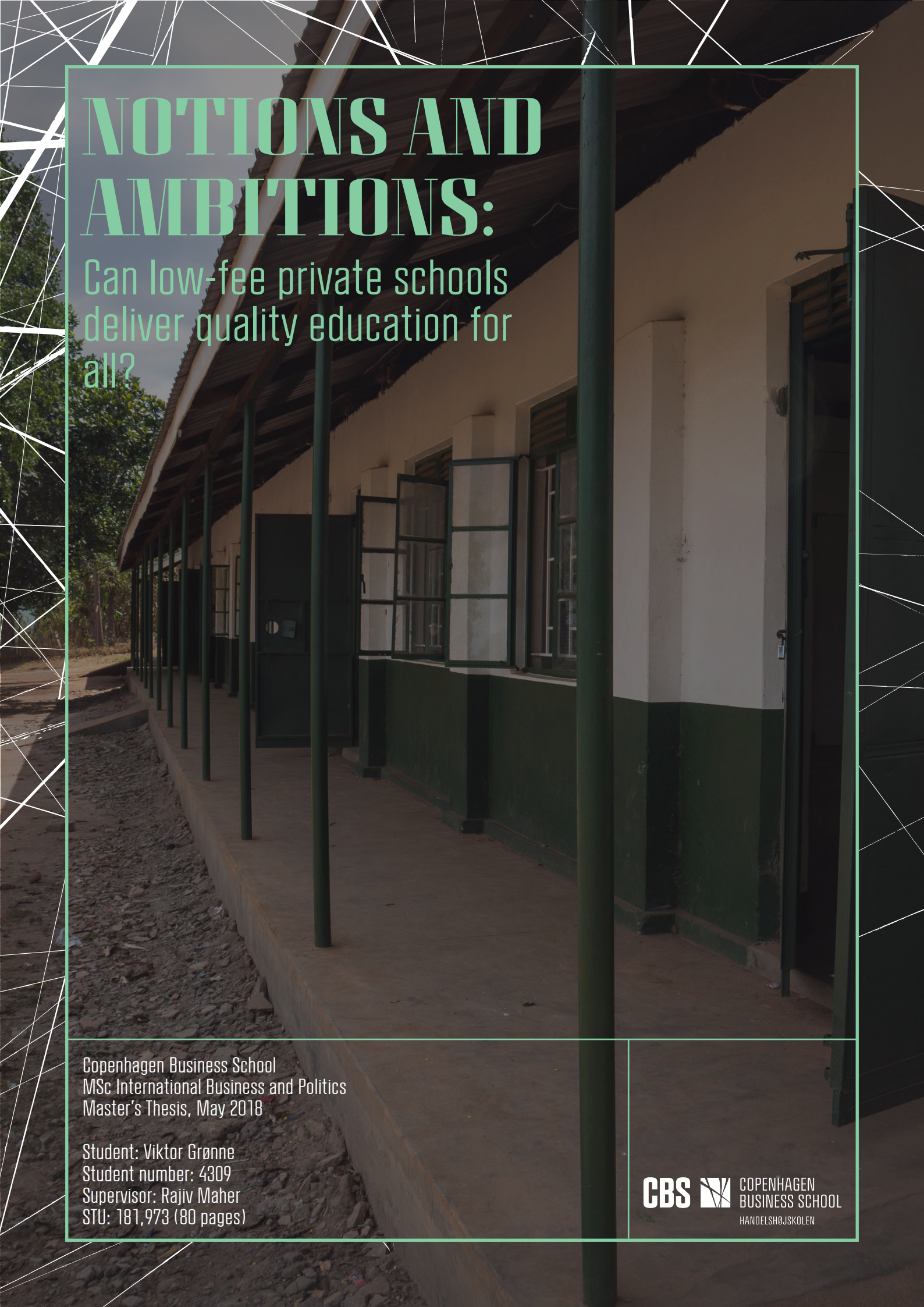

NOTIONS AND AMBITIONS:

Can low-fee private schools deliver quality education for all?

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Abstract

Low-fee private schools have emerged as a cost-efficient way to reach the 263 million children currently out of school and with them Sustainable Development Goal 4. Yet, research on low-fee private schools' quality and sustainability has been very mixed. This study seeks to inform policy makers looking to achieve SDG4 by moving beyond previous research's focus on measuring quality. Instead it focuses on what sort of quality low-fee private schools have to offer in context of SDG4.

PEAS, a UK chain of low-fee private schools operating in Uganda and Zambia is used as a "best case" study, following the international praise it has received in academia and independent evaluation. As such, the study is rooted in an assumption that PEAS and other LFPS are able to deliver quality education. Interviews have been conducted with experts and persons at all levels of governance in PEAS, ranging from the CEO to the teachers, students, and parents. Financial analysis has also been included to assess PEAS' financial sustainability.

Two conclusions stand out. Firstly, the study identifies a decoupling between the conceptualisation of education quality among the PEAS management and what is implemented in the classroom. Whereas the management describes education quality in a broad humanistic sense, what is ultimately taught is a narrow notion as conceptualised in the economic tradition. The study advances three plausible drivers behind this decoupling: i) contextual factors, ii) teacher qualifications, and iii) PEAS' management system. Secondly, the study finds that although PEAS is low-fee to its users, it is far from low-cost. Due to high costs for its management and support system, PEAS' total annual cost per student is somewhat between an elite private O-level and the national average in Uganda. PEAS rely on external funding to cover these costs, which make up the foundation that enables PEAS to deliver quality education. In conclusion, the study finds that PEAS delivers a narrow notion of quality education, but that this comes at a high cost. The conclusion shows the limitation of LFPS towards realising SDG4 in full, because the 2030 Agenda calls for SDG4 to act as an enabler of not only economic, but also social and human development.

Content

List of acronyms and abbreviations

A-level	Advanced level (higher secondary)
CC	Corporate Citizenship
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DFID	UK Department for International Development
EI	Education International
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Management Information System
EPRC	Economic Policy Research Centre
FFA	Education 2030 Framework for Action
G(E)MR	Global (Education) Monitoring Report[1]
GS	PEAS Green Shoots school
IAEG-SDG	Inter-Agency and Experts Group on Sustainable Development Goal Indicators
IFC	International Finance Corporation
LFPS	Low-fee Private Schools
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MoES	Uganda Ministry of Education and Sports
O-level	Ordinary level (lower-secondary)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PALF	Pearson's Affordable Learning Fund
PEAS	Promoting Equity in African Schools

[1] "Education" was introduced into the name in 2015 at the start of the 2030 Agenda

PPI	Poverty Probability Index
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SDG4	Sustainable Development Goal 4: Ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNGP	UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPE	Universal Primary Education
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USE	Universal Secondary Education Public-Private Partnership

1.0 Introduction

As the UN Member States convened in New York in August 2015 to adopt the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the associated 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), an estimated 263 million children remained out of school globally (GEMR team, 2015). Despite efforts of the previous Education for All-movement (EFA) established in 1990, and the Millennium Development Goals' (MDGs) commitment from 2000 to achieve universal primary education, progress has long been trailing behind the ambitions. Now, as leaders adopted the Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG4) to "*ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all*", they also recognised that in their pursuit to get every child into school, they had neglected the question of quality. The world was faced with a global learning crisis, and "business as usual" would not suffice to solve it (UNESCO, 2013)

As states had grappled to achieve universal access to primary education through the 2000s, an increasing number of countries turned towards the private sector, either through public-private partnerships or by deliberately encouraging private providers to open schools. Low-fee private schools (LFPS) emerged out of this trend. While initially limited to stand-alone schools in rural villages, by the time UN Member States adopted the SDGs in 2015, the industry had evolved into a highly organised sector of chains, often backed by corporate and philanthropic investments (Srivastava, 2016). The case for private education and financing, despite the 2030 Agenda's emphasis on human rights and strengthened public systems, was only further boosted by the fact that SDG4 as a whole faces an estimated annual financing gap of 39 billion USD (EFA GMR, 2015). UN forums also went as far as to recognise the need for "*innovative financing solutions*" and "*orientation of private financing resources*" (UN GA, 2015a; UNESCO, 2015).

LFPS not only faced support from corporate and philanthropic donors, but increasingly national aid agencies, such as the Department for International Development (DFID) in the United Kingdom and USAID, in an attempt to solve the global learning crisis, had also started to fund chains of LFPS.

However, research into LFPS and their performance has been only emerging slowly, and what has come out, has shown mixed findings in regards to their efficiency to get every child into school and deliver quality education (Macleod & Urquiola, 2012). Recently, a parliamentary committee in the UK went as far as to say:

> *"DFID's support to private sector schools is controversial, and we recognise that the Department does give the vast majority of its support to public education initiatives. Where DFID has supported private sector providers, it has seen some learning gains, but there are questions as to the sustainability of this model. There is a lack of research into the added value from private sector schools, and research into this area should be supported. Where evidence-based research on low-fee schools does exist, the Department should review the findings."*
>
> - (International Development Committee, 2017, p. 6)

The research that does exist tends to focus either on measuring quality quantitatively and comparing it to that of public schools, or analyse the equity aspects of the schools, often from a legal human rights based approach (Crawfurd, 2017; Romero, Sandefur, Aaron, & Romero, 2017; Srivastava, 2016; Tooley, 2016). This approach fails to sufficiently recognise the political discussion over what constitutes quality education, and tend to blur out what can be learnt, if any, from LFPS in context of the SDG4. Further, isolating variables when measuring and comparing quality is very difficult and will inevitably lead to a discussion over how the results are interpreted. As Glewwe & Muralidharan (2015) show, even small interventions can lead to drastic changes in the education outcome.

Following the call from the International Development Committee, and in light of the above, this study will be guided by the following research question:

What notion of education quality is emphasised in low-fee private schools, and what does this imply for future policy to achieve SDG4?

In answering the research question, the study will also seek to answer the following sub-question:

How does the low-fee private school business model affect the education quality and members of the school (i.e. teachers, parents, and students)?

By focusing on the notions of quality that are at play, rather than attempting to measure quality, the study seeks to move beyond the current rather binary discussion over whether or not LFPS offer quality education. Instead, the point of departure is an assumption that indeed some LFPS are able to offer quality education, but that what is taught and how students are taught, i.e. the notion of education quality, can differ. With this shift in research, the study also positions itself

better to guide policy in an age where education's role in global development has shifted from the MDGs focus on access, to the SDGs focus on education as an "enabler" of the other 16 goals (UNESCO, 2016).

However, as the introduction above shows, the success of SDG4 is also dependent on creating a substantial number of new school places, in order to "absorb" the children and young people that currently have nowhere to turn for school. Thus, any solution that claim to be able to achieve SDG4 must also be evaluated against its ability to offer school places at a low cost, while being economically and socially sustainable. Prominent chains of LFPS claim to have invented a business model that solve these challenges (Bridge, 2017; Tran, 2012). Therefore, the study will also examine the unique traits of the LFPS business model and advance the understanding of whether or not these claims are real.

An important delimitation to be made is that the study is only concerned with targets 4.1 and 4.7 of SDG4, as these are the two targets deemed to be at the core of equity and quality in primary education. Looking at other levels of education would entail great complexity, and raise questions of comparability, as different levels means different systems and approaches to education.

The question is particularly timely, as SDG4 will come up for review during the 2019 UN High-Level Political Forum (UN GA, 2016). Until then, financing and resource mobilisation remains one of four priorities of the Education 2030 Steering Committee, tasked with coordinating efforts towards SDG4, just as the International Development Committee in the UK will continue its review, and national experiments with privatising all primary education, as in Liberia, will be followed closely. In the context of Uganda, where the schools selected for this case study are located, the discussion of limits and opportunities in LFPS also taps into an important policy discussion, because the existing Public-Private Partnership (PPP), which has relied heavily on LFPS to expand access, is being phased out, and no announcement of what will come next has been made yet.

Furthermore, in its World Development Report 2018, which for the first time looks at education, the World Bank, a proponent of LFPS, presents a more balanced picture of private education than previously seen. While recognising the potential benefits, such as filling the education gap and spurring innovation, the World Bank also warns about the dangers of private schools skimming the best students; parents making ill-informed decisions; and Governments loosing oversight of the education sector. Ultimately, the report concludes that "*the bottom line is that countries need to ensure that private schooling does not undermine learning for all*." (World

Bank, 2017, p. 177). It is worth noting that the World Bank itself remains a committed investor in LFPS through its financial institution, the International Finance Corporation, which has made investments in for-profit LFPS (IFC, 2014).

These developments all point to the urgent need for innovative research into LFPS as a policy instrument in context of SDG4. As policy makers and development experts all look to realise the 2030 Agenda, they must do so based on empirical evidence from the context in which solutions are fielded, rather than existing research, which is either highly theoretical; has been conducted in the Global North; or was conducted prior to the 2030 Agenda, and thus does not relate to it. This is the very noble contribution that the present study seeks to make.

1.1 The concept of low-fee private schools

Prachi Srivastava was the first researcher to coin the term LFPS in 2001. Until then, the emerging school model she described had been referred to as "budget schools", "private schools for the poor", "new types of private schools", or simply "teaching shops". James Tooley (1999), in a report commissioned by the International Finance Corporation of the World Bank, was the first researcher to point to the emerging global education industry that did not cater for the elite, but instead targeted the poorer populations where states had failed to secure adequate access to public education. Tooley argued the private education providers could (i) help constrain public expenditure for education; (ii) improve service and quality by being independent from state interventions; and (iii) reduce inequalities through innovative technology and services that target the most marginalised students (Tooley, 1999). As the later literature review will show, Tooley's findings remain debated today.

Tooley's report garnered attention from the international education community and spurred an increased interest in private education providers in developing countries. Srivastava initially conducted research into private providers in India, looking at equity aspects (Srivastava, 2004). In her early writing on the topic, she defined LFPS as:

"occupying a part (often unrecognised) of the highly heterogeneous private unaided sector. LFP schools were further defined as those that: saw themselves targeting disadvantaged groups; were entirely self-financing through tuition fees; and charged a monthly tuition fee not exceeding about one day's earnings of a daily wage labourer at the primary and junior (basic/elementary) levels, and about two days' earnings at the high school and intermediate (secondary) levels." (Srivastava, 2006, p. 498)

Lately though, Srivastava has further developed her definition by arguing that we are witnessing a second wave of LFPS, whereby we see "*a shift from 'one-off mom-and-pop teaching shops' in schooling micro-ecosystems (e.g. individual villages, slum communities, and urban neighbourhoods), to their coexistence with corporate-backed school chains and service providers. These chains operate as part of a micro-system within themselves across geographical boundaries beyond the local (e.g. across districts, cities, regions, and countries).*" (Srivastava, 2016).

However, defining and operationalising the concept of LFPS in research remains much debated. It seems though that there is some agreement on a continuum of LFPS, ranging from the purely profit-driven private schools to simply schools that are not publicly owned and operated offering education at a low cost, with underlying differences in management and financing structures (Srivastava, 2013).

That said, for the sake of operationalisation and simplicity, the present study builds on Srivastava's definition as it has been presented above. However, an up-to-date definition of LFPS will have to take into account the increased recognition of LFPS by governments seeking to expand their education systems. As such, an accurate definition can no longer limit itself to schools "*entirely financed through tuition fees*". Developments from Liberia, Ghana, Uganda and elsewhere show that governments are subsidising LFPS through various forms of PPPs, as a perceived cost-efficient way of expanding their education systems. Thus, a more accurate description of their funding would be that they "*rely heavily on financing from tuition fees*".

1.2 Case selection: Promoting Equality in African Schools (PEAS)

The Promoting Equality in African Schools (PEAS) school model has been chosen as the case study. PEAS has received praise in several independent reports and academic journals, for its unique school model that succeeds in reaching in poorest and most marginalised youth in remote areas of Uganda, and doing so while also maintaining consistently high exam scores (Crawfurd, 2017; DFID, 2017; EPRC, 2017; Hills, 2017). As such, one basic assumption underpinning the study is the fact that PEAS do indeed deliver education quality already. Thus, the question is rather what quality?

Founded in 2008 by John Rendel, a UK citizen who had been teaching in Uganda during his studies, PEAS presents itself as delivering affordable quality education to students in some of the most rural areas, where students would otherwise not be able to access education. Today, PEAS operate 28 secondary high schools across Uganda, with most offering only lower-

secondary education (O-levels) and has recently started to expand into Zambia with two schools and more to follow, with a combined 17,000 school places (appendix 1).

In their mission to expand access to low cost, high quality, sustainably delivered education across Africa, PEAS specifically emphasise reaching and keeping girls in school, because girls are disproportionally affected by families' (in)ability to pay fees and other social issues. A recent DFID evaluation of PEAS' impact on girls education, found that PEAS were indeed delivering significant results (DFID, 2017).

PEAS leverage what they term a SmartAid model (appendix 1), in which costs related to establishing new schools are covered directly through donations, while schools need to cover their running costs from their own income (i.e. government subsidies, school fees, other fees, and income generating activities at the schools). Under the SmartAid model, each School Director is responsible for managing their own budgets and accounts, but any local surplus is also used to cover potential losses at other schools in Uganda. This way, PEAS Uganda works to ensure sustainable finances. The national office in Kampala supports the School Directors in their financial planning and reporting.

The strict financial accountability is equalled by education accountability. Each school has a head teacher, who is responsible for the overall quality in the school. The head teacher works with the champion teachers to supervise the other teachers and ensure that they deliver according to their performance targets. In order to foster further quality, each school is also a member of a regional cluster, in which the head teachers exchange best practices, and Continuous Professional Development (CPD) trainings are organised at least once a year, when internal trainers from PEAS update the teachers' education skills (appendix 1), with several more CPD trainings taking place locally in each school too.

In essence, PEAS' business model rests on achieving sustainable financing and quality in education through clear accountability mechanisms, and a strong support system. It is important to note, that PEAS have its headquarter in London, United Kingdom, from where external funds are generated and the overall school network maintained, while the national office in Kampala, Uganda is responsible for overseeing and supporting the schools within the national network.

An agreement with PEAS, allowing access to their schools and employees, also means that the study benefits from access to the primary units of analysis, i.e. the schools and their members. Other existing qualitative studies of low-fee private schools have tended to rely on snowball sampling, because other chains of schools have been known to ban researchers from school

grounds and attempted to prevent them from accessing students and parents (Education International & Kenya National Union of Teachers, 2016; Srivastava, 2006).

Located in Uganda, the case also benefits from a relatively well-developed education regulatory framework, which is conducive to education quality across the public and private sector (Baum, Cooper, & Lusk-Stover, 2017; Hanushek, Link, & Woessmann, 2013).

As such, the PEAS schools in Uganda serve as a "best case" example, which increases the likelihood that any problems with the model can be generalised, while its successes should be highlighted as something to strive for (Bryman, 2016). Next follows a description of the context in which PEAS operates in Uganda.

1.2.1 Uganda and its education system

Uganda is a landlocked country in East Africa, bordered by Kenya, South Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Tanzania. The country has one of the youngest and most rapidly growing populations in the world, with almost 70 percent of its population of 39.5 million people being below 25 years old (CIA, 2018). Inequality and poverty are two major problems in Uganda, with 70 percent of the population living in multidimensional poverty[2], 34.6 percent living below PPP 1.90 USD/day, and 60.6 percent of the total labour force characterised as working poor, i.e. PPP at 3.10 USD/day or less (UNDP, 2016).

When Uganda was colonised by the British, the country was established from several smaller kingdoms with different political systems and cultures. The largest kingdom Buganda, present-day Central Region, enjoyed some special privileges, as it was viewed as key to maintaining peace in the country. For many years after its independence in 1962, Uganda struggled with internal conflicts, both politically and physically, many of which could be attributed to differences between the former kingdoms (Lee, 1964). Idi Amin and his military regime were in power from 1971 to 1979, before the country got caught up in conflict once again. Yoweri Museveni, a resistance fighter, assumed power in 1986 and has since then consolidated his power to the extent that he remains president today. The 2000s and part of the 2010s were also marked by violence, with violence from the Second Congo War spilling into Uganda and internal strives in the Northern part of the country (CIA, 2018)

The Uganda education system is divided into 7 years of primary education, 4 years of low-secondary education, 2 years of upper-secondary education, and finally 3 to 5 years of tertiary

[2] Percentage of the population with a deprivation score of at least 33 percent in health, education, and living standards.

education (Global Partnership for Education, 2018). See appendix 5 for an illustration. The combination of open elections, popular opinion, and the need to cope with the large cohort of children led the Government to commit to free primary public education in 1997. Under the Universal Primary Education (UPE) scheme, the Government abolished school and teacher fees, but parents are still expected to cover costs for books, pencils, and even maintenance of school buildings (Stasavage, 2005). Evaluations have shown mixed results of UPE's impact on access and quality (Huylebroeck & Titeca, 2015; UNDP, 2016).

Still, in 2007 the Government decided to expand access to free education, when it announced the Universal Secondary Education (USE) scheme. The two main reasons for the announcement of the scheme was the realisation that cohorts from UPE were now leaving primary, but could not afford to continue their education, and at the same time, incumbent President Museveni made political use of the UPE scheme's popularity, and promised free secondary education, should he be re-elected, which he successfully did (Huylebroeck & Titeca, 2015).

The USE scheme is different to that of UPE in that it is not universal and relies on a PPP in which schools accepted into the programme receive an annual capitation fee of up to 141,000 UGX (approx. 38 USD) per student from the government. The scheme only covers four years of lower-secondary education. For students to be eligible to attend a school under the USE scheme, they must achieve a score of at least 28 (the average score) in their primary school leaving exam, which is administered by the Uganda National Examinations Board. Private schools on the other hand, in order to participate, must be registered, have sufficient infrastructure and qualified teaching personnel, and charge fees below 75,000 UGX (approx. 25.5 USD) per student. The private providers also have to be located in counties with no public school, or in which the public schools are overcrowded (Crawfurd, 2017).

Interestingly enough, despite expanding access to free education, as of 2016 Uganda was only spending 2.2 percent of its GDP on education, far below the 4-6 percent targets which countries, including Uganda, committed themselves to in the Education 2030 Framework for Action (FFA) (UNDP, 2016; UNESCO, 2015).

2.0 Literature review

The following literature review aims to provide a critical overview of the existing literature field by bridging central topics and summarising essential issues. The review will help to identify gaps in the existing literature, as well as build a foundational understanding of the issues at hand, from which the study can be developed (Bryman, 2016). Both peer-reviewed and grey

literature has been included in the review, owing to the fact that LFPS as a concept remains an emerging research field, which is governed by a plurality of actors. As such, to fully grasp the different understandings of and findings related to LFPS one needs to take a step back and include a broader set of literature. The chapter has been organised into sub-sections to ease reading but is conceived as an integrated review that relates back and forth.

2.1 The global education industry as a framework

It is possible to conceive of an emerging global education industry that the LFPS can be seen as an extension of. While the participation of for-profit private actors in education activities is hardly a new phenomenon, the increasing extent and not least supra-national scale indicates the emergence of a new industry. Verger et al. (2017) seek to develop a theoretical framework through which this phenomenon can be analysed and better understood.

