? (Except Business purpose room)	<input type="text"/>	Pleasefill in the box by number.
11. Whatis the main construction material of the wallof your home ?	<input type="text"/>	1.hemp/hey/bamboo 2.mud brick 3.CIsheet/wood 4.concrete or brick
12. Whatis the main construction material of the roof atyourhome ?	<input type="text"/>	1. straw/leaves 2.CI sheet/wood/tally 3.concrete 4.others
13. How many land owned by the household ?(including cultivable, agriculture land, dwelling house/homestead land/rented out)	<input type="text"/>	Acore/Decimal
D. Does the Applicant's Household own the following items(Q14-Q22)		
14. a separated dinning room?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
15. a separate kitchen?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
16.a tubewell?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
17. Electricity connection?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
18. a tv?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
19.a fan?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
20. any type of vehicles like bicycle/Van/Rickshaw/Motorcycle/Jeep/Bus/truck/steamer/ship/Auto Rickshaw?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
21. a mobile phone ?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
22. Landphone?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2
E. Other Information		
23. Do you belong to any tribal community?	<input type="text"/>	Yes:1 No:2

24. Do you received remittances from relatives during last 12 months ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes:1 No:2
25. Is the applicant physically disabled?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes:1 No:2
26. Do the applicant receive primary stipend?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes:1 No:2
27. Do you have VGD/VGF card?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes:1 No:2

We/I, the undersigned, solemnly swear that all the information provided in this form is accurate and complete. We/I understand and agree that this application will be evaluated to see if the student applicant will be selected as the beneficiary. If the applicant is chosen in the beneficiary list, we will enroll in SEQAEO-registered institution and abide by the conditions of educational compliance criteria: i) attend classes at least 75% of days in school year, ii) obtain at least 33% marks in average in annual examination, and ii) remain unmarried till SSC examinations are completed. We also agree that any benefits we receive will be cancelled immediately if the above conditions are not met or any information we provide in this application form is found to be inaccurate or incomplete.

Parent / Guardian Signature Name: Mobile No (if any):	Student's Signature Name:	Name: Designation:	Signature of the MDA Date:
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Appendices III

Table: Number of secondary schools, teacher and students by type of Management in Tangail district

Institution	Management	Institution		Teacher		Student	
		Total	Girls	Total	Female	Total	Girls
Junior Secondary School (Grade 6 to 8)	Non-Government	39	7	321	74	8116	4421
	Government	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total:	39	7	321	74	8116	4421
Secondary School (Grade 6 to 10)	Non-Government	450	53	5000	1002	236535	117073
	Government	5	2	160	52	4434	1713
	Total:	455	55	5160	1054	240969	118786
School and College (School Section of College)	Non-Government	17	2	205	55	13740	5843
	Government	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Total:	17	2	205	55	13740	5843
Newly established secondary school attached to Govt. Primary School	Non-Government	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Government	12	0	0	0	1070	614
	Total:	12	0	0	0	1070	614
District Total:	Non-Government	506	62	5526	1131	258391	127337
	Government	17	2	160	52	5504	2327
	Total:	523	64	5686	1183	263895	129664

Source: BANBEIS (2016)