Verger et al. (2017) build their analytical understanding of markets from other researchers. They argue that markets are inter-connected and are developed through a continuous process, whereby they are constantly made and remade. This process is driven by three main forces, which structure the market's boundaries:

- Networks: a set of relationships between political, social and/or economic actors, which work as channels of influence and, on many cases, as more or less formal governance mechanisms;
- Cognitive frames: are here understood to be the types of ideas that social, political and economic actors mobilise to advance their vision of societal problems and preferred solutions;
- Institutions: which can be broadly defined as sets of rules, norms, policy frameworks and procedures in which actors develop their economic activity and their political strategies.

The novel contribution lies in how Verger et al. (2017) apply their conceptual framework, to show how the global education industry is slowly being constituted. Looking at the scale-up of charter schools in the US; the education economy of scale; and the promotion of LFPS in the Global South, they make a convincing argument for the global education industry's mechanisms and its downsides.

They show that networks in the US have worked together to scale-up the use of charter schools, by "*providing the political air cover*" needed to implement reforms favouring charter schools.

The networks successfully framed the idea of charter schools as "*the engines of opportunity and educational choices for the poor*", which in turn helped them shape the institutional environment that nurtured the schools. However, despite the theoretical advantages – in terms of autonomy and competitive incentives – of charter schools, empirical studies have shown that overall, charter schools are contributing to greater levels of segregation, and generally not performing much different to comparable public schools. What has instead been the success of charter schools has been to inject market-mechanisms into the state education sector, further promoting the global education industry. Of importance to the later analysis, Verger at al. argue that one of the several, underlying motives behind the dissemination of charter schools was the neoliberal idea that public schools had become hostages of the teacher unions (A. Verger et al., 2017). The idea that LFPS is also utilized by libertarians to undermine teacher unions, particularly because LFPS rely on lower teacher salaries to cut costs, is also found elsewhere in the literature (Lewin, 2007; Srivastava, 2016).

Another distinct feature of the emerging global education industry, according to Verger et al., is its reliance on standardisation of education, as a mean to achieve economy of scale in its production. To achieve this, the businesses have created a cognitive frame, in which international standards become a proxy of quality (A. Verger et al., 2017).

Last, but not least, Verger et al. (2017) turn to the proliferation of LFPS. According to their account, the rapid use of LFPS in Sub-Saharan Africa was made possible thanks to a number of international chains, backed by aid agencies, such as the Department for International Development in the UK, the World Bank's International Finance Corporation (IFC), private foundations, and corporations. One example is Pearson's Affordable Learning Fund (PALF), which has a declared goal of investing in small private schools, use their expertise from curricula development, and scale them up to increase profit and attract other investors. Another example is Bridge International Academies[3], which has enjoyed great support from DFID and IFC. This institutional arrangement between public agencies and corporations, has allowed for LFPS to become the default option of policy design (A. Verger et al., 2017).

2.2 Evidence of (low-fee) private schools' quality

In looking for ways to promote (or for that matter prevent) private forms of education provision, policy makers and advocates need to make the case that reform is good for the learner or will

[3] A chain of LFPS that have expanded rapidly across the Sub-Saharan continent thanks to international investments. On the face of it, Bridge claims to be Kenyan, but the chain is in fact founded and owned by a group for Americans. All of its curricula is also developed in USA (The Economist, 2017).

improve quality. As shown above, to do so, they sometimes go to a great extent to use other measures as proxy of education quality, e.g. the standardisation of management practices as described by Verger et al. and others (Nicholas Bloom, Lemos, Sadun, & Van Reenen, 2015; A. Verger et al., 2017). In his 2017-study, Lee Crawfurd puts the assumption to a test by fielding an adapted version of the World Management Survey[4], to compare the quality of school management across private and public schools in Uganda. Crawfurd finds that good management does indeed lead to improved learning outcomes, but contrary to popular belief, he does not find any difference in the management quality across private, public, and public-private schools. The one exception is the PEAS school chain, which has a strong internal performance management framework with high stakes for head teachers. The study also finds evidence that the dropout rate between 3rd and 4th year in private schools is, on average, higher than in public schools, indicating that the schools encourage students expected not to pass the final exam to drop out, in an attempt to improve the school's performance the in school leaving exams (Crawfurd, 2017).

One of the most cited papers in favour of private education providers is Felipe Barrera-Osorio's (2007) study of Bogota's Concession School Programme. The programme began in 1999, and through it the city council entered into partnership with established private providers, whereby the council would provide a capitation grant of 520 USD/annually and build new schools, which the private providers were then tasked with running. The private providers were afforded relative autonomy in employing personnel and implementing pedagogical strategies and were further expected to run an "open door policy", including counselling the neediest students. The new schools were built in poor neighbourhoods with demand for additional school places (Barrera-Osorio, 2007).

Using propensity score and matching estimators, i.e. matching students in Concession schools with peers in public schools based on a range of variables, the study found that Concession schools significantly reduced drop-out rates and increased students' test-scores when compared to similar students in public schools (Barrera-Osorio, 2007). However, it is worth noting that the Concession schools' capitation grant was 90 USD/annually higher than what public schools received, and that the school buildings allocated to them by the city council were also significantly better than in public schools (Barrera-Osorio, 2007). Combined with the much greater autonomy, the cause cannot be isolated to the fact that Concession schools were run by

[4] A survey tool designed to measure and compare management practices across countries and industries (Nick Bloom & Reenen, 2006).

private providers. However, instead the study can be interpreted as showing the importance of investing in education; affording local autonomy to qualified administrators; and viewing learning as an experience that extends beyond the classroom.

Srivastava reviewed literature on the quality of LFPS versus government run schools in 2013. She concluded that there were no significant results indicating LFPS performed better, in fact, in some instances they performed worse. Most of the schools relied on reducing reoccurring costs, such as teacher salaries, in order to offer the low fees, but this in turn led to unqualified teachers (Srivastava, 2013). More recent research on LFPS in Liberia show that pupils in some of the low-fee schools perform above national average in math and reading, but that the schools spend much more per pupil due to heavy state subsidies, leading to a highly unsustainable financing structure (Romero et al., 2017).

Even so, the question about the quality of LFPS remains contested. A DFID-sponsored review of studies on LFPS from 2014 reached the opposite conclusion of Srivastava (2013): "*Pupils attending private school tend to achieve better learning outcomes than pupils in state [i.e. public] schools*" (Day Ashley et al., 2014, p. 15). However, as James Tooley, himself a strong proponent of LFPS and a member board of the Omega Schools operating in Ghana, notes the review was not particularly reliable, as it could only identify three studies that were sufficiently robust methodologically (Tooley, 2016). Previously though, Tooley has also carried out his own controlled experiments, which found that both recognised and unrecognised private schools in Hyderabad in India outperformed their peers in public schools when testing for background variables such as IQ, household income, and family size. Interestingly, the study also finds that teachers' qualifications do not matter to the students' scores, a finding which is contrary to most other literature, and the ambitions reflected in the SDG4 target 4.b (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013; Glewwe & Muralidharan, 2015; Tooley, Dixon, Shamsan, & Schagen, 2010).

Generally, comparisons between public and private schools' performance suffer from the challenges that arise when comparing something as social as education across two such different contexts. The great methodological complexity leaves most, if not all, studies exposed to different interpretations. One such example is an otherwise very robust two-level study of the quality and cost-efficiency of private voucher schools in the Andhra Pradesh province of India. The study concluded that there was no significant improvement of quality in the private voucher schools, although they did achieve the same quality scores as the public schools, but at 1/3 of the cost (Muralidharan & Sundararaman, 2015). Tooley criticises the result on the grounds that the researchers failed to ensure equal treatment of Telugu and English-speaking students, when they designed and administered their test. Instead, Tooley reinterprets the study's data and

suggests that, in fact, students in private voucher schools significantly outscore their peers in public schools (Tooley, 2016).

These examples of academic disagreement over the possible interpretations, although healthy to academia, indicate that the research on LFPS and the broader private sector could benefit from approaching the question in a new way. Doing so might also enable new insights that can qualify and guide interpretation of previous studies.

2.3 Low-fee private schools' emergence

In her analysis of how LFPS came to have such a dominant position in the education development agenda, Srivastava turn to the World Bank and the post-Washington Consensus. She argues that the World Bank, through its education sector strategy, has made privatisation not the default strategy, but the default design of education systems. This has caused the low-fee school providers to gain traction through four "mobilising frameworks": scarce resources; efficiency; competition-choice-quality, and social equity (Srivastava, 2010).

The mobilising frameworks are, however, to a large extend theorised and/or not tested in the context of developing countries, in which they are being applied (Lewin, 2007; Srivastava, 2013). For instance, Tooley has been heavily engaged in shaping the theoretical understanding of equity that underpins Srivastava's mobilising framework (Tooley, 2013; Tooley & Dixon, 2005). In one article, Tooley contests the notion of social justice, whereby "*rough equality of opportunity*" should be achieved. Instead, he argues in favour of Sen's idea of justice that "*the subject of justice is not merely about trying to achieve – or dreaming about achieving – some perfectly just society or social arrangements, but about preventing manifestly severe injustice*". Tooley leverages Sen's understanding of justice to argue that privatisation of education can be seen as a "grassroots" movement, which wrestles control of the education system from an inefficient government. In order to empower the movement, Tooley proposes to extend the market mechanisms to the poorest areas by offering school vouchers (Tooley, 2013).

However, as exemplified above, much of Tooley's (and his fellow proponents of LFPS such as Dixon) work on promoting LFPS and voucher systems rests on allowing the poor to take action on the perceived better quality in private schools (Tooley, 2013). But one essential market mechanism is missing from much of the education quasi-market: transparency. It has been repeatedly shown that poorer parents use spurious observations, such as time in school, corporal punishment, or fencing, as proxy of quality when selecting their kids' school (Akaguri, 2011; Srivastava, 2006, 2013). This would seem to favour a "paternalistic" approach to private schooling.

The reviewed literature clearly shows the problem with a universal definition of education quality. It simply does not exist, as it is contingent on the context in which it is delivered, as well as highly politicised. The finding warrants research which does not look to measure quality against one definition, but rather evaluates quality on a continuum.

2.4 Equity and low-fee private schools

Lubienski (2009) concerns himself with the question of innovation spurring from private education. By synthesising research across 20 OECD and non-OECD countries, Lubienski shows that private providers do innovate, but only in the areas of management and marketing. Instead, most pedagogical innovations come from public policy interventions, which might then be disseminated faster in private schools. Lubienski's research also shows that rather than leading to increased equity across a broad set of population groups, the private schools often times leads to clustering of children from disadvantaged and advantaged families in different schools (Lubienski, 2009). Thus, Lubienski's research deals a blow to at least the two latter mobilising frameworks identified by Srivastava (2010).

Using the Ghana Living Standard Survey and interviews with parents in the Central Region of Ghana, Akaguri (2014) sets out to investigate how many costs households in LFPS and public schools incur, and what effects the education expenditure has on the parents' choice of schooling. Akaguri uncovers that from the combined schooling costs in LFPS, the tuition fees in some instances only make up 10 percent of the overall, with books, stationary, school food, transport, and other similar expenses making up the remaining 90 percent for students. The finding shows that when we talk about LFPS' tuition fees and accessibility, we must look at all the direct costs linked to schooling. The study also found that poorer households that were spending more than 10 percent of the household income on education had to forego other basic needs such as food and healthcare. Even then, respondents reported that they had had to pull their children from classes, due to not being able to pay. The study concludes that even the smallest school fees have a negative impact on poorer households ability to access education, and that those who do succeed to put their children through, do so by relying on fee-reducing strategies, making stringent sacrifices, acquiring loans and gifts from relatives, and accumulating debt (Akaguri, 2014).

Taking his point of departure in the states' responsibility to ensure the right to free education, but accepting the private schools' claim that they can help expand access to education, where the state has failed, Keith Lewin (2007) sets out to test some of the arguments in favour of private schooling. One central claim in Lewin's research is that because of the high dependency

rates in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), many, if not all, of the arguments about private schooling from developed countries cannot be transferred to SSA. Instead, new empirical research has to be carried out in the SSA context in order to better understand the mechanisms at work in private schooling. Even then, Lewin soberly points out that none of the OECD or the rapidly developing countries in South East Asia relied on non-government providers to universalise access to primary education.

Using data from UNESCO Institute of Statistics (UIS), Lewin shows that one of the central challenges in SSA school systems is the lack of school places, especially at secondary level, where there are simply not enough places to absorb the cohorts leaving primary education. However, the challenge of accessing education is not only about having a place to study. Particularly in primary education, the cost remains the main obstacle, as the population groups currently out of school are the poorest. Linking back to the high dependency ratios, this creates limited opportunities for private providers at the primary level of education. However, the major lack of school places at secondary level means that population groups who are in fact able to pay, but have nowhere to go, are also excluded from education. Something which private providers could help address. The fact that wealth and gender is closely correlated with the highest grade is illustrated using Demographic and Household Survey data across 23 SSA countries, showing that less than 5 percent of the students from the 40 percent poorest households reach grade 8.

Another significant contribution by Lewin is his attempt at computing the level of fees needed to pay private schools in SSA countries. Building on Mingat's (2004) estimates of teacher salaries across 17 SSA countries as GDP per capita, recurrent spending for other than teachers, and other unit costs, Lewin models the minimum fees needed to cover schools expenses in an average SSA country (see table 1). A notable finding is that teacher salaries make up 85 percent and 69 percent of the recurring costs in primary and secondary education respectively. It is also worth pointing out that Lewin's model assumes 44 and 30 pupils per class in primary and lower secondary respectively, a number which is lower than what other researchers have observed in practice (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013).

GNP per capita	Primary	Lower Sec	Upper Sec
500	61	160	368
1000	123	320	735
1500	184	480	1103
2000	245	640	1470

Table 1: GNP per Capita (USD) Fees needed at different levels of GNP per capita (Lewin, 2007)

Comparing the fees needed to cover the school expenses to income levels in the countries with most children out of school, it is evident that the fees far exceed what the households are able to afford. This leaves two options: Either the schools decrease the teachers' funding, which in turn can cause problems attracting teaches down the road, something which public schools across SSA is already struggling with; or the private schools come to rely on charitable or public funding to subsidise the operations (Lewin, 2007).

3.0 Theoretical framework

No single strand of theory exists that is able to capture the duality of the research question, part education quality and part business model. Because of this, the study will have to combine existing strands of theory in order to conceptualise a framework, which can guide the analysis towards the research question. Accordingly, in the following presentation of the theoretical framework, will include theory on education quality, as well as theory on business responsibility and human rights. The latter is ought to address the question of sustainability, but in the analysis, it will also be complemented by a financial analysis. Given the practical applicability of financial analysis as carried out in this study, it will not be presented here.

3.1 Education quality

The notion of education "quality" is greatly contested. Looking at the existing international literature, it is possible to identify two main schools of thought: one humanist tradition concerned with the development of the whole child and human development; and one economist tradition concerned with achieving relevant learning outcomes at a reasonable cost. Generalising, the two schools are represented by UNESCO's Delors report and the World Bank Education Sector Strategy respectively (Barrett, Chawla-Duggan, Lowe, Nikel, & Ukpo, 2006; Delors, 1996; World Bank, 1999).

The Delors report builds on previous work by C.E. Beeby, who in 1966 developed a theory of quality from his work in Anglophone colonies. Beeby's theory identified three levels of education quality: 1) quality in the classroom, 2) quality in serving the economic goals of the community, and 3) quality as judged by broader social criteria. From this Beeby developed four levels of education systems' development, based on the level of training of teachers (Beeby, 1966).

Building on Beeby's framework, the Delors report defined quality education from four pillars of learning objectives:

1. Learning to know: is about acquiring broad and general knowledge, and mastering tools of knowledge and understanding.
2. Learning to do: develops competences to deal situations emphasising teamwork and social relations.
3. Learning to live together: addresses the skills needed to understand one self and others.
4. Learning to be: refers to the individual potential and discovering the "talent within" as the name of the report refers to.

The nature of the four pillars means they are easy to work with when developing curricula, but they are hard to operationalise in terms of quantifying and measuring learning. This is instead what the economic tradition is occupied with. Exemplified by the World Bank's Education Sector Strategy from 1999, which again builds on previous work by Lockheed & Verspoor (1991) commissioned by the World Bank that is very preoccupied with measuring education quality by means of in- and out-put.

The World Bank's Education Sector Strategy builds on work by Gary Becker, who applied terminology from economics to investments in education and training, coining the term human capital, arguing that people cannot be separated from their knowledge, skills, values etc. (Becker, 1964). Human capital theory gained further popularity with Jacob Mincer's work on calculating the expected return on investment in education (Mincer, 1974).

As Lockheed & Verspoor developed their model for cost-effective quality learning against this backdrop, they emphasised:

- Orderly school environment;
- Academic emphasis, with high expectations for student learning;
- Instructional leadership, particularly the qualities of the headmaster;
- Acquisition, distribution and use of material in-puts.

In other words, Beeby and other humanists are concerned with personal and social development, which warrants a broad skillset able attain the ideals of peace, freedom and social justice (Delors, 1996). The World Bank and economists on the other hand are concerned with foundation skills needed to survive in our complex, competitive world. Arguing that scarce resources have to be prioritised, this often comes to mean a narrow focus on numeracy and literacy as the foundation (World Bank, 1999).

3.2 Extending the understanding of education quality into SDG4

The backgrounds of the humanist and economist traditions of quality education are important to understand, because of their implications for how SDG4 came to be what it is today. Sayed and Moriarty (2018) in their analysis of what they term the "quality turn" in SDG4 argue that the notion of quality in the goal is ultimately the compromise resulting from a fierce struggle between the two traditions and their respective proponents. In this sense, the struggle was also between a rights-based approach to education, rooted in the right to education as stipulated in several international human rights instruments, or a human capital approach, favouring education as utilitarian model to drive economic growth.

Sayed & Moriarty build their analysis on detailed engagement with the content, structure, and language of the key policy texts related to the SDG4, as well as interviews with policy elites, whom were directly involved in the negotiations. Through this they seek to "*deconstruct the beliefs, assumptions, values and socio-political dynamics that have informed the development of the SDG4*" (Sayed & Moriarty, 2018, p. 2).

The SDG4 was negotiated in two parallel processes that did not come together before the final adoption of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development in NYC, while the global indicators – that is, what is measured – was decided in a third process. The first process was the official post-2015 negotiations in context of the Open Working Group, which was composed by Member States and engaged civil society at the UN in New York. The second process was led by UNESCO, largely by extension of the EFA-movement and qua its role as the UN's specialised agency on education. Finally, the global indicators, i.e. measuring progress on each of the 169 targets, were decided in context of the Inter-Agency and Expert Group on Sustainable Development Goal Indicators (IAEG-SDG) led by UN Stats. Sayed & Moriarty argue that the different modalities of negotiation ultimately reflects how the notion of education quality is articulated in the SDG4 (Sayed & Moriarty, 2018).

Sayed & Moriarty build their own understanding of education quality from a rights-based humanist point of view. Thus, their analysis of the documents is guided by many of the same principles as Beeby developed in the 1960's (Beeby, 1966). They argue though that an ambitious target on education quality would also have to include financing targets and professional teachers[5]. A central claim by Sayed & Moriarty is that the economist tradition, with its narrow focus on relevant learning outcomes, which often translates into numeracy and

[5] SDG4.C relates to teachers, but is considered a "support-target", which strips teachers of agency and reduce them to in-put into education (Sayed & Moriarty, 2018).

literacy, is not able to ensure that SDG4 becomes a driver of the other 16 goals, of which most make direct or indirect references to education. It is a claim which is particularly rooted in that the humanist tradition's broad focus on learning to live and do, i.e. some of the softer competencies that are needed to understand society and develop sustainable solutions (Sayed & Moriarty, 2018).

In proving how the negotiation modalities shaped the education post-2015 process, Sayed & Moriarty include a series of documents governing what is today the SDG4. Understanding how the documents govern the goal is key to the theoretical lens that will be applied in the later analysis. Below is a list of the documents reviewed in Sayed & Moriarty: their background; scope; and notion of education quality.

	Scope	Background	Notion
Muscat Agreement	The beginning of the education post-2015 process. Represents the education community's ambition.	Adopted in context of the EFA-movement and UNESCO.	Broad and progressive vision of quality. Important because the World Bank, UNICEF and some major donors had fought for a narrow notion focussing on economic development.
2030 Agenda	The comprehensive development agenda that UN Member States agreed to in New York.	Negotiated in the OWG with limited involvement from CSOs. The UNESCO-led process was finally merged into it around May 2015, two months before the final draft was agreed.	Extends the notion of education quality to encompass all levels of education but fails to sufficiently integrate Beeby's four pillars of learning. Instead, these are clustered in target 4.7, which has softer language than target 4.1, and can be

			hard for policy makers to grasp.
Indicator framework	Establishes indicators to measure progress. Agreed in the IAEG-SDG by national statistical experts with little to no CSO involvement.	CSOs arguing "*what gets measured, gets done*" fought for the indicators to be politically negotiated. Yet, they ended up conferred to a technical group of experts with little accountability.	Favours a narrow notion and neglects equity. E.g. reduces target 4.1 to merely reading and math (UN Stats, 2017).

Table 2: Overview of the scope, background, and notion of education quality for each of the three main documents governing SDG4.

One might also want to add the Education 2030 Framework for Action (FFA), which is the document adopted by the UNESCO Member States, with heavy involvement from the education community, that outlines ways in which the SDG4 should be implemented (UNESCO, 2015).

Ultimately, Sayed & Moriarty conclude that the notion of education quality in SDG4 can be traced all the way back to the 1990 Jomtien Declaration. The SDG4 though does represent a rupture with the past in the past in how well quality is embedded and how expansive it is understood across the goal and its ten targets. But the improvements are "*weakened by a hierarchy, and reduced further as it moves down to the level of the indicators*" (Sayed & Moriarty, 2018, p. 16). From Sayed & Moriarty's analysis, it is possible to conceptualise a framework for the notion of education quality and level of implementation, which is easily applicable in the analysis:

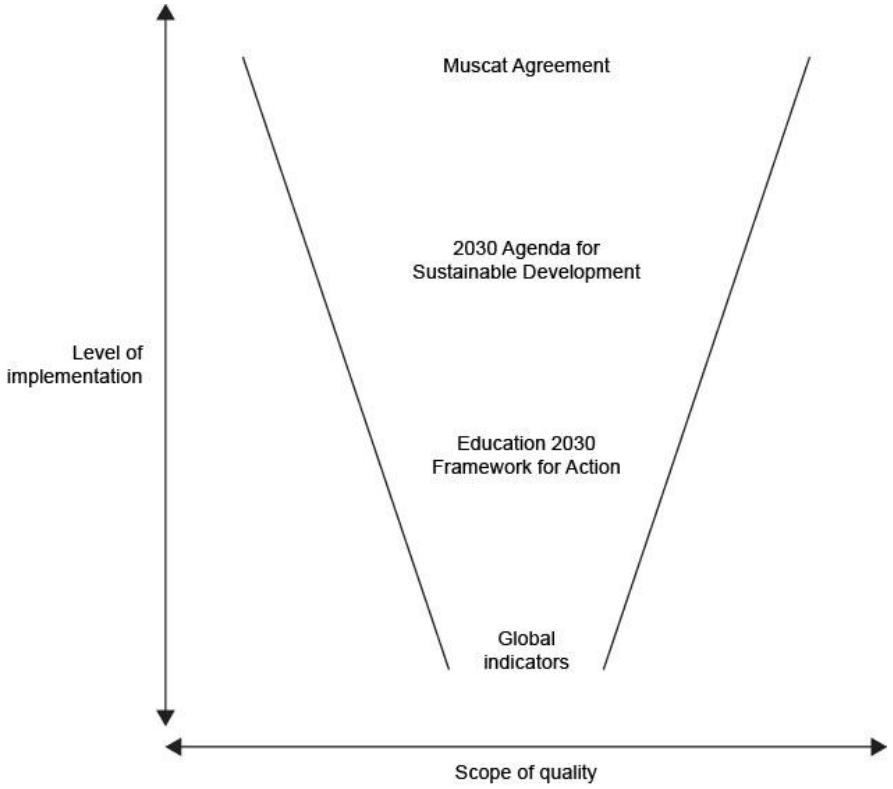

Fig. 1: The closer to the level of implementation, the narrower education quality is understood. Developed from Sayed & Moriarty's (2018) analysis of the documents governing SDG4.

As the figure illustrates, throughout the negotiation process, as it moved towards the level of implementation, i.e. from general intentions, to commitments, to blueprint, and finally the indicators that measure what is implemented, the notion of education quality became increasingly narrow. In other words, whereas the initial documents aligned mostly with the humanist tradition, the final documents had changed mostly to align with the economist tradition.

It is important to underline that the study does not subscribe to any particular notion of education quality. Instead, the framework developed from Sayed & Moriarty (2018) will be applied in the later analysis to gain an understanding of how education quality is conceptualised at different levels of PEAS.

3.3 Corporate citizenship

In their article "*Corporate Citizenship: Toward an Extended Theoretical Conceptualization*" Matten & Crane (2005) set out to develop a more robust definition of corporate citizenship (CC). One that decisively sets it away from models of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and at the same time allows for the definition to be operationalized in research.

Matten & Crane argue that current definitions of CC either employ a limited view of CC, which entails that corporations are ought to "give back to their communities" through charitable donations (Matten & Crane, 2005, p. 168). It is a view of CC which largely emphasizes the idea of "strategic philanthropy", which remains popular through works such as Porter & Kramer's idea of creating shared value (Porter & Kramer, 2011). The second view sees CSR and CC as two equivalents defined from the same four dimensions: economic, legal, ethical, and philanthropic. CC might be applied broader and perhaps on a different set of issues, but otherwise the two concepts are largely the same (Matten & Crane, 2005).

In order to develop a more robust understanding, Matten & Crane take their point of departure from the liberal tradition of citizenship, which is the tradition dominating the Western world. In this tradition, three different sets of rights can be identified:

- **Social rights** consist of those rights that provide the individual with the freedom to participate in society. These are also sometimes known as positive rights.
- **Civil rights** consist of those rights that provide freedom from abuses and interference by third parties. These are also sometimes known as negative rights.
- **Political rights** move beyond the mere protection of the individual's private sphere and toward his or her active participation in society, e.g. voting and holding office (Matten & Crane, 2005, p. 170)

Rather than attempt to apply the rights to corporations, Matten & Crane argue that citizenship applies to corporations because they are powerful public actors that have a responsibility to respect individual citizens' rights (Matten & Crane, 2005). This is the same argument that evolved into the foundation of John Ruggie's work (2013) and ultimately the UNGP's.

Within the liberal tradition, the responsibility to protect and respect individual rights is linked to sovereign states. However, globalisation increasingly erodes the states' sovereignty in that 1) nation-states are exposed to economic, social and political action beyond their control, and 2) companies are increasingly able to expand their business into territories outside the control of the original government. Combined, these developments necessitates that corporations recognise their responsibility as administrators of citizens' rights (Matten & Crane, 2005).

In light of this development, Matten & Crane suggest three ways in which corporations can administer citizenship: "1) where government ceases to administer citizenship rights, 2) where government has not as yet administered citizenship rights, and 3) where the administration of

citizenship rights may be beyond the reach of the nation-state government." (Matten & Crane, 2005, p. 172).

Following the argumentation above, Matten & Crane put forward a new definition of CC: "*CC describes the role of the corporation in administering citizenship rights for individuals*" (Matten & Crane, 2005, p. 173). From this definition, corporations can provide social rights by supplying social services; enable civil rights by capacitating citizens; and channel political rights by acting as an additional conduit of political rights (ibid). Matten & Crane's extended definition of CC can be summarised in the following figure:

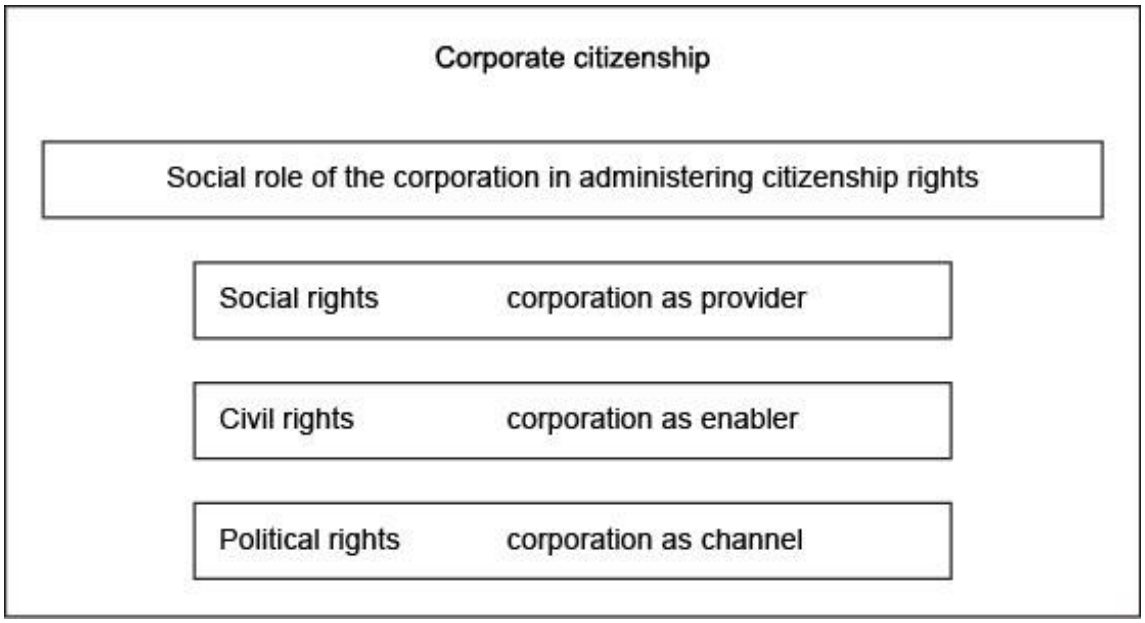

Fig. 2: Matten & Crane's extended theoretical conceptualisation of corporate citizenship (Matten & Crane, 2005, p. 174)

As Matten & Crane's framework is applied to the field of education, it is important to recall how recognised the right to freedom is: First recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights article 26.1, and later legally binding International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights articles 13.1 and 13.2.a, the right is strongly affirmed in the Bill of Human Rights. In addition, the right to quality education has also been affirmed in the Convention on the Rights of the Child:

> *"Article 29 (1) not only adds to the right to education recognized in article 28 a qualitative dimension which reflects the rights and inherent dignity of the child; it also insists upon the need for education to be child-centered, child-*

friendly and empowering, and it highlights the need for educational processes to be based upon the very principles it enunciates."

- (UN Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), 2001).

Last, but not least, it is important to recognise that the 2030 Agenda seeks to realise the human rights and its 17 inseparable goals are explicitly guided by the Bill of Human Rights (UN GA, 2015b). As such, when discussing SDG4 and LFPS' ability to achieve the goal, one must also evaluate their impact on the other goals and human rights as such.

In the analysis, Matten & Crane's conceptualisation is applied to bridge our understanding of LFPS' business operation with the objective of realising SDG4 and the impact it has on human rights. Although CC is not ideal to capture the nature of PEAS' business, i.e. non-profit built as a social enterprise, it was deemed more useful than CSR theory. Existing theory on social enterprises was also rendered irrelevant, due to its focus on the theory of change backing its interventions, and not its business impact as such (Roy, Donaldson, Baker, & Kerr, 2014). In line with the study's transformative worldview, it is worth mentioning that CSR and CC have both been criticised as neo-liberal attempts at subduing activism (Horowitz, 2014). As important as the criticism is, it does, however, not weight as heavily when applied to the case of PEAS, because CC in this case is integrated into the business, and not utilized as a tool to garner legitimacy, as has been the case elsewhere.

4.0 Methodology

This study deploys an embedded mixed-method design, whereby quantitative and qualitative data is integrated in order to derive conclusions to the research question (Creswell, 2014). Specifically, quantitative data from a household survey is used to inform the selection and analysis of case schools. Interviews with school members are conducted within each school, and in turn analysed to unveil patterns relevant to the quality of LFPS and their business model. As already presented, PEAS has been selected as the case school. The following chapter outlines the considerations behind this decision.

4.1 Research philosophy

The choice of a mixed-method research design has some important implications for the research philosophy. Overall, the study subscribes to a transformative worldview, reflecting that questions of equity and social rights are at the core of the research question (Creswell, 2014). As such, the choice to apply a transformative worldview can also be seen as criticism of other

studies of LFPS that all too often succumbs to quantitative analyses that fails to give voice to and empower the individuals who are ought to be at the core of the education systems: the teachers, pupils, and parents.

The transformative worldview extends the social constructivist worldview by placing a special emphasis on analysing power structures that might lead to inequality, oppression, and alienation. In other words, the transformative worldview speaks to important social issues of the day (Creswell, 2014). Social constructivism's ontology is that social phenomena, and by extension the world we live in, and their meanings is continuously defined and redefined by social actors. It is all a social construct. Social constructivists do not make a claim to present any definitive reality, instead, they accede that it is the researcher's own specific reality. Language is given a high ontological status in social constructivism, which generally favours qualitative over quantitative studies (Bryman, 2016). Another feature of constructivism is that it generally favours inductive research strategies, whereby theory is developed based on patterns in a given observation, e.g. documents, interviews etc. (Gerring, 2012).

At the same time, the study will also deploy quantitative theory, which is most often associated with the positivist worldview. At the core of positivism stands the ontological idea that the world exists externally and as such an objective reality also exists. This idea is expressed in its epistemology, in that positivists limit themselves to studying only what is directly observable by our senses. Research is conducted according to the principle of verification, whereby a hypothesis is tested and either accepted, if it's logically derived from an observation, or rejected in case of the opposite. The aim is to gradually create more knowledge, and in doing so, to improve explanations of the laws that govern our world (Bryman, 2016). Consequently, positivist research will almost always deploy a deductive research strategy (Gerring, 2012). As such, positivism stands in stark contrast to constructivism, which explicitly acknowledges its subjectivity, but attempts to mitigate its effects by being explicit about the researcher's position (Creswell, 2014).

Combining two worldviews brings the study at odds with the scientific principles of commensurability, that is, how well the research design follows standards and norms within its particular field (Gerring, 2012). Thomas Kuhn introduced the incommensurability thesis stating that theories from differing paradigms suffer from certain deep kinds of failure of comparability due to differences in their conceptual frameworks (Kuhn, 1970). However, later Kuhn's arguments have been contested by several other philosophers such as Karl Popper, who instead argued that "*a rational and fruitful discussion [across paradigms] is impossible unless the participants share a common framework of basic assumptions or, at least, unless they have*

agreed on such a framework for the purpose of the discussion" (Popper, 1994). Pierre Bourdieu also weighed in on the discussion, arguing that researchers simply needed to reflect on specific implications of deploying conflicting paradigms (Fuglsang & Bitsch Olsen, 2004). Kuhn, in his own later writings, objected to the absolute interpretation of his thesis, instead arguing for a more relative approach whereby theory choice is guided by five criteria that it should be: Accurate, consistent, broad scope, simple, and fruitful (Kuhn, 1977).

In essence, by applying a mixed-method the present study automatically subscribes to Popper and Bourdieu's idea that it is indeed possible to combine worldviews. Consequently, when the research strategy is discussed in section 4.3, special attention to the contributions and limitations of each specific methodology will be accounted for.

4.2 Positionality statement

As recognised in the earlier section, by adopting a transformative social constructivist worldview, the present study is an analysis of the research question through the researcher's own personal lens. As such, it is important to first reflect on the position that the researcher has within the study, and continue to do so throughout the study, particularly in relation to the subject, the participants, and the context and process (Bryman, 2016; Savin-Baden & Major, 2012).

My position in relation to the participants and not least the context is very clear: born and raised in Denmark, in a middle-class family with both my parents, and studying for an advanced university degree, my world is (literally) thousands of miles away from the world of the school members that will make up the participants of the study. It is an outside position, which in the study is reflected in my etic position as researcher, whereby I seek objectivity by detaching myself from the cultural group being studied (Naaeke, Grabowski, Linton, & Radford, 2012). The outsider position entails a number of advantages and disadvantages, such as my limited cultural understanding causing me not to be able to ask the most insightful questions in the best possible way, but on the other hand my position as outsider might also mean that the participants feel more confident sharing information with me, knowing they will likely never meet me again (Naaeke et al., 2012).

My position in relation to the topic of LFPS, however, warrants more reflection. I identity very strongly as a student activist; for the past 10 years I have either held office in or been active around the student movement in Denmark, Europe, and internationally with student allies in countries such Canada and Zimbabwe. My activism has been rooted in a firm idea of equitable access to free education – at all levels – as an enabler of personal, and, thus, societal

development. I participated intensely in the education post-2015 process[6] from the side of students, working with the youth constituency, the teacher constituency, and the broader education civil society to ensure a progressive agenda, which would rest on the States' obligations to provide equitable quality education for all. For the field research, the study also benefitted from help from Education International (EI – the teachers' global trade union) in organising the visit and arranging the first expert interviews. I also received financial support from the Open Society Foundations (OSF) to enable the field research. Both EI and OSF have previously voiced criticism of LFPS and/or funded studies critical of the concept.

This is my personal position, which is the backdrop against which the study has been written. Obviously, the study is concerned with what can be proven by means of scientific methods, and it strives to achieve the greatest extent of objectivity and validity, exactly by stating the position, and reflecting on its implications.

4.3 Research strategy

The study follows an inductive research approach, in that it first seeks to collect and analyse data, before advancing theory on LFPS at the end of the study, based on patterns found in the collected data (Bryman, 2016). This also implies that the research strategy is fixed, in that the particular methods have been chosen before commencing the study. This was done to ensure that the methods are combined in a way that alleviates the potential shortcomings in each of the individual methods deployed (Creswell, 2014). As mentioned previously, the study will do so by executing an embedded mixed-method design. The embedded research design, was chosen in an attempt to transcend the philosophical differences that have traditionally characterised discussion on LFPS and education quality, as illustrated in the previous literature review (Creswell, 2014).

To begin with, national household data collected by the World Bank in 2015 will be analysed to draw up a picture of Uganda's wealth and education by each region. It is worth noting households included in the dataset all have some sort of income from agriculture (CGAP, 2016). As such, the dataset is not entirely representative of the population; instead it is used as a proxy for wealth distribution. This is possible, because the data will only be used to select the case schools, and for general income statistics on those most marginalised communities who LFPS

[6] That lead to the adoption of the language around SDG4.

make a special claim to reach (Srivastava, 2013). This is no "waste" of data, as plenty of studies on the relationship between education and demographics already exist[7].

One key reason why quantitative analysis is deployed first is because the measurement allows for a more refined delineation between people in terms of specific characteristics than a qualitative analysis would. This is particularly helpful, when grasping larger populations, such as entire countries (Bryman, 2016).

However, quantitative research is confronted with three key criticism of particular relevance to the present study: first of all, social researchers who deploy quantitative analysis fail to recognise the unique traits of the social world, in which people interpret the world around them, and are influenced by their peers while doing so. Secondly, the rigid survey instruments often used to collect quantitative data do not take into account whether or not the participants are equipped with sufficient knowledge to answer the questions. One example, from the present study, is that almost all respondents in the household survey filled in an average monthly household income, while when interviewing individuals, many of these were struggling to give an exact number, due to being peasant farmers or casual workers. Thirdly, the analysis of the relationships between different quantitative variables can lead to an oversimplified view of reality, which does not hold true in the real world (Bryman, 2016).

The quantitative analysis is followed by a qualitative case-study of PEAS schools. The case-study method is particularly useful when an in-depth and extensive description of some contemporary social phenomena is required (Yin, 2014). This particular case study takes on exploratory format in that it seeks to improve the understanding of LFPS, based on the selected theory and the existing accumulative body of literature on LFPS specifically (Creswell, 2014). The unit of analysis are the two PEAS schools included in the case study, representing a mode of education delivery that can be characterised as a LFPS per the definition presented previously. As such, the case study can be characterised as an embedded single-case design (Yin, 2014).

The case study will be undertaken by conducting semi-structured interviews with the headmaster, teachers, parents, and students in the schools, collectively making up what can be described as the education constituency (UNESCO, 2017). The case study will be further supported by semi-structured expert interviews with PEAS management and decision-makers in Uganda's Ministry of Education as well as civil society experts. Validity will be ensured by

[7] See GMR, 2010 for a review.

comparing data from the civil society, the education constituency, PEAS, and the authorities, all of whom have different interests vested in LFPS and PEAS in particular. As such, it is not given that their views will correlate (Bryman, 2016).

Interview guides to each group of respondents will be developed, in order to allow for their unique perspective on and implications of LFPS, while still maintaining a set of shared questions in order to allow for comparability. For instance, interviews headmasters, teachers and pupils look more at the quality of education, while interviews with parents, management and policy makers will focus more on the implications of the business model. The specific choices will be elaborated and discussed in a later section.

The decision to include current pupils as respondents in the study raises a particular question of ethics, due to their young age. The study intends to deal with this by informing and preparing the students before the interview; ensuring they are comfortable with participating; and by allowing them a greater chance to correct or explain themselves, in case they make statements, which could be considered controversial (Creswell, 2014).

All of the interviews will be transcribed and analysed using Nvivo, which will allow coding the interviews to uncover patterns and extract data on word frequencies (Gerring, 2012). The teachers, students, and parents will be anonymised, but experts and head masters will not, as these are anyways public faces, and would be easy to identify from their statements. Anonymization works to ensure that participants will not be reprimanded afterwards on the ground of statements made for the research, allowing them to express themselves more freely. Obviously, the experts and head teachers will not enjoy this protection, and thus, might be less inclined to speak freely, but as public persons and faces of the schools, it is reasonable to expect that they are used to being accountable to the particular statements they will make during the interviews (Bryman, 2016).

Finally, the study is completed with a discussion of the findings. In terms of the discussion, it is important to recall the transformative worldview, which the study applies. Thus, the discussion will be influenced by issues of equity and power structures, informed by existing human rights framework that is inherently imbued in the 2030 Agenda, as it was shown in the introduction (Creswell, 2014). Although the case study has been concerned with the unique features of the PEAS school model, i.e. an idiographic approach to knowledge, the discussion will relate the findings to the SDG4 at global level, by taking into account the specific features that can be identified in other schools within the LFPS spectrum.

A fair criticism of the selected methodology is the lack of a comparable case study to a public school (Yin, 2014). This is idea was rejected for several reasons. To begin with, the attention of the study is not only quality of education, but also the implications of the business model unique to LFPS, rendering any comparison within this dimension impossible. Another issue is simply the scope of the study, which requires limitation. The study could also have included text analysis of school books, although this would once reduce agency by the teacher, and consequently interviews were deemed more insightful for this purpose. However, as discussed in section 10.4, these choices could inspire further research.

4.4 Data collection

The foundation of the analysis is the data that is being analysed. As such, ensuring high quality data is of paramount importance for the outcome of the analysis. Yin (2014) recommends collecting data from multiple sources, in order to allow for triangulation between them. This study follows the recommendation by first deploying quantitative data to decide on the final case study and inform the qualitative data collection, and secondly by collecting qualitative data from multiple levels relating to PEAS and their school model. It combines insights from experts, policy makers, administrators and users in an attempt to uncover potential decoupling and/or misinformation between them.

The qualitative data is complemented by quantitative data from a national household survey in Uganda conducted by CGAP in 2015 on behalf of the World Bank. The original dataset consists of three surveys, but the present study only utilises the first survey, which is concerned with the general household characteristics (n = 2,870). Based on the comprehensive data documentation the data is deemed to be of high quality. For further information, please refer to the data documentation (CGAP, 2016).

Because the aim of the household survey was to achieve national representation, only 118 of Uganda's 121 districts are represented in the survey, with some districts only represented by one respondent. In order to increase representation at district level, the districts were collapsed into 12 larger districts (three districts within each of the four regions), with each new district representing approximately 1/3 of the region's responses in the survey. With the districts collapsed, the district with the least respondents has n = 156. Although this is not entirely representative it still helps get a good picture of the situation within each district. See appendix 2 for further details.

The expert participants were sampled through a purposive approach, whereby participants were selected based on their relevance to the research question, and with a view to ensure variety in

their perspectives on the research question. It is a non-probability mode of sampling, and consequently it does not allow for generalization. Rather, it is an idiographic approach to knowledge, which represents a snapshot of the selected individuals' perspectives at a given point in time (Bryman, 2016). The expert participants were selected based on their knowledge and specific positions in relation to PEAS, e.g. the CEO of PEAS was selected, as he would represent the official views of PEAS, whereas the Institute for Social and Economic Rights was selected because of their prior work on LFPS in Uganda. When selecting the expert interviewees, it was also considered to maintain a balance in the participants' views on LFPS, i.e. ensuring that there was a balance between critics and proponents of LFPS.

Ideally, participants in the schools had been randomly sampled in order to allow for greater representation of the results. Initially, it was also planned to sample parents through snowball sampling, in order to mimic probability sampling and allow for as little external interference as possible in the sampling. However, when arriving at the case schools, it was evident that snowball sampling was not feasible due to how dispersed the families were, and due to language barriers[8]. Instead, school members were sampled on basic criterion, i.e. parent, student etc., with help from the school head teacher (Bryman, 2016). A relevant critique of the sampling is that the head teacher potentially acted as gate keeper, and selected individuals whom they thought would support their agenda. However, later findings from the analysis indicate this is not the case.

A total of 36 interviews were conducted as part of the study, totalling more than 9.5 hours of interviews. Two interviews were conducted with experts outside the PEAS system, with another two interviews from PEAS management outside the individual schools, while the remaining 32 interviews were conducted with "members" of school, i.e. head teachers, teachers, parents, and students, representing actors at the school level of the analysis (Gerring, 2012). 14 interviews were conducted at PEAS Samling, while another 18 were conducted at PEAS Green Shoots. 12 teachers, 10 students, and 8 parents were interviewed across the two schools. Although the participants were not sampled in a way that ensures representation, the relatively large sample size did manage to achieve a high degree of theoretical saturation (Bryman, 2016). The interviews are summarised in table 3, section 4.4.1.

[8] While English has been enforced as an official language since colonisation in 1894, a large group of largely poor and uneducated Ugandans do not speak the language sufficiently to allow for a dialogue.

4.4.1 Qualitative interviews

Interview is the most commonly used method in qualitative research (Bryman, 2016). Qualitative interviews differ from quantitative ones in that they are more open and primarily concerned with understanding the world from the interviewee's perspective (Bryman, 2016). Consequently, interviews are considered useful method for data collection, when gathering knowledge on complex issues (Gerring, 2012).

First, before conducting the interviews, a series of interview guides have to be developed. The purpose of the interview guide is to create the structure of the interview, thereby ensuring that relevant questions are asked, while still leaving room for the interview to go in other directions, depending on what insights emerge from the conservation. Even though the guides provide a framework for the interview, it is still important that the interviewer allows for flexibility during the interview, both in terms changing the emphasis of the interview, based on insights from the interviewee, but also in terms of accommodating for any special wishes that the interviewee might have. As the interview guides are prepared in advance of the interviews, they also help to ensure a degree of comparability between the interviews. Further, the guides may also be adapted, as some interviews are conduct that reveal insight that in return require further attention in the following interviews (Bryman, 2016). This was, for instance the case with the interview guide for the teachers, which had questions added more specifically about poorer students, based on insights from interviews at the first school.

When developing the interview guide, it is important to ensure that the questions asked are rooted in the theory that will be applied in the analysis (Bryman, 2016). The selected theory, presented previously in the study, is evident in the majority of the questions asked to both experts and members of the school. For instance, in an attempt to uncover the different positions and actions of the persons interviewed, all the interviews are concerned with how education quality is understood.

The bulk of the interviews were conducted face-to-face during a fieldtrip in Uganda 17 February – 3 March 2018. Only the interview with PEAS' CEO had to be conducted via Skype, because he is based in England. As Bryman (2016) discusses, both interview modes have advantages and disadvantages: online and phone interviews makes it easier to accommodate special needs the interviewee might have, and are cheaper to conduct, because they do not entail any travelling. On the other hand, face-to-face interviews offers better que-taking during the interviews, which might help the interviewer adapt the interview, to uncover more complex insights. Most importantly though, research into the different modes seem to indicate that

although interviewees tend to talk for longer in face-to-face interviews, the insights uncovered will often be largely the same.

The face-to-face interviews conducted with experts all took place in the experts' offices, which means, they were in their natural setting, and likely felt comfortable, something which is conducive to an open and honest discussion (Creswell, 2014). Contrary, interviews with school members took place in an empty physics laboratory and the head teacher's office respectively, which might have influenced particularly the students and parents' answers, as some of them were noticeably uncomfortable with the situation. The interview setting was, however, hard to change, because those were the only available spaces in the school, and privacy was weighted higher than for instance moving outside.

All interviews were recorded and later transcribed (the process of which is described in section 4.5), in agreement with all the interviews, who were asked for consent at the beginning of each interview. The length of the interviews varies greatly from 4 minutes to 51 minutes, but generally speaking, interviews within each "category" (i.e. students, parents, teachers, head teachers, and experts) were all approximate the same length.

Table 3 below gives an overview of all the interviews conducted as part of the study:

Name	Title, Organisation	Interview date	Location
John Rendel	CEO, PEAS	30 January 2018	Skype
Salima Namusobya	Executive Director, ISER Uganda	19 February 2018	ISER Offices
Teacher 1 – 5	Teacher, PEAS Samling	21 February	PEAS Samling
Student 1 – 5	Student, PEAS Samling	21 February	PEAS Samling
Parent 1 – 3	Parent to student, PEAS Samling	21 February	PEAS Samling
Tohamil Robert	Head teacher, PEAS Samling	21 February 2018	PEAS Samling
Teacher 6 – 12	Teacher, PEAS Green Shoots	27 February	PEAS Green Shoots
Student 6 – 10	Student, PEAS Green Shoots	27 February	PEAS Green Shoots
Parent 4 – 8	Parent to student,	27 February	PEAS Green

	PEAS Green Shoots		Shoots
Annette Birungi	Head teacher, PEAS Green Shoots	27 February 2018	PEAS Green Shoots
Mr. Ismael/MoES	Head of Private Schools and Institutions	2 March 2018	Uganda's Ministry of Education and Sports
Henry Senkasi	Country Director, PEAS	2 March 2018	PEAS Offices

Table 3: List of interview participants

4.5 Transcription and coding

The interviews have been transcribed, allowing for a more detailed analysis of the content. This is done according to the transformative world view in which language is viewed as ontologically important, in the belief that social properties are outcomes of the interactions between individuals (Bryman, 2016; Fuglsang & Bitsch Olsen, 2004). At a practical level, the majority of the interviews, except four interviews with parents, which involved an interpreter, were carried out by a professional Ugandan copy-writer, who is accustomed to the Ugandan dialect. The fact that it is largely the same person, who transcribed all the interviews, also ensures a greater degree of homogeneity. On a negative note, the author undertaking the text analysis might be less familiar with the text.

According to Bryman (2016), coding refers to the process of "*reviewing transcripts and/or field notes and giving labels (names) to component parts that seem to be of potential theoretical significance*." No codebook was developed prior to the analysis. Instead, the code categories were developed by applying the Gioia method to select interviews with parents and teachers in an iterative process to begin with. Through this process, a large number of 1st order codes were developed, which were in turn applied across all the remaining interviews, before the 2nd order codes were developed relying on a theoretical understanding. This process helps boost the robustness of the study, in that it clearly illustrates how conceptual insights emerged from the interviews using theory (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2013). Developing the coding framework from interviews with parents and teachers also meant that the framework was slightly better at capturing insights from these respondents, rather than expert respondents, leading to less dense coding in the latter. However, this was a deliberate choice, because teachers and parents were deemed to be "closer" to the unit of analysis, i.e. the schools and their communities, yet all the interviews relate to the same unit (Yin, 2014). The final coding framework is illustrated in appendix 4. Coding was done using the computer programme Nvivo. The use of Nvivo makes it

easier to visualise patterns, and also enables statistics on word frequencies, which can inform the analysis further

5.0 Selecting case schools

Following Lewin's research (2007), which showed a need for (private) school places to absorb students able to pay fees, but without anywhere to go, it is relevant to consider schools located in rural areas with little or no school services. A simple map plot of PEAS' schools (appendix 4) shows that PEAS has indeed opened its schools in rural areas, and while doing so has also achieved a somewhat even distribution of its schools across the country. This would indicate that PEAS delivers on its strategy to only open schools in places where there is a genuine need for them, contrary to other LFPS, such as Bridge International Academies, who have been known for cannibalising on public schools (appendix 1; ISER, 2016, p. vii).

Although PEAS and LFPS generally claim to reach the poorest of the poor (Srivastava, 2013; Tooley, 1999), the study has opted to select case schools in middle-income districts. The reason is simply to follow the idea of PEAS as "best case", i.e. looking at how well a specific LFPS, in this case PEAS, is able to perform under conditions that a conducive to quality education and the LFPS business model.

Using the Poverty Probability Index (PPI) score from the household survey, it is possible to draw a picture of the likely poverty across the collapsed districts presented previously. PPI is a statically sound instrument, which scores a household's likelihood to live below the poverty line, based on 10 simple questions about the household's characteristics and asset ownership. The score is standardised and adapted to every country, thus there is no need to manipulate the data. The household's average monthly income is not included as a question in the PPI, exactly because PPI is ought to be easy to administer (Innovations for Poverty Action, n.d.). Estimating the average monthly income can be hard for small household farmers due to the fluctuations from month to month. Yet, the household survey does include data on the monthly income, which will also be included to inform the choice of districts. Table 4 below shows the aggregated mean PPI score of each of the 12 collapsed districts as well as the median average monthly household income:

District	PPI score	Average monthly income (UGX)
NorthernEast	30.21818	72,500
NorthernWest	32.22346	100,000

EasternNorth	33.21101	150,000
NorthernMid	33.51282	67,500
EasternMid	41.47699	200,000
WesternNorth	45.14783	140,000
EasternSouth	45.68163	200,000
WesternSouth	46.08519	150,000
WesternMid	46.14449	150,000
CentralSouth	53.07018	200,000
CentralNorth	53.64135	200,000
CentralMid	64.62411	500,000

Table 4: Aggregated PPI score of collapsed districts and their median average monthly household income. Source: World Bank smallholder household survey.

The three districts in the Western region generally stands out as rather average across the two scores, with the Southern district as the best-off. For this reason, it was decided to locate one school in the WesternMid and WesternNorth districts respectively. Given their respective PPI scores of 46 and 45, there is 16.7 percent likelihood that the family lives below 1.9 USD/day and 51.6 percent likelihood that they live below 3.1 USD/day (Schreiner, 2015). The proximity of the two districts to each other also played a minor factor in this decision, seeing that practically it would be hard to move across the country within the few days the field trip lasted.

Taking a closer look at the PEAS schools located within the two districts, it was decided to use Samling PEAS High School and Green Shoots Secondary School as case schools. Both schools were among the first PEAS schools built in Western Uganda back in 2010, hence it is reasonable to expect that the schools have had sufficient time to establish and refine the school practice (PEAS, 2018c). PEAS Samling is located in the small village of Kazingo roughly 15 kilometers outside Fort Portal, the district's main town. It is estimated that within 5 kilometers of the school, 400 pupils leave primary school with nowhere to continue secondary education. The school serves some 650 students and offers O-levels only (PEAS, 2018b). PEAS Green Shoots is located in the town of Kigorobya, approximately 25 kilometers north of Hoima, which is the largest city in the area. Kigorobya does have other private schools, but no existing public schools, and hundreds of primary school leavers lack a place to continue secondary education. The school serves approximately 500 students, but although the PEAS website state the contrary, it was found that the school only offers O-levels and no A-levels (PEAS, 2018a). Both schools are part of PEAS' cluster programme, whereby schools are clustered regionally to allow for capacity building and exchange of experience between the school administrators. Samling

and Green Shoots were originally believed to be in the same cluster, as shown on the PEAS website, but during the field trip it was discovered that the clusters had been changed and this was no longer the case (PEAS, 2018b).

6.0 Deconstructing notions of quality

The idea about different notions of quality education is central to this present study. Based on the theoretical framework put forward previously about quality, the chapter seeks to conceptualise what quality PEAS is expected to and does in fact offer. Beeby (1966) and Lockheed & Verspoor's (1991) respective definitions of quality are central to this chapter, as is the conceptual framework of quality across SDG4, as developed from Sayed & Moriarty's (2018) work.

Following the Gioia coding model (Gioia et al., 2013) all the interviews were first coded based on direct testimonials from the participants. The large number of codes were subsequently clustered into 2nd order codes based on theoretical concepts derived directly from the humanist and economic traditions of education quality. At a first glance, the economic tradition dominates the interviews with 139 references across 35 sources, while the humanist tradition amounts to 86 references across 29 sources. Figure 3 illustrates the distribution of 2nd order codes within the two traditions. Please refer to appendix 3 for the complete code diagram

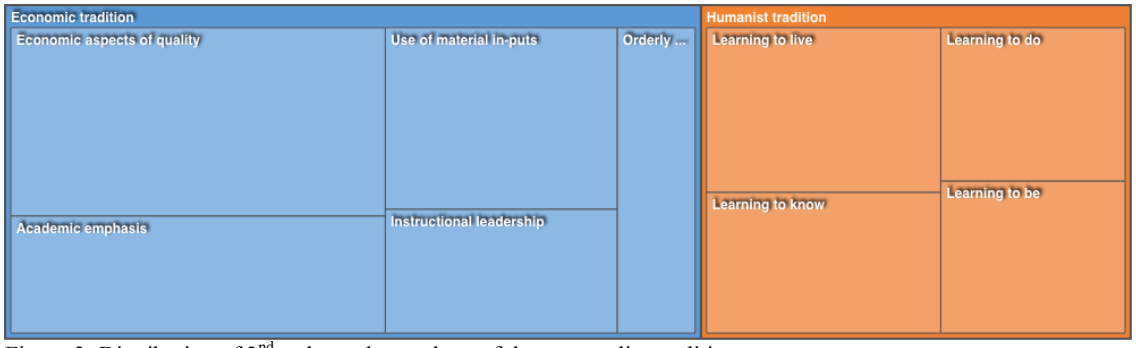

Figure 3: Distribution of 2nd order codes as share of the two quality traditions.

It is easy to conclude from figure 3 that the economic tradition of quality education is dominant across PEAS. However, since interviews included participants with different relations to PEAS, it is necessary to aggregate the findings further, in order to meaningfully conclude on PEAS' education delivery. Analysing the collapsed codes across the different levels of governance will allow the analysis to build on the conceptualisation from Sayed & Moriarty (2018).

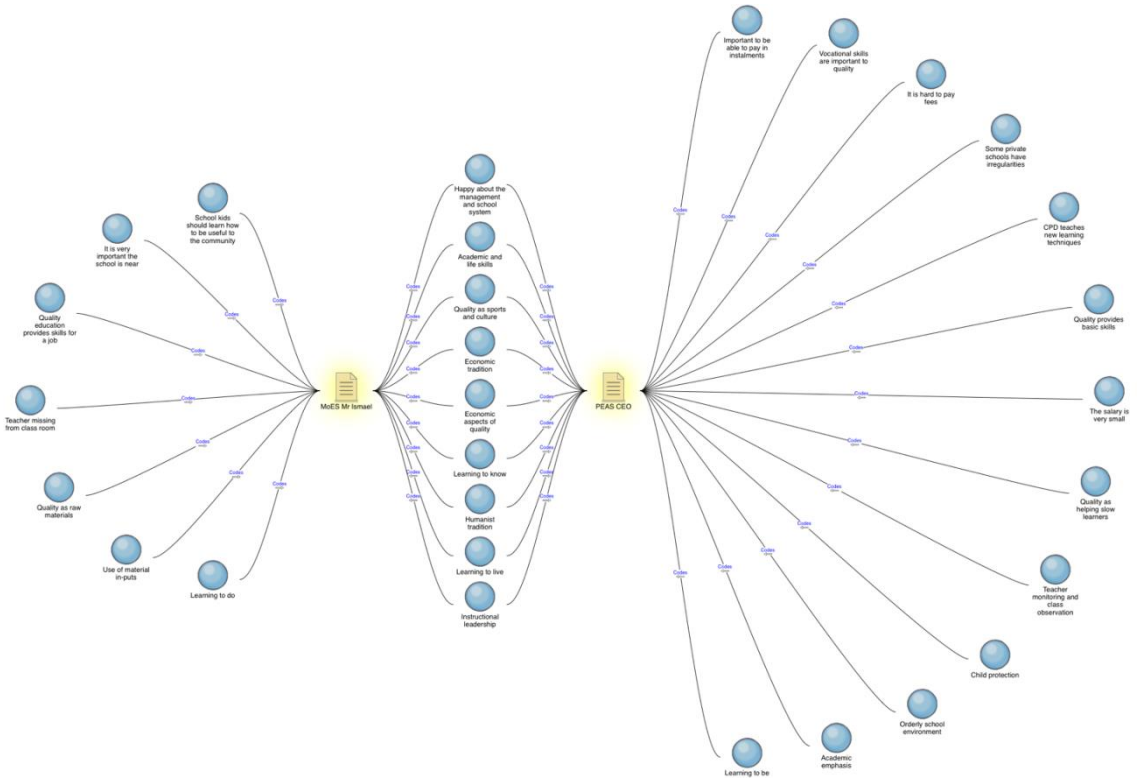

Figure 4: The difference in code relations between the representative from the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) and PEAS' CEO.

Figure 4 shows that there is a significant difference in how the MoES and PEAS CEO talk about quality and schooling for that matter. A closer look at the figure shows that although both make references to both the humanist and economic traditions of education quality, the MoES has a more humanist understanding, emphasising such things as being useful to the community, as exemplified in the quote below, while making fewer references to the economic tradition.

> *"Quality education has got so many aspects of all components, but the kind of education that will be able at the end of the day to transform that individual to a useful citizen of this country. […] So, quality is a perspective, but the kind of quality education we talk about is a wholesome kind of education. It's not just how you excel in mathematics, in English, and that that defines quality education."*
>
> - MoES, appendix 10

The CEO of PEAS share some of the same views, but to the PEAS CEO, it appears equally important that education can lead to a job afterwards. A view which is driven by the realization that PEAS operates in poorer regions without many prospects of students continuing into higher

education. Even then, if they manage to complete a tertiary degree, students will still face a lack of jobs, thus causing them to unemployed, unless they are able to make a living for themselves.

> *"That they are given the best chance of getting formal sector jobs, but if they don't get formal sector jobs, having skills that are going to allow them to be more productive in whatever they do end up doing, which is generally farming or local work in the informal sector and just improving the productivity of their parents' farms, for example."*
>
> \- PEAS CEO, appendix 11

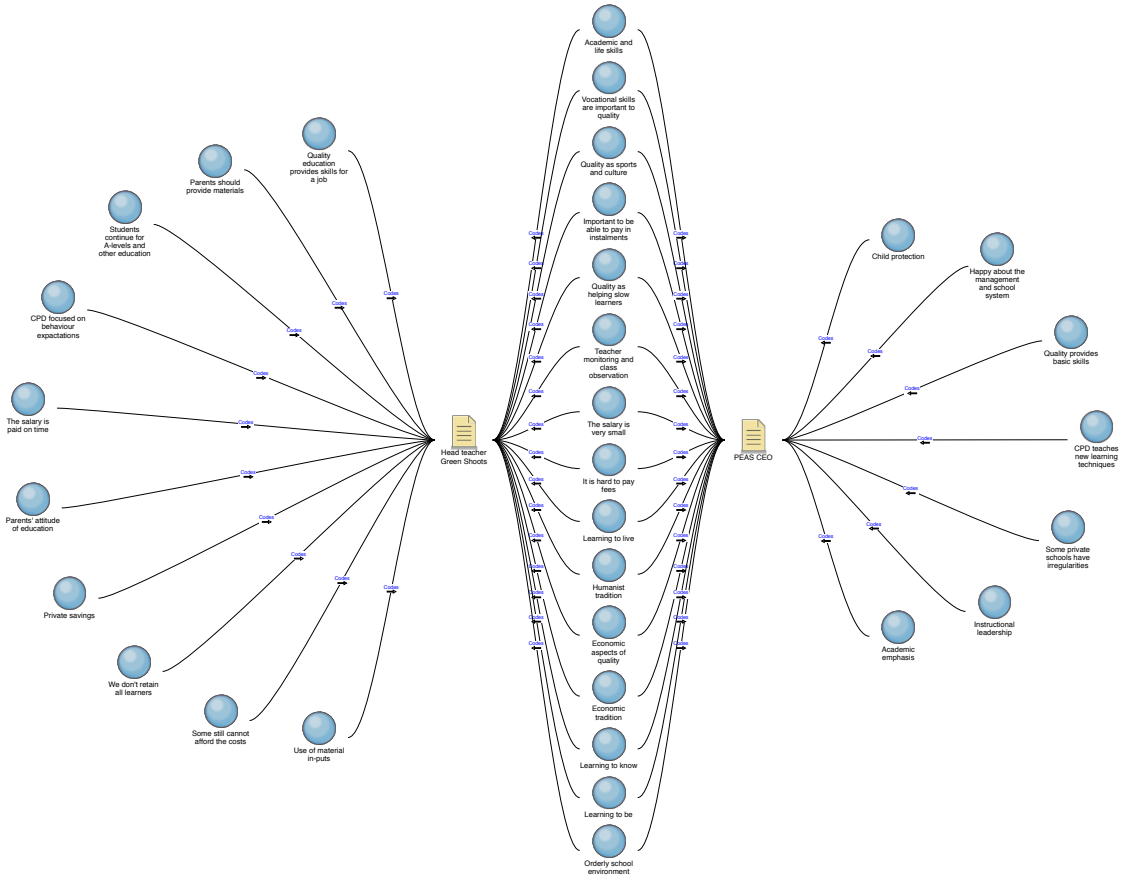

Figure 5: Comparison between PEAS CEO and the Green Shoots (GS) Head Teacher.

As we move down one step towards implementation, the notion of education quality becomes narrower. Figure 5 compares the codes between the PEAS CEO and the GS Head Teacher. As with previously, the two share a substantial number of codes, but the head teacher makes use of more references to the economic notion of quality, such as education providing skills for a job – as contrasted to the shared reference to vocational skills – and focusing on CPD within behavioural expectations. Looking at what codes are shared, it is clear that the two still share a significant reference to the humanist tradition, such as when making references to life skills,

when asked to define quality education. A similar tendency is found among the Head Teacher of PEAS Samling:

> *"To me, what I would look at being quality education is the type of education that is producing wholesome citizens, I would say, where we are providing theoretical education and practical education."*
>
> - PEAS GS Head Teacher, appendix 14

However, when asked to give an example of how their – still rather broad – notion of quality is taught, both head teachers turn to a narrow set of labour skills associated with the economic tradition.

> *"I appreciate PEAS because they are trying to develop practical skills for the learners. For example, we have girls club where students practice knitting table clothes, so this equips the learner with a certain skill that in case he fails to continue with education, he can make the table clothes, and sells to the people, and get some income."*
>
> - PEAS GS Head Teacher, appendix 14

Their answers indicate that a schism exists between how education is thought of among the PEAS local management, and how they ultimately end up implementing their ideas. The possible drivers behind this will be discussed in the next section.

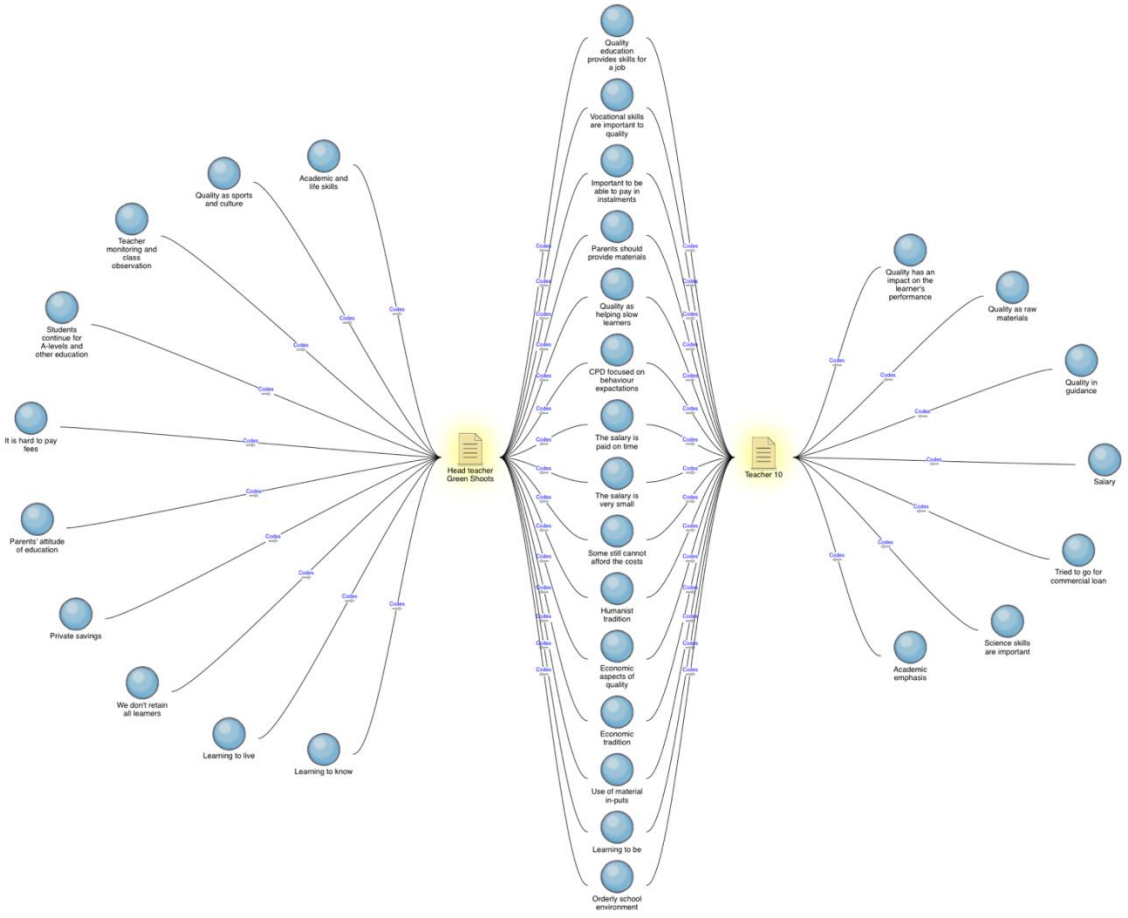

Figure 6: Comparison between GS Head Teacher and Teacher 10.

The tendency of a narrowing notion of education quality continues, as we compare the interview of the GS Head Teacher with teacher 10 – the most densely coded teacher representative, and a teacher at GS. Although, once again, the two share many references, the picture that the teachers are very focused on the economic tradition of education quality becomes very clear. It is particularly striking how the two only share one reference deemed to fit within the humanist tradition of education quality, whereas the teacher makes several references to issues that are clearly within the economic tradition.

> *"When you look at the quality, it cuts across; it is in terms of what good things expected out of what you deliver to the learners. That's quality. In terms of what materials do you deliver to these learners? That output, the end result may make some of them successful in life. When you prepare good teaching and learning raw materials and you transform these raw materials into goods and services, where the quality raw materials are good the output will also be good."*

- Teacher 10, appendix 24

A similar pattern is seen across all the interviews with the teachers: all the teachers are very concerned with the students acquiring basic skills and/or vocational skills that will allow them to take a job or start their own business afterwards.

> *"At school, learners should get the skills which can help them to sustain themselves, not necessarily waiting for the white-collar jobs."*
>
> - Teacher 7, appendix 21

> *"Yeah, quality is important. It empowers somebody to overcome the challenges of the world. It also equips somebody with skills to carry out some practical work outside the school."*
>
> - Teacher 9, appendix 23

As the comparison of the Head Teacher and teacher 10 shows, the emphasis on the economic tradition of quality education does, however, not exclude references to the humanist tradition:

> *"In the first place, maybe I may not necessarily look at the writing, the speaking, and what. First of all, they need to learn how to socialize with their friends – that is interacting with the outside environment, which is very important."*
>
> - Teacher 8, appendix 22

Again though, just as with the Head Teachers, when asked to give an example of how education quality is taught and what skills they associate with it, the majority of the teachers fall back into the economic tradition of quality:

> *"One of the skills is I have to develop their speaking skills. I have also to look into their writing skills, listening skills, and the other one is their reading skills. I look into all those skills and make sure that they are developed."*
>
> - Teacher 8, appendix 22

Still, if one looks at the statistics again, it is clear that teachers are significantly more concerned with the economic notion of quality education than the humanist one. All 12 teachers make at least two references to the economic tradition, totalling 50 references. At the same time, 11 teachers make at least one reference to the humanist tradition but totalling only 34 references.

Behind these numbers hides the fact that references to the economic tradition are more substantial, i.e. make up a larger share of the total code of each interview.

Against the evidence presented above, it is clear that the level of implementation has a major effect on the notion of education quality. The finding confirms Sayed & Moriarty's (2018) speculation that SDG4 would not be implemented in the way that Member States had adopted it in the 2030 Agenda and the FFA. Rather, implementation is most likely to align with the indicators, which were not politically negotiated.

More importantly, the finding also shows that the conceptualisation of quality in the SDG4 that Sayed & Moriarty (2018) uncovered – i.e. the fact that the notion becomes narrower towards the level of implementation – is mirrored in PEAS' actions. While the senior management – the CEO, country director and to a large extend the Head Master – have a pragmatic grasp of quality that entails a broad notion of quality balanced by a need to achieve economic development, whereas the teachers' understanding and actions can mostly be thought of as belonging to the economic tradition. The contrast only becomes more striking, when one compares the coding of the interview with the PEAS CEO and the teacher 10 as illustrated in figure 7:

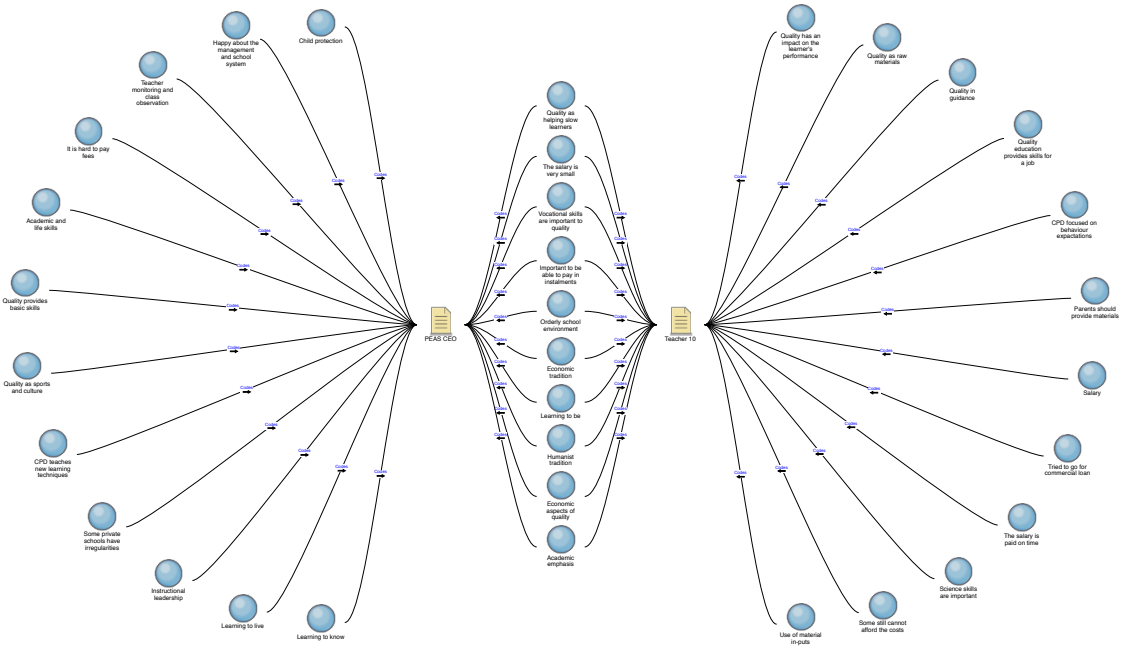

Figure 7: Comparing the codes of the PEAS CEO and teacher 10. The comparison stands in contrast to the other comparisons in how few codes the two shares. Instead, the CEO is more concerned with the humanist notion of quality, whereas the teachers is more focused on the economic one.

One last observation perpetuating to the notion of quality are the students' answers to the questions asked during the interviews, which were all rather short and indicating that they were looking for "the right answer", when in fact there were none. The observation speaks to a deeper issue with didactics in the school, because it appeared that students were looking for "the right answer", although the question was asked openly and naturally did not entail any right or wrong answers. The reason might also just be the students' lack of confidence at a young age, but this would also entail a failure in the humanist perspective, which is concerned with building confidence and discovering one's own potential (Beeby, 1966).

Interestingly, when asked if PEAS could learn from any public or private education providers, the representative from the MoES indicated exactly the notion of quality:

> *"Yeah. There are quite a number. These I've seen on the field. As much as we're saying it is providing quality education, but it is not yet wholesome kind of education. Why? I have not seen PEAS very active in sports – I have not seen this, and this one thing you can copy from the other schools."*
>
> - MoES, appendix 10

Here, sport is taken as a measure of quality and the scope of the notion of education quality, although that is not always the case, the MoES' comment is nonetheless interesting. It has two potential implications: either, PEAS really is providing education quality understood as rather narrow, as the analysis above would suggest, or PEAS is being held to higher standards because the MoES representative was asked directly, especially recalling the fact that sport is not mentioned in relation to education in the 2030 Agenda (UN GA, 2015b).

7.0 Drivers behind the different notions

While compelling evidence exists that there is a decoupling between how the PEAS management conceive of education quality, and how it is actually implemented, the chapter above does not provide any insights into the drivers behind this decoupling. The following chapters looks at three plausible drivers behind this decoupling, although no definitive evidence exists.

7.1 Contextual factors

PEAS is a private school, and ultimately it relies on parents wanting to place their children in the school and pay their way through. This creates an economic incentive to listen to and not

least adapt to the expectations that parents have to the school, in other words, delivering the "product", i.e. education, that is in demand. Following this logic, the interviews reveal a striking pattern.

Economic tradition	Humanist tradition
Parent 1	Parent 2
Parent 3	
Parent 4	
Parent 7	
Student 5	
Student 7	
Teacher 9	

Table 5: Participants who exclusively makes reference to one of the traditions of education quality.

As table 5 shows, four of the eight parents exclusively make references to the economic tradition. Parent 2 is an exception, but it is worth noting that the parent 2 has received advanced training in pedagogics. Looking closer at the interviews with parents, it is clear that parents expect the school to prepare their children for jobs, and that it remains their main concern.

> *"He looks at if the child is given the skills for handcraft kind of work, or if they even make printing, so that even after school, they can go and do that."*
>
> - Parent 7, appendix 21

> *"The most important thing is to have a profession that the child is agitating for. […] He wants him to pass sciences and then get a certain profession, where he can take the child. He wants a child to have a certain profession, either doctor, or any other kind of profession."*
>
> - Parent 8, appendix 34

In Uganda, parents have good reason to be concerned about their children's job prospects. Although the official unemployment rate is at 3.6 percentage, the underlying problem is that a staggering 78.9 percentage of the persons in employment are vulnerable, e.g. unpaid family workers or own-account workers (UNDP, 2016). The parents' concern is also recognised at all levels of PEAS:

> *"That they are given the best chance of getting formal sector jobs, but if they don't get formal sector jobs, having skill that are going to allow them to be*

more productive in whatever they do end up doing, which is generally farming or local work in the informal sector and just improving the productivity of their parents' farms, for example."

- PEAS CEO, appendix 11

"This type of education that maybe students are doing other work so that if they don't get opportunities of going for further education, the person can sustain him or herself after senior 4."

- GS Head Teacher, appendix 14

"Business is focused on preparing these learners to become self-independent. Because the world is competitive […]"

- Teacher 10, appendix 24

However, the strong focus on job prospects risks jeopardising the SDG4's role as an enabler of the remaining 16 SDGs (UNESCO, 2016). This raises the question of how paternalistic states are ought to be when defining quality in their schools, especially given the fact that poorer parents are often ill-informed about quality (Akaguri, 2011; Srivastava, 2006, 2013). The issue is exemplified by one parent's answer to how he perceives quality:

"He looked at the security of the learner; he looked at the school, the fence to the school is very good; and even the school fees are a bit low. So according to his income, he thought that he could manage to pay the fees that are charged in this school."

- Parent 7, appendix 33

7.2 Teacher qualifications and trainings

PEAS differ from other LFPS in that all their teachers, at least those participating in the interview and those on the roster in PEAS Green Shoots (appendix 6), have obtained a post-secondary degree as a minimum. Yet, not all their teachers are trained teachers. Instead, some are employed to teach subjects, which they studied for during their post-secondary education, e.g. a business graduate will teach business or math.

As presented previously, part of PEAS' school model is the heavy emphasis on education accountability, which is supported by CPD at national, regional, and not least local level. To this end, CPD also mitigate some of the didactic challenges arising from employing non-trained teachers, and it has been heralded as one of the reasons why PEAS performs so well (appendix

1; Crawfurd, 2017). CPD is also highlighted both by the PEAS CEO and PEAS Country Director, as one of the examples of how they achieve education quality, e.g.:

> *"We build capacity; we offer them CPDs, Continuous Professional Development, for teachers, where we continuously and continuously train teachers to improve on their teaching and learning, going in introducing new approaches to support the learner, and sometimes focus on specific subjects like math, biology, and science subjects which teachers struggle to deliver."*
>
> - PEAS Country Director, appendix 12

Asked about the CPD, all teachers unanimously answer that it is something which they value and feel that their teaching benefits from. When asked to give examples of what skills they learnt from the CPD, two main techniques tend to be mentioned: the STAR technique and stretching.

> *"When they see the star, "Sit upright, attract the attention of the teacher, respect your friends in the class, observe your friend, answers expected." These are all helping as a lot in developing these learners who are not able to observe what is supposed to be done when the class interaction is going on."*
>
> - Teacher 10, appendix 24

> *"[Stretching is:] You ask a student and a student gives you from the little a student knows. Then you continue asking that child until the day the child gives you the wide knowledge about something and you began on something small."*
>
> - Teacher 4, appendix 18

Both are techniques, which largely belong within the economic tradition of education quality, i.e. in terms of creating an orderly school environment and the large emphasis placed on academic performance (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991). That said, it is important to mention that some teachers also make reference to techniques belonging within the humanist tradition, such as learning to work together in groups (Beeby, 1966). Still, STAR and stretching remains the two dominant techniques brought forward by the teachers themselves.

Based on the above, it appears the teachers' lack of formal training and the CPD's primary emphasis on skills associated with the economic tradition of education quality, gives further impetus to a narrow notion of education quality. Yet, it is also clear that the CPD is indeed one of the core reasons why PEAS is able to add value to their students, and come out on top in

independent evaluations (Crawfurd, 2017; EPRC, 2017), despite employing teachers without formal training and offering education at a lower cost than other LFPS.

CPD's centrality in PEAS' school model is important to take note of. The idea of employing diploma holders and graduates, although in some cases without formal teaching qualifications, and capacitating them to deliver higher education quality through CPD's, is a recognition that indeed the teacher matters to education quality. Again, this would appear to be in line with the economic notion of quality education, which places great emphasis on instructional leadership (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991). As such, PEAS distances itself from the rest of the LFPS sector, which has otherwise been known to employ teachers with no post-secondary education, and in some cases no post-primary education, despite the fact that repeated research has shown the importance of qualified and motivated teachers, as it is also recognised in SDG4.C (EFA Global Monitoring Report, 2013; Srivastava, 2013). The importance of teachers to PEAS' model is also reflected in the interview with the PEAS CEO.

> *"That means getting into the classrooms, team teaching, observing younger teachers and providing feedback, and getting the teacher professional happening within the school rather than just sending people off to workshops and things like that."*
>
> - PEAS CEO, appendix 11

7.3 Management system

Last, but not least, PEAS' management system, which is recognised as a key to its quality, might in itself be one of the drivers behind the narrower notion of education quality. As reflected in the quote below by the PEAS CEO, PEAS understand the management systems as a precursor to education quality in the class room:

> *"We don't try and get involved too much at doing big expensive teacher training across the network as a whole, just because that only really works and is efficient once you've got the basics right in terms of management structures, teacher appraisal, removal of people who really can't improve, HR systems, financial control systems. All these things which have to sit there for any of the work at the classroom level to be effective."*
>
> - PEAS CEO, appendix 11

Yet, just as with the CPD above, it is fair to suspect that the management system also instils a certain understanding of education quality. All teachers and managers are held to account based

on their performance; both the in-class performance as observed by senior teachers, and their measured performance in terms of students' added-value (appendix 1). PEAS is also fielding an Educational Management Information System, in which all data from the school is posted and monitored by the country office in Kampala (appendix PEAS country director).

Because the accountability systems are used as a measure to decide on promotions and firing (Crawfurd, 2017), the quantification of quality ultimately incentivise teachers and local management to focus on what gets measured, in order to improve their own chances of promotion and not least maintaining their job. This understanding of how education quality is determined ultimately points back to Sayed & Moriarty's (Sayed & Moriarty, 2018) argument that what gets measured gets done. An understanding, which is in part recognised by the PEAS CEO:

> *"I think with any accountability system, even in the state schools, you need to recognize that accountability is helpful and the more light you can shine on what's happening the better.*
> *But ultimately, you do also need to be thinking about how are schools set up and governed to be thinking about the bigger picture for their students and their future lives, so that they can as professionals and professional leaders get the balance right between the stuff which is measurable and they are most publicly accountable for and also just having the greatest impact they can on each individual student's life."*
>
> - PEAS CEO, appendix 11

8.0 The cost of the PEAS business model

While the previous two chapters were concerned with the quality that PEAS offer, this chapter will scrutinize the underlying PEAS business model in terms of how it supports and hinders the realisation of SDG4. The analysis will mainly be structured around the human rights framework and how it is integrated into the SDGs, as well as Matten & Crane's (2005) CC framework. The analysis continues to draw on the interviews, but it will also include quantitative measures from PEAS' financial report and the World Bank household survey.

8.1 Previously reported level of school fees

PEAS has not publicly advertised its fee levels previously, but merely stated that they aim to reduce the fee level to zero. Other than working towards zero fees, PEAS has also stated that

they continuously monitor and adjust the fees level, to ensure sustainable financing vis-à-vis lowering barriers to access and maintaining quality (appendix 1).

An independent evaluation of PEAS, conducted by the Economic Policy Research Centre (EPRC) based in Kampala, Uganda, but funded by PEAS themselves, found that students in PEAS' school incur significantly lower costs than students in public or other private schools. On average, students in PEAS schools pay 97.5 percent of the fee level in public schools and 60 percent of that in private schools (EPRC, 2017, p. vii). The same study found that on average, O-level day students in PEAS were paying 128,618 UGX per term (EPRC, 2017, p. 57), however, no disaggregated information is included in the study.

The past years, PEAS' vision of driving down fees to zero, has been impeded by the hollowing out of the USE capitation grant, which has not been regulated accordingly to inflation, forcing PEAS to continuously increase fees to compensate for relative decrease in USE support (appendix 11). At present, PEAS is further challenged by the fact that USE is being phased out, which will force PEAS to pass on the lost income to parents. Still, currently 32 percent of the students in PEAS schools come from the poorest 20 percent households in Uganda ranked by assets (EPRC, 2017, p. vi), indicating that PEAS does indeed deliver on its claim to reach the poorest.

8.2 School fee findings

The two schools included in the study was found to charge day USE O-level day students 125,000 and 85,000 UGX/term respectively. Students who did not qualify for USE were charged more, although not the full 47,000 UGX/term, which would otherwise have followed them. On top of those fees, students were also charged 5000 UGX in admission fee, 5000 UGX for an identity card, 1000 UGX/term for a "sesemat", and expected to pay out 40,000 UGX for a school uniform (appendix 13; appendix 45). The difference in the fee structure between the two schools is part of PEAS' SmartAid model, in that PEAS adapts the fee level to the income level of the surrounding community. To illustrate, PEAS Green Shoots has never made any surplus, but instead rely on cash transfers from other schools in the network to be able to pay its bills (appendix 14).

However, as shown in appendix 7, parents report higher fees, due to having to pay for material for class. Something, which the teachers recognised not everyone were able to, causing a negative impact on the education quality. This is in line with findings elsewhere, although PEAS appears to have significantly lower auxiliary fees (Akaguri, 2014; ISER, 2016; Srivastava, 2013).

"Parents should provide enough scholastic materials to students because sometimes you find that a student, maybe we're going for mathematic exercise, doesn't have a mathematical set, a calc, and he or she becomes disorganized."

- Student 7, appendix 41

The reported experiences speak to the fact that part of the students in PEAS schools are highly sensitive to fee increases, which increases the stakes associated with having to raise fees as USE is being phased out. Asked directly how much they struggle with paying the fees, some parents make it clear that they have to make painful priorities and ultimately risk having to restrict their children's education opportunities due to their low income.

"He has got challenges with paying fees, especially because he is a farmer; he has to wait until the season for harvesting, and then he sells the items after the harvest, and pays fees. So, you will find out that for term one, he may clear the fees to zero balance in term two, and then he finds that school fees for term two are cleared in term three. And like now, for term three, it was cleared in early February. It was cleared for previous term."

- Parent 8, appendix 34

The experience of parent 8, having to rely on paying instalments to afford school, is echoed by most of the parents interviewed for the study. To several parents, the fact that they are able to pay in instalments is the reason why they decided on PEAS schools. Some even go as far as using the fee instalment scheme as a proxy of quality.

"The school fees are low, it is at a subsidized cost, and he does not pay all of it at once, and the children get quality education. They have quality education."

- Parent 1, appendix 27

Other parents have also made use of private loan groups or Savings and Credit Cooperative Societies, and one parent even tried to go for a commercial loan to afford school fees, but the bank almost took his entire deposit, so he ended up abandoning the idea (Parent 5; Parent 8). In Kampala city, the researcher also witnessed several commercials for bank loans targeted as parents looking to finance their children's school, which was also mentioned in one expert interview (appendix 9). The experiences of the parents highlight the dilemmas that low-income families face, when having to pay their way through education. Several parents mention how they view education as a way out of poverty and are willing to make sacrifices to secure their children a better future, something which the students are also painfully aware of.

"It's to work hard and perform better so that PEAS official would see when they can remove me in that poverty cycle."

- Student 6, appendix 40

"She really likes quality in education, and now for her, since she did not go for an education, but God has given her some children, she is now working very hard, striving to see that her children get this quality education. And that's why, she has been in the village selling some of her crops, to bring her child here at PEAS."

- Parent 4, appendix 30

The use of financial instruments, e.g. private loan groups, fee instalments, and commercial loans, as simple as they are, still raise concern over potential risks to the families' fragile finances. Once again, if one subscribes to education as a market, we see that transparency, a fundamental prerequisite of a well-functioning market, is missing. Poorer families with little or no understanding of the potential negative impact that these instruments can have on their family's finances ultimately risk finding themselves worse off, if they do not manage to see their children's way through education and into a job. And the fact is that the attainment rate is low, in the case of PEAS Green Shoots 24 percent do not complete their O-levels with PEAS, and by the Head Teachers estimate 95 percent of those students drop out due to not being able to afford the school fees. Interestingly, these numbers largely correspond to those found across the USE schools (MoES, 2012).

To be fair, the concern applies to all LFPS that cater to poorer families. Any fee level inevitably cuts off some people from accessing education, but once the target group is more at risk, as is the case with low-income families whom LFPS explicitly cater for, the odds also increase. In that sense, PEAS and other LFPS are faced with a responsibility to do their utmost to support those families in completing the degree. PEAS is better suited to achieve this, due to their non-profit status, while for-profit LFPS could be expected to act based on an idea of profit maximisation.

"As you've seen from our reports, it's not necessarily true that there's better quality in these low fee schools and their commercial nature doesn't talk much because they are mostly started by private business men who are looking for profit more than anything as the primary goal."

- ISER, appendix 9

Even if PEAS' fees are miniscule, at the end of the day, they still exclude the poorest of the poor. The median household income in the World Bank household survey is 150,000 UGX/month, with the 20 (n=652) and 10 percent (n=280) cut-off at 50,000 UGX/month and 25,000 UGX/month respectively. The observations are too low to be statistically significant, and the survey only include households with some sort of agricultural activity, yet 51 percent of the households in Uganda qualify for the survey (UBOS, 2017), and as such it does serve to illustrate the income levels of the poorest of the poor. Both teachers and parents recognise this, and explicitly request bursaries to address the problem:

> *"I would request PEAS to really look at the bursary scheme because sometimes there are some bright students who can get first grades at PLE but they fail to go to secondary schools because of fees, but if they can give bursaries to such students, the it would be a great help."*
>
> - GS Head Teacher, appendix 14

> *"He would suggest that a school fees structure is introduced. There are some people who are in the villages, who cannot even afford the current prices, as much as it is low, they still cannot afford it."*
>
> - Parent 7, appendix 33

The fees also have a negative impact on girls' access to education, something which PEAS is otherwise pioneering (DFID, 2017). As families might only be able to afford fees for one child, the patriarchal nature tends to emerge, and favour boys' education over that of girls.

> *"In most of these schools that we visited, even however little the money they charged would seem, but it was becoming a burden to most of these families because there are a lot of things – examination, registration, etc. And you'd find that a family would fail and would reach an extent of saying, "Maybe let's leave the boy in school, and the girls should stay.""*
>
> - ISER, appendix 9

8.3 PEAS as an enabler

Once a human rights perspective is applied to the findings in the previous chapter, the limitations of the LFPS model on context of the SDG4 becomes apparent. LFPS by themselves will not be able to ensure equitable access to quality education on their own. Rather, PEAS and to a lesser extent for-profit LFPS, can help expand the number of available school places, but

ultimately states will have to ensure free education, if they have any hopes of achieving equitable access for the poorest of the poor.

Despite the above, there is clear evidence that PEAS, and it is assumed LFPS broader speaking, acts as provider of social rights, in this case the right to education (Matten & Crane, 2005). As it is acknowledged by the MoES, Uganda at this point in time does not have the capacity to provide a sufficient number of school places to fulfil the right to education (appendix 10). This is very much in line with Matten & Crane's description that private providers have been encouraged to step in where once only the state acted (Matten & Crane, 2005). Testimonials from the parents also indicate the importance of schools located in local areas, as travel distances pose a significant obstacle to access:

> *"From here, the nearby school should be Karago and there is a challenge of that distance when it is raining. It is very important that it is very important that it is very near and it can assist."*
>
> - Parent 2, appendix 28

> *"For this school, we always like it because it has got services nearer to our students. For example, long ago they were moving from this place to other places like town, walking. But now the school is near. The child can afford to reach school in time and undertake their studies."*
>
> - Parent 3, appendix 29

In terms of the urban settings though, where some LFPS are known to cannibalise on public schools, it might, however, also be discussed if private providers are forcing the state to retreat, thus decreasing its ownership of and control with the national education system (ISER, 2016; Matten & Crane, 2005). Nonetheless, it is very tangible evidence of the impact that LFPS can have on the provision of the right to education.

Beyond simply providing access, which in itself can be seen as providing the right to education, the study also found evidence that the mere presence of PEAS and its reputation for being understanding of low-income families' financial situation has helped improve the communities' view on education, causing more people to send their children to school.

> *"This is a community where people do not educate their young ones. The people are illiterate - most of them - and they couldn't believe in the school when it began. But with the success it's getting, people have now started exclaiming, "Ah, you mean you have a giant school like that," so they are coming. Most of them now have started sending their children to come and study."*
>
> - Teacher 5, appendix 19

Another way in which PEAS clearly acts as an enabler, is through its targeted efforts to keep girls in schools. 51 percent of PEAS' students are girls, compared to 46 percent in public schools. Not only does PEAS have more girls in their schools, but the external evaluations of PEAS also show that girls are in fact learning more than in other private and public schools. PEAS itself attest the achievement to its high quality management system, through which teachers were trained in gender-sensitive techniques (DFID, 2017; Hills, 2017). Beyond training, PEAS has also focused on the basics of combatting early marriages and encouraging girls to return to school if they have a child while studying.

> *"Every school has a real focus on making sure that girls have as many opportunities as boys to develop and to succeed. […] We have a policy at PEAS schools that's quite unique or which is certainly rare in Uganda, which is to, when a girl has a child while still in school, to encourage her back into the school and support her to complete her education, for example."*
>
> - PEAS CEO, appendix 11

> *"It must have covered the issue of early marriages in the area. Here, earlier marriage is actually very rampant. It being here, it assists parents."*
>
> - Parent 2, appendix 28

Both sensitising families to educate their children, combatting early marriages, and encouraging pregnant girls to continue their education, were all identified as key challenges to reducing dropout in the USE PPP (MoES, 2012). As such, PEAS is clearly responding to some of the root causes reducing children's fulfilment of the right to education.

Within Matten & Crane's (2005) framework, the above is clear evidence of how PEAS act as a corporate citizen to enable the realisation of the right to education. PEAS can even be said to move beyond enabling, to actively promoting the right to education. However, it is an

achievement that is still limited by the fact that PEAS in having to charge fees is not able to enable the right to education for all.

8.4 Implications of teacher salaries

As Lewin (2007) demonstrated, with teacher salaries making up 69 percent of the recurring costs in secondary education, cutting teacher salaries is an efficient way to reduce school fees and ultimately increasing access to education. While the tendency to pay teachers substandard has also been explained as a neoliberal attempt to undermine trade unions (A. Verger, Fontedevila, & Zancajo, 2016), it appears that to PEAS it is genuinely a matter about driving down the costs of educating students:

> *"We pay teachers a bit less than in government schools and a bit more than the wider private schools. We pay teachers about two-thirds of the government unionized teacher's salary so that's a significant saving against the government schools."*
>
> - PEAS CEO, appendix 11

But although the action has positive implications for the right to education, interviews with teachers and even parents suggest that reducing teacher salaries have equally negative effects on the right to decent work enshrined in article 7 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (UN GA, 1966). Within the 2030 Agenda, paying teachers substandard also conflicts with SDG8.8 on protecting labour rights, as well as the spirit of target 4.C, which focuses on the supply of well-trained teachers (UN GA, 2015b).

These arguments are, however, not new (Lewin, 2007; Srivastava, 2015; A. Verger et al., 2016). Instead, the present study wants to advance the argument that the action also has negative implications for education quality and gender equality.

In interviews with teachers, 9 out of 12 report that the salary is insufficient to sustain themselves, one even having to rely on receiving food from her family (appendix 26), while just one reports the salary to be good. The teachers still choose to stay though, because PEAS, contrary to public schools and other private schools, always pay the salary on time, and because of scarcity of jobs.

What the interviews uncovered was that 6 of the teachers, all men, relied on investing their salary into other private businesses, such as peasant farming, which their wives would then attend to, while they were in school. The fact that it is only reported by male teachers and involves relying on a partner to work on the investment, would indicate that female teachers are

disproportionally more affected by the lower salary than male teachers. Specifically, the low salary restricts the teachers' ability to establish a family and/or develop their careers.

> *"My salary is not enough according to our Uganda of today, because we all want to drive. As a full-time, that amount of money, when you compare it with other people who are in other fields -- not education -- it's very little money because we all compete for the same. We want also to develop to be important in future, so when I keep earning this kind of money at my age, it means I'll not develop, those who I started with will develop and leave me here in education."*
>
> - Teacher 3, appendix 17

Further, the fact that the teachers have to invest time and energy outside the school risks affecting their classroom performance. Although PEAS is likely to correct this due to their attention to performance and accountability mechanisms, is it still an unfair position for the teacher to find themselves in.

> *"We keep here most of our time. Being a champion teacher, you can't go and do other private businesses here and there which might not help the school. Most of my time, I'm here trying to help learners, in consultation with teachers, and this and this. I find it little indeed. I can't hard that it is little money."*
>
> - Teacher 5, appendix 19

Ironically, even the parents seem to agree that the teachers should be paid more. One head teacher reported that parents at the general assembly of the school had decided to increase fees marginally, in order to pay the teachers better, but that the proposal had been declined by the country office, with reference to PEAS working to drive down fees (appendix 13).

In summary, neither the fact that the low salary disproportionally affects female teachers, nor the fact that teachers risk having to prioritise personal businesses at the cost of preparing for class, is likely to have any major impact on the education quality. But due to the embedded nature of the 17 SDGs of the 2030 Agenda, it is hard to justify that the realisation of one goal comes at the cost of another.

9.0 Sustainability and scalability

9.1 Estimating annual cost per pupil

Thus far, the study has been concerned with the quality that PEAS offer, and the fee level that parents face. While it is clear from previous evaluations that PEAS does indeed offer quality education (Crawfurd, 2017; EPRC, 2017), the study has advanced the argument that PEAS at the level of implementation deliver education quality based on the economic tradition of education. It has also been shown how vital PEAS' internal support systems, e.g. the CPD, monitoring and evaluation, and auditing, are to the overall quality delivery, something which PEAS themselves also recognises (appendix 1).

However, the fee level discussed thus far only covers the operation of the schools, i.e. the day-to-day operations, essentially providing lunch and paying teachers. Building new schools, larger renovations, and education materials are all purchased using funds raised externally. The same funds are also used to pay the 43 administration staff in the Kampala country office, as well as the admin staff in the PEAS HQ in London, which combined carry out the majority of the support activities. As such, the fee level in itself does not reflect the actual costs that PEAS incur when educating a student. This has important implications for its sustainability, scalability, and not least comparability.

By combining data collected during the school visits, with data from the EPRC evaluation of PEAS (2017), and PEAS' latest available financial report for 2016/2017, it is possible to calculate the total annual cost per student. Assuming day students make up 67.5 percent of the total student body, which is the average reported by the two Head Teachers, PEAS' total annual cost per USE O-level student is 230.05 GBP ≈ 1,191,638 UGX. 44.21 percent of the income comes from school fees and the USE capitation grant, with the remaining funds being external (appendix 8). The only other year with comparable figures is 2015, which show a similar fee level. The cost of generating funds has been excluded from the total costs, although it could be argued this should have been included too. It should be mentioned that it is an estimate, and that the cost might be higher due to PEAS subsidising the day students with income from the boarding students, or lower because PEAS also offer a few A-level school places, which would distort the estimate upwards (appendix 11; PEAS, 2016). Nonetheless, it is a solid indicator of PEAS' expenditure level.

A UNESCO-report on Uganda's national education account from 2016 found that the average annual cost per student in lower-secondary education in 2014 was 850,681 UGX (IIEP-UNESCO, 2016, p. 61). The numbers indicate that PEAS' model is not substantially more cost-

efficient than the general school model in Uganda and shows that although PEAS has previously been compared to other LFPS, their expenditure level per student is more comparable to an upper-middle class private school.

The fact that 55.79 percent of the total cost of educating a child is spent on PEAS' support system, speaks to the importance of the system. In other words, without the significant external funds raised, PEAS would not be able to support the schools or build them in the first place. It shows that education quality cannot be achieved at substantially low costs, despite parents facing low fees.

According to PEAS audited accounts of 2017, PEAS received donations in excess of 10,000 GBP from the following individuals and organisations: DFID, Costa Foundation, SITA Foundation, Danson Foundation, MTN Uganda, The Horace W. Goldsmith Foundation, The Mulago Foundation, The Peter Cundil Foundation, The Waterloo Foundation and Olam (PEAS, 2017, p. 6). As the country director explains, PEAS rely on the private donations to build and maintain buildings:

> *"A lot of the donations that we get here are donations that go to infrastructure development rather than the day-to-day running of the school. […] The major maintenance costs largely come from the national office. The donors who have been funding our work are not yet deleted from us. They are still part of us, and they have a special attachment to those schools."*
>
> - PEAS Country Director, appendix 12

The high expenditure level and PEAS' reliance on raising external funding to finance its support systems cast doubt about the sustainability and not least scalability of the SmartAid school model. While PEAS is likely to be able to sustain the current number of schools, it is harder to tell whether they will be successful in attracting funding to build new schools and maintaining relationships with the private funders. Ultimately, this concern does seem to place a limit on how big PEAS can grow without a substantial long-term commitment from the Government or a development agency to fund its support system and maintain schools.

9.2 A future Public-Private Partnership

In order to achieve their ambition of more equitable schools, PEAS has been clear that their ambition is to drive down fees to zero, but to do so, they admit they have to rely on capitation grants from the government through a PPP.

> *"We believe that the only way to get true equity and access is by getting fees down to zero […]. Very excitingly, last year, in Zambia, the government there agreed a bilateral deal with us where they're going to give us 90% of the cost of educating a child in a government school for every child we educate."*
>
> - PEAS CEO, appendix 11

However, with the USE PPP being phased out, PEAS' ambition of reaching zero fees seems to have taken a toll. It has been reported previously that PEAS was seeking to negotiate a higher capitation grant upwards 200,000 UGX/term under the existing USE PPP, but at that time nothing could be confirmed (ISER, 2016, p. 31). It still remains unclear whether or not PEAS has been successful in negotiating a higher capitation grant, as there are conflicting information received from the country director and the MoES. Even so, disagreement over the purpose of a future PPP also exist, with the representative from MoES calling for a "*case-by-case*" PPP, whereby schools are admitted into the PPP if no alternative schools exist (appendix 10), while the PEAS country director is pitching PEAS as someone who can scale nationally, as long as the government agrees to cover 90 percent of the costs of education of an O-level student, similar to the model PEAS has negotiated in Zambia (appendix 12). It is worth noting that the USE was always intended to only include schools shortlisted based on the need to build capacity, which is also why not all of PEAS' schools are participating in the PPP (Crawfurd, 2017).

Still, the conflict and considerations behind a future PPP arrangement highlights two issues that are derived by PEAS' business model, as well as other similar LFPS business models: i) the question about the states' ability to retain ownership and responsibility of the right to free education; and ii) the efficiency of resource allocation, as the states' objectives may conflict with those of PEAS, who beyond their stated mission partly rely on the government capitation grant to run its schools.

The first issue goes to the core of the International Bill of Human Rights and 2030 Agenda: the fact that human rights are ultimately the responsibility of the states, and that states must ensure the right to free quality education. As it has been shown above, the question around quality is impacted by the mode of delivery, i.e. private delivery is prepositioned to drift towards a narrower notion of quality education. Another important element is the states' ability to enforce regulation through its ownership of the education system. Previously, Uganda has not been able to enforce its regulations because on the reliance on PPPs not being equally balanced by government oversight (ISER, 2016).

This would indicate that PEAS and other LFPS have not fulfilled their "*duty of assistance*", that is the responsibility of MNEs to assist in building institutions where those are not well-ordered (Hsieh, 2009). In that sense it is an argument that extends Matten & Crane's (2005) theory of corporations as a channel of rights, because the argument moves beyond administrating individual citizen rights, and because the issue is not out of juridical reach of the state. Yet, it is relevant to mention, because PEAS has in fact recognised the state's lack of capacity, and sought to remedy it, although this was not observed in practice during the case-study:

> *"In Uganda, for example, we inspect all our schools under our own inspection process. We now have government inspectors coming to inspect our schools along side our inspectors with the aim that they can then go and inspect government schools under a more sophisticated kind of inspection schema. We're trying to have that cross subsidizing happening already in Uganda."*
>
> - PEAS CEO, appendix 11

It is a vital contribution from PEAS, which is ultimately reflected in the CEO's broader belief about the education systems being maintained by the state, with the private sector driving innovations and capacity where specifically needed:

> *"I'm a big believer that the state should continue to retain its ability to run its own schools, but there are potential benefits of small targeted PPPs within that. That's kind of my ideal vision and it's not very black or white; it's a balance of different things."*
>
> - PEAS CEO, appendix 11

This belief though, is somewhat of a contrast to the PEAS Uganda country director's pitch of PEAS as someone whose model can solve the country's education problems, if only the government agrees to cover the day-to-day costs:

> *"We've been working around a new partnership outside that sort of broader PEAS partnership PPP. […] It's a bilateral PPP between PEAS and the government of Uganda. The request for us was to say, "We can build as many secondary schools as possible for as long as the government can give us the money to operate those schools." In summary, that's it."*
>
> - PEAS Country Director, appendix 12

In the proposed PPP, PEAS argue that their capitation grant should be increased, because they employ and pay the teachers themselves. In other USE schools and public schools, it is the state who employs and distributes the teachers, but PEAS has opted out of this, with reference to being able to hold their teachers more accountable. As such, should PEAS be successful with negotiating the increased capitation grant, it will only distort the comparability of the education section even more.

While this is not necessarily going to impact the education quality, it points to the second issue of efficient resource allocation. Previous research on PPP in other sectors has indicated that the transaction costs of a PPP, in particular the negotiation and oversight of the partnership, can imply large costs (Bartlett, 1991). As PEAS and the MoES continue to negotiate the future of their partnership, they also invest substantial resources, which could have been spent on service delivery. The picture is further illustrated by the fact that PEAS spends in excess of 230,000 GBP/annually just generating funds (PEAS, 2017).

Notwithstanding the question of transaction costs, the PEAS CEO's pragmatic view of the state as the primary service deliver might ultimately come into conflict with PEAS' self-interest. Assuming the state gradually builds capacity to run its own schools, the consequence might very well be that PEAS' school districts will overlap with public ones. Would PEAS then be willing to scale down its network, or would they start cannibalising, as other LFPS already do (appendix 1; ISER, 2016, p. vii)?

9.3 Other cost-reduction alternatives

One of the solutions that is mentioned in the PEAS SmartAid model as a way of diversifying the income and ultimately driving costs down, is income generating activities in the schools that are tied to learning (appendix 1). Although the income generating activities represent an ingenious way to lower fees in theory, the study found that in practice it was hard to implement. For instance, both schools visited as part of the study were ought to be growing maize, but when visited, the school head teachers informed that the fields had in fact never been generating income. Now, in one school the maize was harvested and used for lunch, while at the other school, the field had been transformed due to lack of space. The fields had also not been utilised in teaching in neither of the schools. The problems were very well-captured by the PEAS CEO:

> *"We wanted to try and make them be a significant part of the turn over for schools but as soon as you do that, you're distracting from actual driving towards education quality as well*.

We found that it became a bit of a distraction and that it's very hard to make them significantly profitable. […] We tried it and it didn't work brilliantly."

- PEAS CEO, appendix 11

Despite the statement by the PEAS CEO, faced with the USE PPP being phased out, the PEAS country director still hopes to be able to grow the income generating activities:

"It struggled because it was not well-thought out. […] What is coming up is the livelihood program I've talked about. It's building into that by doing a bottom-up project where eventually it will end up into enterprises that can raise incomes for the school, eventually."

- PEAS Country Director, appendix 12

It is not clear exactly how the bottom-up income generating project will be different from previously failed attempts. Among other possible cost-reducing alternatives, the country director also refers to increased frugality and increased enrolment:

"There are constant cost-drivers like if you have 20 teachers, whether you have 30 students in the whole school, whether you have 100 students in the whole school, running S1 up to S4, you still need the 20 teachers to teach them. It means that the 100 students cannot cater for the cost of the 20. We are talking about increasing our enrolment numbers in most of our schools."

- PEAS Country Director, appendix 12

However, given the fact that PEAS must be assumed to already operate a rather lean organisation, as indicated by previous research and evaluations (Crawfurd, 2017; EPRC, 2017), it appears unlikely that increased frugality is likely to yield significant cost-reductions. One possible way of reducing costs would be to decrease the admin staff in the country office, but this in turn will have negative effects on PEAS' management and support system, thus ultimately impacting the education quality.

Increasing enrolment on the other hand might very well help reduce the cost per student, but during the field trip, classes of up to 70 students with just one teachers ware observed. The already high student/teacher ratio would suggest that PEAS cannot place more students in each class, before it starts affecting the education quality negatively.

In summary, PEAS is already championing, and has tested other, initiatives that drive down the cost per student. Faced with the elimination of the USE PPP, it is hard to see how else PEAS

should compensate for the loose of income than to transfer it onto the already very cost adverse parents. Ultimately, this adds further proof to the necessity of an expanded PPP in order for PEAS and other LFPS to be able to deliver quality education.

10.0 Discussion

The results can be categorised into two important contributions to the field of LFPS: i) the study adds further weight to Sayed & Moriarty's (2018) analysis that the notion of education quality becomes narrower the closer it gets to the level of implementation, and ii) it adds empirical proof to Crawfurd's (2017) assumption that PEAS is able to deliver higher value-add due to its management and support systems, although also raising concern of its sustainability. However, merely understanding the significance of the study within these two separate categories would be a mistake, as the study clearly shows that the two areas are interlinked. The findings should have implications for not only how researchers study LFPS, but also how policy makers utilise LFPS to achieve equitable quality education for all by 2030.

10.1 The purpose of education quality?

Sayed & Moriarty (2018) by way of analysing the documents governing the SDG4 argued that the notion of education quality became progressively narrower towards the level of implementation. They contend, this development is due to institutional struggles between global governors[9], namely UNESCO, UNICEF, the World Bank, and of course UN Member States. Embedded in this struggles lies a deeper difference in how education quality is conceptualised, as exemplified by the humanist and economic traditions applied in this analysis (Beeby, 1966; Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991).

The analysis shows that indeed, once we reach the lowest level of implementation, i.e. the actual classroom, the notion of education quality has been largely reduced to a question about skills for employment such as vocational skills, and numeracy and literacy. In other words, the quality that PEAS delivers is that from the perspective of an economist, who views students as human capital to meet the objective of economic development (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991). It is a significant contribution in that Sayed & Moriarty's (2018) analysis of education quality rests solely on text analysis, whereas the present study has observed and studied how the SDG4 is actually implemented in a rural LFPS in Uganda.

[9] For more on global governors see Avant, Finnemore, & Sell, 2010.

Interestingly though, as illustrated by the difference in codes applied to the interviews with the PEAS CEO and teacher 10 (figure 7), the same hierarchy that Sayed & Moriarty find to exist in the documents, is mirrored in PEAS' organisation. While the PEAS CEO and the MoES articulate education quality in a very broad sense, including the narrow need for skills, the notion of education quality progressively narrows down towards the level of implementation. Although some teachers make reference to broader notions of education quality, once asked to illustrate their idea, they instead give examples in line with the economic tradition, one example of which was teacher 8 (appendix 22).

Where this differ from Sayed & Moriarty's (2018) argument is that it cannot be explained by politics. None of the actors interviewed are political actors as such, nor is it a question about who gets to govern who. Instead, the analysis advances three plausible drivers, two of which would apply to all LFPS, while the latter would also apply to most larger LFPS, such as Bridge International Academies and Omega Schools (Bridge, 2017; Pearson Affordable Learning Fund, 2016).

Firstly, the context in which PEAS operate, with high unemployment rates, widespread casual work, and low salaries, is conducive to parents' demanding a certain quality of education that they believe will enable their kids to generate an income once leaving school. This is reflected in the fact that four of eight parents exclusively voice a preference for the economic tradition (see section 7.1). As a private school, and one relying on economies of scale (see for instance PEAS country director), PEAS and other LFPS have a clear incentive to respond to the parents' demand, even if it is not always the case that parents are able to decode quality (Akaguri, 2014). The effect might not be as big on PEAS as on other LFPS, seeing PEAS is non-profit and does not face the same pressure to generate profit. Giving in to the parents' demand entails essentially abandoning the broad vision of education quality articulated across the SDG4, and particularly by the target 4.7 (UNESCO, 2015). Such a move would also cripple SDG4 as an "enabler" of the remaining 16 goals, as education would come to largely ignore the skills needed to support sustainable development beyond merely economic growth (UNESCO, 2016).

LFPS schools often rely on unqualified teachers in order to drive down costs (Srivastava, 2013). Although PEAS was found to employ some qualified teachers, they also relied on teachers with diplomas in other fields, thus lacking the pedagogical training (see section 7.2). Given their lack of pedagogical competencies and background in other more professionally focused fields, it is fair to suspect that the teachers come to focus more on skills that are more tangible than some of skills emphasised in the humanist tradition (Beeby, 1966). The analysis also finds evidence that

PEAS' own CPD, although conducive to education quality, seem to emphasise skills that are associated with the economic tradition (Lockheed & Verspoor, 1991).

As it will be discussed in section 10.3, PEAS' management system is indeed found to support education quality. Yet, the EMIS system, which is a core part of PEAS' management system, might further support the move towards a narrower definition of education quality, in that it gives teachers and managers a clear incentive to focus on what gets measured. The same concern is found in Sayed & Moriarty's (2018) analysis of the documents governing SDG4, and partly recognised by the PEAS CEO (appendix 11).

Given the evidence above, policy makers first need to ask themselves "what is the purpose of education?" before deciding on whether or not they want to utilise LFPS as a policy intervention. If the purpose is to prepare students for a sustainable future, in line with the 2030 Agenda, LFPS might not be the best option. Only after asking ourselves what the purpose of education is, can we start attempting to measure the quality. As of present, unfortunately, research and policy interventions seem to be going about this the wrong way (Barrera-Osorio, 2007; Crawfurd, 2017; Hoxby, 2003; Romero et al., 2017; Tooley, 2016). Steven Klees, himself a Professor of International Education, has previously captured the challenge very well: "One basic problem is that the Bank – and perhaps too much of the rest of the international community – cannot keep two ideas in their head simultaneously." (Klees, 2018, p. 5).

10.2 Who should we reach?

Recalling the definition of LFPS as discussed in section 1.1, one of the central characteristics is that LFPS target disadvantaged groups (Srivastava, 2006). Previous evaluations of PEAS found that the largest group of students (32 percent) come from the 20 percent poorest households in Uganda. Indeed, previous research has also shown that parents are willing to go to great lengths to afford their children's education (Akaguri, 2014; Tooley, 2013).

Yet, the fact that fees are charged, and are likely to increase as a consequence of the USE PPP being phased out, remains an obstacle. It was reported in interviews that parents had knowledge of students who qualified for secondary, but still could not afford the relatively small fees. Similarly, by one head teacher's estimate, 95 percent of the total 24 percent of students who start but drop out, do so due to not being able to pay fees (appendix 14). It is evidence that although the PEAS model is efficient at bringing students from poorer backgrounds into the class room, it is simply unable to reach the poorest of the poor, as long as it charges fees.

The fact that parents go to great lengths when attempting to keep their children in school, ultimately risks having a detrimental impact on the family's economy. Almost all parents reported having to rely on paying in instalments, with some also utilising private loan groups, and one attempting to go for a commercial loan. The latter was observed more widespread in Kampala city, although not specifically as part of PEAS case study (appendix 9). With little or no knowledge of financial instruments, and an income which is often very volatile due to casual work, parents risk finding themselves in a financially painful situation with accumulating debt.

Another challenge in terms of fee paying is the potential sunk cost that parents incur, if for some reason they fail to pay their child's way through the education cycle. The Mincer model, which human capital theorists have long relied on to calculate returns on schooling, assumes an average return, and even once extended to include dummies for education cycles, it does not incorporate effects of dropout (Hallsten, 2017; Patrinos, 2016). The counterargument is that the full return is only realised upon completion of a cycle, once the person holds a degree that helps him/her get a job corresponding to that degree level or is able to progress into the next cycle, evidence of which is also found in the marginal returns to education in Uganda (Cuaresma & Raggl, 2014, p. 9).

In light of the above, fee charging poses not only an obstacle to equitable access, but also raises a morale concern within both the humanist and economist tradition of incentivising poorly informed parents to utilise financial instruments, which might end up hurting their overall economy. This should warrant ethical considerations on the side of LFPS, not to encourage parents to indebt themselves more, than they are able to repay at present income-level, while continuing to sustain a decent living.

Eliminating fees and circumventing the above challenges can be achieved in two different ways: as one head teacher suggests (appendix 14) PEAS could institutionalise a bursary scheme, whereby students from the poorest households are given a discount or have their fees entirely foregone. The solution would, however, place an administrative burden on PEAS, as well as be complicated to implement, due to the challenges associated with objectively deciding on where to make the cut-off. Still, it is a solution which has been found to work in LFPS elsewhere (Tooley & Dixon, 2005). Alternatively, the state should establish a PPP with a sufficiently high capitation grant that schools can entirely abolish fees and still maintain the support systems required to offer quality. This solution would be in line with the experiences from Colombia, where the Bogota city council did have success with increasing access and quality through a PPP, by paying providers a larger capitation grant than public schools received and offering them increased autonomy (Barrera-Osorio, 2007). The latter seems to be the solution which

PEAS is aiming to negotiate, as the USE PPP is being phased out (appendix 12). Still, if making private providers outperform public schools require affording higher capitation grants, it is unclear exactly what the comparative advantage of the private sector is.

If neither of these solutions are implemented, LFPS are greatly limited in contributing to the realisation of SDG4, which places great emphasis on the human right to free education, as reflected in the goal to ensure equitable access. One possible contribution of the LFPS is as a stop-gap measure in rural areas, where the state might not be able to extend its services for the time being, or as targeted interventions in areas of pedagogy as was initially how private schools were proposed in the Global North (A. Verger et al., 2016). Both contributions would also ensure that the state retains ownership and responsibility of the education system, which has otherwise been challenged by the rise of LFPS elsewhere, as witnessed for instance in Liberia (Romero et al., 2017). This idea is in line with Lewin's (2007) argument, and finds some support among the PEAS CEO and the MoES (appendix 10). However, whether or not it will be possible to scale back the LFPS, as the state expands it services, remains to be seen. Experiences with Bridge International Academies in Uganda would indicate at least not without conflict (Draku, 2018).

10.3 Management system: low-fee but not low-cost

Crawfurd (2017) in his study comparing the management quality of public, private and PPP schools in Uganda, found that PEAS was the only exception whereby PPP schools were better managed than private ones. In the same study, he found that PEAS performed commensurately better in student value-added, indicating that the high management of management positively affects education outcomes (Crawfurd, 2017, p. 5).

The analysis confirms the causal effect identified by Crawfurd and adds qualitative evidence to his findings. The teachers all clearly identify with PEAS' mission, and it is clear that they understand what is expected from them, as well as the consequences should they not deliver quality. The CPD specifically is integral to the education quality, but the champion teacher approach is also mentioned. Further, the study also found that the head teachers are very qualified, which Lockheed & Verspoor (1991) identified as one of the main conduits to education quality, when they developed the economic model.

However, PEAS' high quality management system comes at a cost. The analysis reveals that PEAS has an annual expenditure of 1,191,638 UGX per O-level student (appendix 8). This is about 2/3 of the cost of O-level in an elite private school in Uganda, as well above the national average cost of 850,681 UGX/annually as reported by UNESCO (IIEP-UNESCO, 2016;

Ninsiima & Abonit, 2013). In fact, assuming the school fees and USE capitation grant is sufficient to cover the recurring costs of schooling one child (as reported by PEAS, see appendix 1), the management system accounts for 55.79 percent of the total costs, indicating just how vital it is for PEAS' ability to deliver education quality (appendix 8).

The additional income for the management system comes from external donations, primarily private foundations, but also DFID. Of the 10 organisations that donated in excess of 10,000 GBP in 2017, only one was Ugandan (PEAS, 2017, p. 6). The heavy reliance on private donations to deliver education quality raises concern over PEAS' scalability and not least sustainability. Although PEAS claims the private donors become attached to the schools they fund (appendix 12), the relationship will be increasingly hard to maintain as PEAS scales it operation. Unfortunately, PEAS only has comparable accounts of the cost of generating funds of three years, which makes it hard to conclude where or not this concern is real. The only evidence is that the cost generating funds can be volatile from year to year (appendix 8).

Whereas PEAS invests massively in its proven management system, they are frugal when it comes to teacher salaries. Consequently, 9 out of 12 teachers interviewed reported that the salary was not sufficient to sustain themselves on (see section 8.4 for further discussion). This suggests that PEAS' school model is not only financially costly, but also comes at odds with other SDGs, such as target 8.8 on protecting labour rights (UN GA, 2015b).

In other words, there is no cheap education quality. While PEAS is indeed able to deliver education quality, it is in no small part thanks to its robust management system, which could serve as inspiration for others too. However, the cost of the management system undermines the basic idea about PEAS as a low-cost model, which can be replicated and scaled. As such, PEAS is another example of a school model that in many ways should and could be copied by the public sector, but whose comparative advantage is not in reducing the cost of quality, as otherwise claimed by some proponents of LFPS (Srivastava, 2010; Tooley et al., 2010). This would be in line with the experiences from Bogota (Barrera-Osorio, 2007). Despite being conducive to education quality, the PEAS model remains problematic in context of SDG4, in that it relies on undercutting the national standard of teacher salary, which is at odds with SDG target 8.8.

At the end of the day, the most efficient way to fund education is increased domestic financing, which brings about the adequate resources needed to expand access to quality education, while also ensuring the system's long-term sustainability (Mehrotra, 1998). Notwithstanding the reference to innovative finance mechanisms, increased domestic financing is also the primary

recommendation from within the 2030 Agenda (UN GA, 2015a; UNESCO, 2015). This leaves open the opportunity for international donors to fund system level interventions, such as education sector planning, which increases the states' capacity to retain ownership of the education system, while also being conducive to education quality across public and private schools (IIEP-UNESCO, 2016).

10.4 Suggestions for further research

The present study has added empirical evidence to Sayed & Moriarty's (2018) analysis of education quality in SDG4, by showing how the notion of education quality is conceptualised and not least implemented at different levels of school governance. Although the findings have been significant, they are still based on a case-study of just two schools within the same chain of schools, and, it should be noted, a particular chain which has been positively highlighted in previous literature (Crawfurd, 2017; DFID, 2017; EPRC, 2017).

Further research into other chains of LFPS is needed to understand if the same difference in conceptualisation exists. This would either require substantially more case schools, or an effort to develop meaningful indicators, which could then be incorporated into a larger survey design. Such surveys could also seek to add evidence to the suggested drivers behind the different notions of quality, i.e. contextual factors, teacher qualifications, and the management system. Similarly, it could be interesting to compare the findings to public schools in the same area.

The issue of developing more meaningful indicators is generally an important one, which was also recognised in the process with agreeing to the SDG4 indicators (Sayed & Moriarty, 2018). Existing literature on LFPS only compare the quality in terms of test results in math and reading (Barrera-Osorio, 2007; Crawfurd, 2017; Muralidharan & Sundararaman, 2015; Romero et al., 2017), which once again perpetuates the narrow economic notion of education quality. Advancing our understanding of LFPS quality, also means advancing our ability to capture broader notions of education quality in indicators, which can be compared. Even if we succeed in developing more meaningful indicators, we still need to recognise the limitations in comparing education outcomes across different contexts, because the quality is influenced by a plurality of measures, including the cultural context (Glewwe & Muralidharan, 2015).

On that note, in terms of comparability, future research should pay increased attention to units of study, and not least their cost level. As this study has uncovered, some schools, in particular international ones, might be low-fee, but that does not necessitate being low-cost. This call somewhat follows Hoxby's (2003) call for research to place more emphasis on school productivity, arguing "*a school that is more productive is one that produces higher achievement*

in its pupils for each dollar it spends." School productivity is not an indicator of quality in and by itself, but merely comparing schools based on generic categories such as public, private, and PPP will not advance our understanding of what interventions work, as has otherwise previously been the case sometimes (Barrera-Osorio, 2007).

Similarly to Scott & Jabbar's (2014) research into how charter schools disseminated across the US, the field of low-fee private schools might also benefit from an analysis of the networks that exert issue control over it (Henriksen & Seabrooke, 2013). Existing literature has already sought to answer identify some of the main organisations involved in the emergence of LFPS, yet no literature has mapped the actors and their interlinkages (A. Verger et al., 2017). Mapping their interlinkages could provide a valuable insight into what continues to drive the emergence of LFPS, and might uncover actors that were not previously thought of as involved in the field.

Last, but not least, rather than focussing our attention on the impact that LFPS have vis-à-vis other school models; research into the impact of investments in education sector planning is also needed. It has not been possible to identify any studies evaluating the impact of targeted investments into improving countries' or regions' education capacity, such as through staff training or technical assistance in monitoring. The reason why might be the methodological challenges arising from isolating the impact variable, but nonetheless, given the international attention about education, we are really ought to take a broader approach to investments in education. This would necessitate an improved understanding of system-level interventions.

11.0 Conclusions

The study has responded to the UK International Development Committee's (2017) call for research into the added-value and sustainability of LFPS, and sought to answer the two-part research question: "*What notion(s) of education quality is emphasised in low-fee private schools, and what does this imply for future policy to achieve SDG4?*" as well as the sub-question: "*How does the low-fee private school business model affect the education quality and members of the school (i.e. teachers, parents, and students)?"*.

The study has examined PEAS, a UK chain of non-profit LFPS operating in Uganda and Zambia, as a "best case" example. PEAS has been consistently promoted as an example of LFPS delivering quality at a low cost (Crawfurd, 2017; DFID, 2017; EPRC, 2017), as such the expectation was that any negative findings were likely to occur in other LFPS, whereas any positive findings should be disseminated to other schools.

Firstly, two case schools were identified using national household data as a proxy of wealth distribution in Uganda. The two schools, PEAS Samling and PEAS Green Shoots, are both located in middle-income districts with close to average poverty scores (see section 5.0). The overview of PEAS' schools confirmed previous reports that PEAS operates in rural, underserved, and mostly middle-lower income areas. This is an important component of PEAS' business model, because it ensures PEAS has an impact where it is most needed, and does not come into conflict with existing public schools (ISER, 2016; Lewin, 2007). Insights from the interviews also show the positive impact that PEAS' presence in rural and previously unserved communities has on parents' perception of the importance of education.

Secondly, the study unpacked the concept of education quality at different levels of PEAS governance through interviews with policy makers, management, and members of the school. The interviews showed that although education quality is conceptualised in a broad a humanistic sense among the managers, it progressively narrows down to encompass mostly economic elements at the actual level of implementation, i.e. the classroom. The finding has important implications for how policy makers can make use of LFPS towards realising SDG4, in that LFPS are likely to advance a narrow notion of quality focused on economic growth. If this is the sole objective, LFPS might very well be a good solution; however, given the 2030 Agenda's emphasis on sustainable development, including social and human development, a broader and more humanistic notion of education quality is needed.

In an attempt to explain the decoupling between the management's commitment to a broad notion of education quality and the narrow implementation, the study advances three plausible drivers: i) the context in which LFPS operates, often characterized by high unemployment, causes parents expect a certain type of education, which prepares their children to earn an income. As a private school, LFPS are more incentivised to give in to this demand than public schools are. ii) although PEAS employs more qualified teachers than other chains of LFPS have been known to (Srivastava, 2013), few have a secondary level teaching degree. Instead, a significant portion of the teachers have diplomas from other professional fields, which can cause them to focus on these, rather than the ability to learn or live, as emphasised by the humanist tradition (Beeby, 1966). Although a part of PEAS' model is to conduct CPD to make up for this, the study finds that what the teachers feel they gain from the CPD, are techniques that are largely in line with the economic tradition. iii) PEAS' management system with high degrees of accountability might further support a narrow focus due to its emphasis on measuring performance, which clearly favours economic learning outcomes that can be measured and incentivises teachers to focus on these. Similar management systems are found in other chains

LFPS, some of which also rely on heavily standardised curricula, strengthening the effect further (Srivastava, 2013).

In turning more to the business model of PEAS, the study finds that the unique management model which PEAS has developed is very conducive to education quality, and that PEAS does indeed charge relatively low fees, which helps marginalised groups receive education. This is reported at all levels of governance. The finding adds qualitative evidence to Crawfurd's (2017) quantitative study, which speculated that PEAS' management model was key in achieving higher student value-added scores. As such, PEAS' management model could continue to serve as inspiration to other LFPS.

Yet, the model also has some negative implications for PEAS and LFPS in context of SDG4. The fact that PEAS charges fees in the first place is against the ambition of the SDG4 and the human rights framework, which greatly limits its potential to act as a replicable model, as it still leaves behind some children, whom are not able to pay even miniscule fees. Adding to this, the study also found evidence that poor parents have to rely on utilising financial instruments to pay their way through, without sufficient knowledge of the risks associated with debt. This risks having a detrimental impact on their livelihoods down the road.

PEAS is further challenged by USE being out phased, which will force PEAS to increase fees or cut costs, the latter of which seems challenging given PEAS already-high efficiency. The challenge of fee payment could very well be solved through a PPP with a sufficiently high capitation grant. Even so, PEAS' model would continue to be at odds with the 2030 Agenda, in that in order to reduce the fees, PEAS also pays its teachers significantly below the national salary, which is against the intentions of SDG8.8. A cost-reducing strategy, which other LFPS also rely on (Srivastava, 2013).

Finally, perhaps most importantly, the study found that although PEAS is low-fee to its students, it is far from being low-cost. With an estimated annual expenditure of 230.05 GBP per student, or the equivalent of 1,191,638 UGX, PEAS is more comparable to an upper-middle class private school than public or LFPS. More than 60 percent of the cost is financed externally from international private foundations and development agencies. Although PEAS has been successful in driving funding up until now, the heavy reliance on external funding is a potential danger to its sustainability and limits its scalability.

In summary, the study concludes that PEAS delivers education quality from an economic point of perspective, but that in doing so, it is contingent on its management and support systems which greatly increase the total cost. Assuming policy makers are committed to SDG4 in full,

the conclusion would seem to limit the usefulness of LFPS to a few targeted interventions. Rather than directing funds directly to LFPS, policy makers might instead benefit from investing in system level interventions, which improves both public and private education delivery, and to ensure a significant increase in domestic financing of education.

11.0 Literature

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Appendix 1: The PEAS approach

The PEAS Approach

Contents

Main Document

Context For This Document

PEAS was founded with a mission to expand access to quality secondary education for all children in Africa. Since 2006, we have been delivering on our mission by building and operating a network of low cost, high quality secondary schools which are not-for-profit.

Ten years on, the PEAS network has expanded to 30 schools - creating over 17,000 secondary school places in Uganda and Zambia. More importantly, we now know that the PEAS model is working, even at this scale. External evaluations have shown that PEAS schools are delivering higher quality education, to more disadvantaged students, and at lower average cost per student than government schools – and we expect this to improve as our networks achieve maturity.

Building on this evidence of impact, as well as the renewed focus on secondary education brought on by the new UN Sustainable Development Goals, PEAS is eager to ensure that we have the broadest possible impact on whole education systems – leveraging our network of schools to have a system-wide impact, expanding access to quality education to children beyond our schools.

This document explores the different approaches for PEAS in the coming years, and sets out the guiding principles for our strategic direction over the next ten years – and beyond – to create the broadest possible impact against our mission.

What this document IS

This document sets out the parameters and principles for how PEAS will scale its impact.

It is a starting point for understanding how we can lever our existing schools networks to have system-level impact. As we navigate this new area of work we expect our position to evolve around the key themes set out in this paper.

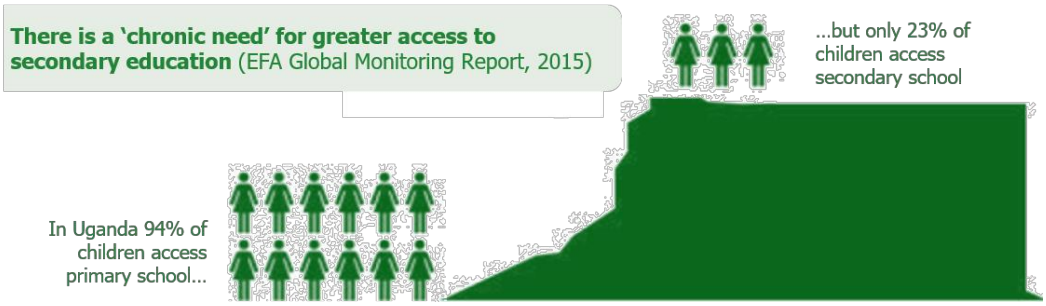
What this document IS NOT

This is not a detailed strategic plan. Every 3 years, PEAS will develop a strategic plan which will set out the nuts and bolts of how we will scale our impact within the next period of time.

Why does PEAS exist?

The UN Sustainable Development Goal for Education is to ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning – and secondary education is a key part of the targets underpinning this goal. Many studies point to the strong positive effect of secondary education on maternal health, infant mortality, and lifetime earnings potential.[1]

However, many countries in Africa are a long way from achieving universal provision of equitable, high-quality secondary education. While primary education enrolment is now near-universal, only 1 in 3 children across Africa complete secondary school. For those who do attend school, quality is often poor. Central government teacher payrolls mean weak accountability, with teacher absenteeism rates as high as 29% in Kenya and 27% in Uganda[2].



Despite this need, growth rates are slow. In Uganda, for example, where only 1 in 4 attend secondary school, the number of school places is only growing as fast as the population – to increase enrolment rates, this will need to change.

PEAS' vision is for a world where all children enjoy an education that unlocks their full potential. We build and operate high-quality, low-cost private secondary schools, located in communities who would not otherwise have had access to secondary education. Our model is one of equitable access, meaningful quality, and financial sustainability. We aim to cover 100% of all running costs through revenue generated by the schools – while keeping fees low to improve equity of provision, and while maintaining quality through our unique school network management system.

1. Majgaard, Kirsten and Alain Mingat. (2012). *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Comparative Analysis.* Washington, D.C.: World Bank
2. Patrinos, H.A.. (2013). The hidden cost of corruption: Teacher absenteeism and loss in schools. *Global Corruption Report: Education.* Transparency International.

Our Ambition: System-level change

Starting point

PEAS school networks

10,000s of children

1. Continue to operate and grow PEAS school networks as part of PPPs

2. Build enabling ecosystems for well-functioning multilateral PPPs

3. Generate international support for strong education ecosystems

End goal

Universal high-quality secondary education

10,000,000s of children

PEAS has created over 17,000 school places in Uganda and Zambia. The education gap in Africa is over a thousand times bigger – 23m[1] lower secondary age children are not in school. PEAS does not expect to bridge this gap through growing the network of PEAS schools.

However, PEAS believes that engaging non-state actors will be critical if African states want to achieve the goal of universal access to quality secondary education.

PEAS believes that a PPP approach, as part of a wider mixed-economy education system, could be a powerful mechanism for governments to harness non-state support, improving access and quality if executed well.

Creating the circumstances for well functioning PPPs will require wide mobilisation of governments, funders, other operators, and capacity-building organisations. PEAS needs to take an active role in this network of stakeholders to generate a global PPP school movement.

There are three strands to our ambition for driving system-level change[2]:

1. Within the PEAS school network: Continue to grow and operate PEAS PPP school networks, directly expanding access to more students, and building up the evidence base for high quality, low cost private provision
2. Within our countries of operation: Help to build enabling ecosystems by proactively convening and supporting state and non-state stakeholders to create well-functioning PPPs in which PEAS and other operators can thrive
3. Within and beyond our countries of operation: Generate international support for education ecosystems by advocating & sharing evidence from our experience with the international community

What do we mean by PPP?

We are referring to a school management public-private-partnership (PPP)- an agreement between governments and school network operators, in which the operators run schools and provide education in return for payment or part-payment of per-pupil costs by the government.

PPPs are expected to provide two key benefits to the state:

- Higher return on education spending: private operators should deliver higher quality education, more efficiently than state schools
- Lower capital investment: operators are able to take on some of the investment to build new schools, thereby sharing the risk

PPPs can be set up bilaterally – i.e. between government and one operator, or ideally multilaterally, e.g. through an open framework where any operator meeting the criteria could participate.

1. "A growing number of children and adolescents are out of school as aid fails to meet the mark" Policy Paper 22 / Fact sheet 31. 2015. UNESCO Institute for Statistics and Education for All Global Monitoring Report.
2. See Appendix 1 for a full Theory of Change

PPPs as a catalyst for system change

For PEAS: As a non-profit school network operator focused on equity and quality, PEAS faces a core financial challenge: there is a gap between what is affordable for our target communities and what it costs to provide a quality secondary education, however efficient the operator.

PEAS schools therefore rely on income-generating activities and philanthropic funding, both which are unsatisfactory for long term growth. The former is important but insufficient. Philanthropic grants are good for projects, but less suited to sustaining the recurring operating costs of a growing network.

The per-pupil government subsidy received through a PPP therefore represents an unprecedented opportunity to receive guaranteed, continuous revenue linked directly to our core activity of providing equitable, quality secondary education in our schools. This opens up using debt against future income to fund new school building, accelerating the creation of more school places.

For the system: PPPs can contribute to the access gap. Governments can use PPPs to create a fertile environment for expansion of other non-state school operators like PEAS. Where the per-pupil subsidy is lower than the cost of provision in the state system, this also enables governments to expand access more cost-effectively. On top of this, non-state school network operators often have access to debt or philanthropic funding which they can use to invest in expanding quality school places.

On quality measures, PEAS schools are already outperforming the state average in Uganda – and the evidence suggests this can be true for many other private school networks too, as increased autonomy and stronger accountability structures can contribute to increase the overall quality of education[1].

Quality improvements will not be isolated to the non-state schools. The strengthening of regulation and accountability structures, which are a pre-requisite for a healthy PPP policy, can be applied symmetrically to both state and non-state schools to raise standards.

Critically, the PPP also acts as a mechanism to allow governments to direct and coordinate the non-state sector. Governments can use the PPP contracts to direct the set-up of new schools to areas of greatest need, to drive inclusion and to foster active collaboration with the state school system.

Globally: PPPs are gaining traction with governments and donors across the developing world[2]. Governments recognise the potential of partnering to meet their access and quality challenges. For the international funding community, such partnerships can reduce the tension between investing in more effective non-state operators, and supporting governments as the ultimate owners of education provision. This could start to unlock the investment needed to build the thousands of schools needed to close the secondary education gap.

1 Barrera-Osorio, Guáqueta, Patrinos, "The role and impact of PPPs in education", World Bank, 2011 for the potential of school-management PPPs to improve learning and Bruns, Filmer, Patrinos, "Making schools work: new evidence on accountability", World Bank, 2011 for how increased school autonomy and accountability can lead to better learning outcomes for students and better use of resources.

2 The Pearson Affordable Learning Fund have identified school management PPPs as a big policy trend for 2017 (PALF 2016 Annual Letter); Partnership with non-state actors was recognised as a key mechanism for financing education access by the 2016 report from the Education Commission for Financing Global Education Opportunity

A healthy education PPP

A PPP needs to be about much more than the incentive structure of the subsidy. If set up poorly, it has the potential to waste government funds, and further delay the end game of universal quality education. Here, we outline the key success factors based on our experiences as an operator and a survey of the current (not yet conclusive) research base.

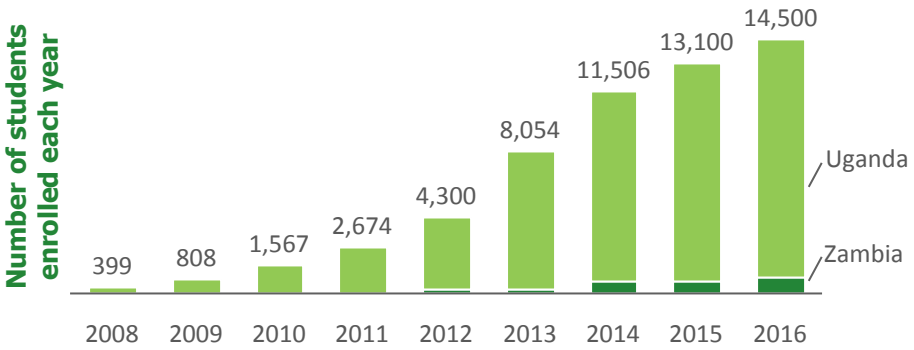
A key part of PEAS' aim in piloting PPPs, beyond securing our own financial sustainability, is to expand the body of evidence for successful PPPs, and build collective understanding of these success factors.

Governments, regulatory bodies and civil society need to be in a position to rigorously hold non-state operators to account, and strong policy frameworks and infrastructure are needed to allow this. Operators need to share the vision of a well-regulated mixed economy model providing high quality education for all students, and have the capabilities, autonomy and security to execute.

Government will and capacity to lead policy development and implementation	• Government education priorities encourage PPP agreements • Decision-makers have the desire and ability to champion education reform • Broad-based political support for long-term stability of funding and legislation • Sufficient budget available and dedicated to fund desired number of PPP schools over length of policy implementation
Policy framework that is **clear, robust and stable**	• Guidelines on minimum standards in place for the quality and equity of education offered at PPP schools • Clear and comprehensive requirements for education outcomes set out in a stable policy environment using valid measures e.g. tracking value-add, not just absolute outcomes • Education policy allows a high degree of operational autonomy, including over staff recruitment & training, pedagogy and budgeting • Sufficient per pupil subsidy paid reliably, to ensure financial security without 'hidden top-ups'
Independent regulator able to hold schools to account	• Capacity to carry out sanctions and step in as provider of last resort for failing non-state schools • Capacity to commission effective regulatory bodies • Regular high quality school audit & inspections process • Robust data collection processes – from student level up, made transparently available to government, schools and the public as appropriate • New operator due diligence before admission into PPP
Education funders (i.e. EDPs) aligned and engaged	• Support from key funders of education programmes in-country • Education funders encourage government to develop PPP enabling environment by building up government regulatory capacity and other key components
There are system-strengthening opportunities	• There are methods and mechanisms in place to allow best practice sharing and collaboration between the state and non-state sectors – at all levels from schools up to ministries
Non-state operators that are **socially responsible**	• Held to account internally on equity and quality by strong independent boards and governance charter • Openness to collaboration with other state and non-state schools • Cap expansion to prevent becoming "too big to fail" • Actively communicates evidence and findings with other actors • Committed to efficient allocation of resources, taking an 'ROI' / impact per dollar view of activities.
There are **sufficient non-state operators with strong organisational capacity** to deliver high quality at low cost	• Strong internal supervision structures & processes • Processes to support schools to improve each year • Focus on staff professional development and training of local teaching and management staff • Regular and transparent financial and performance metrics reporting
Civil society able to hold non-state operators & government to account	• Transparent PPP design and policy development process • League tables of school performance – based on the right metrics • Mechanisms for whistle blowing / escalation

1. PEAS School Networks - Our track record

PEAS schools have grown rapidly over the last 8 years.



This rapid growth has been accompanied by strong results across PEAS' three pillars of impact (Access, Quality and Sustainability). Not only do we want to expand equitable **access**, we believe the education needs to be of sufficient **quality** to make a meaningful difference to the lives of our pupils. **Sustainability**, our third pillar, is essential for our schools to have an enduring impact in their communities.

Access

PEAS educate children other schools do not

- **Poorer children**
  60% of PEAS students are from the bottom two wealth quintiles in Uganda – vs 40% at government and 19% at private schools
- **More girls**
  51% of PEAS students are girls, vs 46% in government schools

Quality

Students do better at PEAS schools than they would have elsewhere

- **Closing the education gap**
  PEAS students are matching or beating their state school counterparts on completion despite worse prior attainment
- **Leading on value add**
  schools which receive the full package of PEAS support are now in the top 12% of schools in Uganda based on relative attainment of students compared to their starting point

Sustainability

PEAS schools are built to be financially viable - independent of aid

- **More cost-effective**
  The total cost of educating a child in a PEAS school is <90% of the cost in a state school; this will come down to 70% when our current schools reach full capacity
- **Self-sustaining –** PEAS schools are designed to be able to cover all running costs with revenues from fees and agreed government per-pupil subsidies[1]

Access - our ambition

Bring day school fees down to zero and serve every child in our communities

Quality - our ambition

Achieve a country-leading quality assessed by value add & non-academic measure

Sustainability - our ambition

Achieve full financial sustainability to ensure country organisations are fully mature

1 – Data is taken from 3 external studies conducted on PEAS in 2015

1. PEAS School Networks - How we deliver

PEAS has a unique approach to building, managing and running our school networks. Rather than 'magic bullet' single interventions, we believe quality education is the product of having strong basics in place to create a robust, results-focused organisation with a culture of continual improvement.

In practice, this means a combination of **accountability** and **support** structures which empower our school leaders and teachers, who in turn act **autonomously** in the best interests of our students. On this foundation of accountability, autonomy and support our schools deliver the PEAS education approach, which incorporates evidence-based pedagogy with both academic and non-academic curricula to ensure our students are prepared to achieve their full potential.

We measure our progress against three pillars of impact to ensure we are always striking a good balance between expanding **access,** improving **quality**, and building up the **sustainability** of the school network.

To deliver on our **access** pillar, PEAS employ diverse measures to ensure that all forms of exclusion are addressed. Financial resources are often the biggest constraint, but there are multiple dimensions of exclusion – gender, prior attainment and distance from school are just a few. Beyond explicitly tackling barriers to enrolment, PEAS also works to ensure our schools are inclusive, supportive learning environments for all students.

Access

Our school locations

We build schools in under-served, often rural areas where large numbers of primary school leavers are unable to enroll in secondary education

Tackling exclusion in multiple forms

Financial: Day school fees are reviewed annually to ensure they are as low as possible, and are always benchmarked to state school fees. Schools offer payment by instalments or in kind where feasible to minimise financial burden on parents.

Gender: Girls' enrolment is encouraged by PEAS' community engagement efforts and comparatively lower fees. Once enrolled, Girl Clubs help girls build confidence and navigate cultural expectations, enlisting all students to create a supportive environment

Prior attainment: PEAS schools are non-selective; open to students who would not have been accepted into state schools based on primary leaver scores

Aligning the whole organisation

PEAS internal incentive structures are aligned to value every child:

- Exam results are tracked in terms of average grade across all students, rather than attainment of top division – ensuring weaker students are equally valued and supported to improve
- Access is measured not just in terms of enrolment but also completion, which is key
- We track the demographic backgrounds of students (e.g. gender, disability, household income) and benchmarks these to the broader population to ensure inclusiveness

1. PEAS School Networks - How we deliver

The PEAS approach to delivering **quality** has two key elements. The PEAS Education Approach drives the design of our education programme, while the PEAS operational delivery model ensures the entire organisation is aligned to deliver our programme effectively.

Quality

PEAS' Education Approach[1]

- A quality education needs to equip students for success after they leave school. Our' Education Approach aims to cater to the context of our students – most of whom will not have opportunities for tertiary education or stable, well-paid employment
- Specially developed **life skills curriculum** and career guidance to prepare students for life after school, including non-university pathways **relevant to our communities**
- Instruction delivered by **great teachers and school leaders** able to foster **student-led learning** and create healthy and **supportive learning environments**
- **Parents and communities engaged to further support** students' development

PEAS' operational delivery model

Our delivery model develops strong school leaders and teachers, and sets them up for success through a combination of processes:

- **School level accountability** and transparency through regular, thorough supervision
  - Inputs & process supervision through annual school inspections and financial audits run by dedicated central teams
  - Outcomes tracking through constant monitoring & evaluation of student attainment across the network to ensure standards are maintained
- **Strong support structures** in place to equip our school staff to deliver
  - Multiple termly class observations for each teacher by PEAS' Education Quality central team to enable rapid feedback and development cycles
  - Continuing professional development (CPD) for school teachers and leaders
  - Central 'expert' administrative support in our country offices to ensure schools have best practice processes (e.g. HR, Finance, Child Protection)
- A **high degree of local autonomy**, with **clarity of goals**:
  - School directors control and are accountable for delivering the budget
  - Head teachers control teacher hiring and performance management, and are accountable for teaching quality and student outcomes
  - Teachers control lesson planning & delivery and are accountable for teaching quality and student outcomes
- An **annual cycle of continual improvement**:
  - The Schools Dashboard is a balanced scorecard of termly school KPIs
  - School Improvement Plans are developed with each school to set specific improvement goals and measures to achieve them
  - Teachers take a similar approach – each child is set targets for improvement

Our learning environments

PEAS schools are built to last, meeting or exceeding government requirements on sanitation and security, with facilities (libraries, science and ICT labs) to enable effective, relevant learning

1. See Appendix 2 "PEAS Education Approach"

1. PEAS School Networks - How we deliver

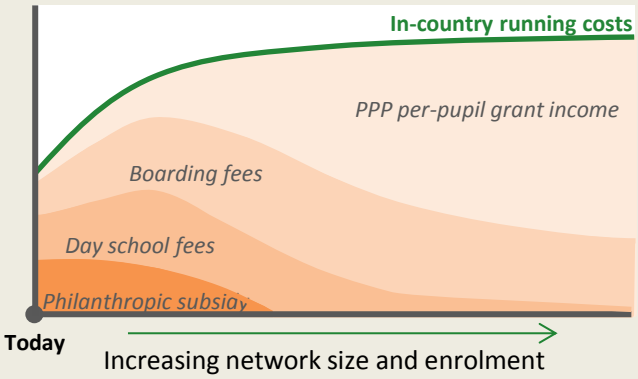
PEAS' **sustainability** model is critical to delivering lasting impact in our communities, rather than simply creating a short-term solution.

The core of our sustainability model is that our schools are able to cover their own running costs through earned revenues– and are **independent** of philanthropic aid. This requires a dual focus – on keeping costs as low as possible, and on ensuring that sufficient income is generated from a combination of affordable day fees, boarding fees, and government PPP subsidies.

Sustainability

Financial sustainability

All our schools are designed to cover their own running costs once at full enrolment. Increased PPP subsidy levels[1] are needed to allow schools to also fund country office costs. In the short term, this is covered by a combination of day fees and philanthropic funding; this is expected to be replaced by government per pupil contributions following a successful PPP negotiations.



Another key financial hurdle for PEAS is in financing the construction of new schools. At present this has been entirely through direct philanthropic funding. Once schools are receiving PPP funding, it will be possible for PEAS to investigate alternative financing models including debt.

Organisational sustainability

PEAS works to build the capacity of the country office and school teams in-country, rather than importing resources from elsewhere. This means a strict policy of hiring locally, with UK staff working only in a project support capacity, and never as teachers or school leaders.

Keeping costs low

One key way that PEAS are able to keep costs low is by engaging with our communities to ensure they are fully bought in to the value our schools bring. This often means community leaders mobilise in support of PEAS schools, for instance to secure land for building at a discount, or by bringing water to the schools for free.

The PEAS central country offices are also key to managing costs – which PEAS does by constantly reviewing team structure & staff efficiency to ensure the leanest possible team while delivering on quality.

1. Current Uganda PPP subsidy levels : <20% of cost per student – only sufficient to cover school-level costs together with day and boarding fees

2. Building enabling ecosystems

Once we have established working pilot PPP models in our own networks, PEAS' second strand of impact is to support system-level change by working directly with stakeholders in the education ecosystem to help build the elements needed for a healthy multilateral PPP.

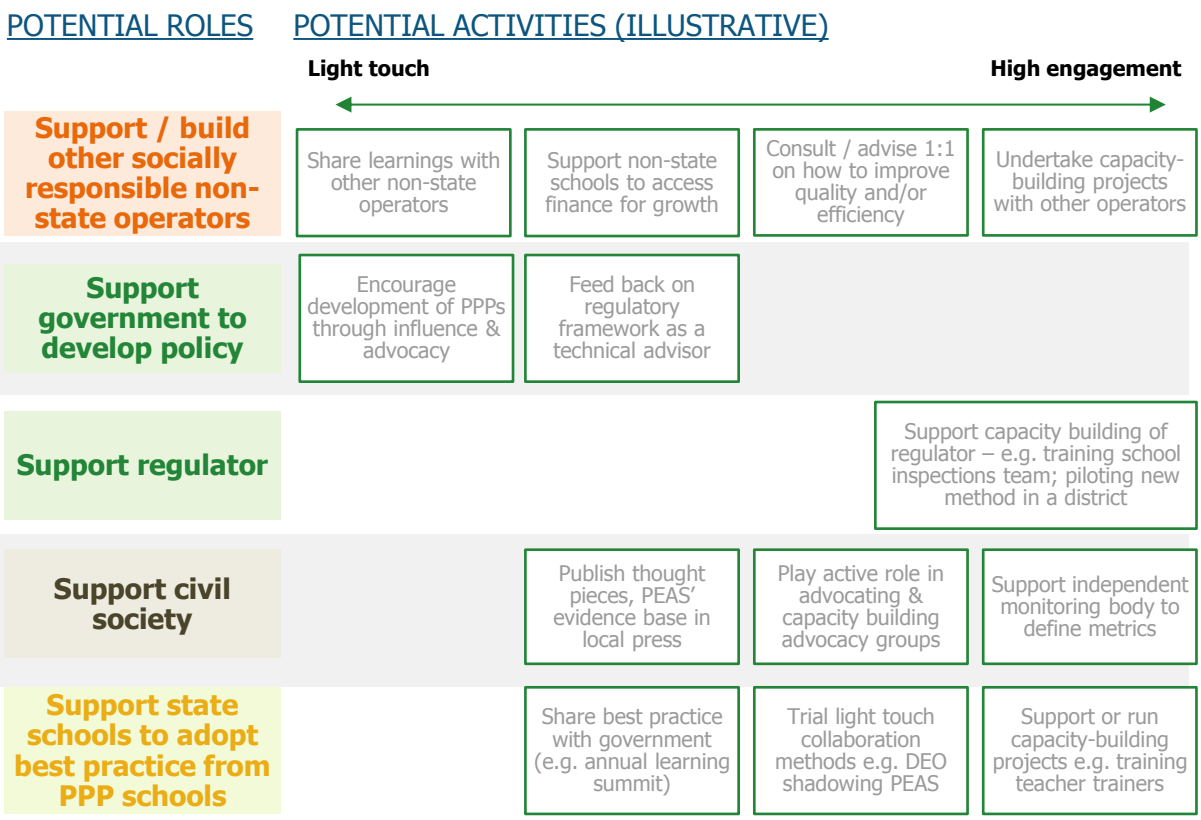
As Figure 3 illustrates, this can take many different forms in practice. PEAS will need to take a strategic approach to identifying gaps and mobilising our own capabilities in order to deliver the support that is required.

A few key guiding principles for our direction:

- **Collaborate, don't compete –** ensuring that our activities are always adding value, and partnering wherever possible to deliver projects
- **Build on PEAS' USPs –** sharing PEAS unique areas of expertise as a PPP operator
- **Work towards the end game –** supporting operators and governments to build enduring systems, rather than short term measures

Success in this area will be achieved when the countries where PEAS operate successfully implement well-functioning, multilateral PPPs, which result in increased access to quality secondary education

Figure 3 – Potential ecosystem builder roles to support PPP development



2. Building enabling ecosystems

On the basis of PEAS' unique position as a PPP school operator we think the first three roles in the map in Figure 3 are likely where PEAS can have the biggest impact:

- **Support / build other socially responsible non-state operators:** PEAS are one of a very small number of medium scale secondary school non-state operators able to deliver high quality at affordable cost, in a sustainable way.
- **Support government to develop policy and regulation:** PEAS has negotiated PPP agreements in three countries (Uganda, Zambia & Rwanda) – introducing the concept from scratch in some cases.

Support / capacity-build other socially responsible non-state operators

What?
Consult operators on how to adopt aspects of the PEAS model, e.g. to improve quality or efficiency of delivery, or to develop strong funding pipelines

How could PEAS deliver?

- Codifying existing PEAS methodologies for external sharing and understanding
- Training or providing consultancy services for other operators
- Rotating members of the relevant PEAS delivery teams to share PEAS' best practice with operators

Currently done by?
Not many operating at this scale; PEAS have received requests for this service

Key success factors?
Developing a consulting toolkit to enable successful adoption of PEAS advisory; buy-in and funding for such projects – from operators and their funders

Support government to develop policy and regulation

What?
Participate as an operator technical advisor on multilateral PPP policy and regulatory frameworks

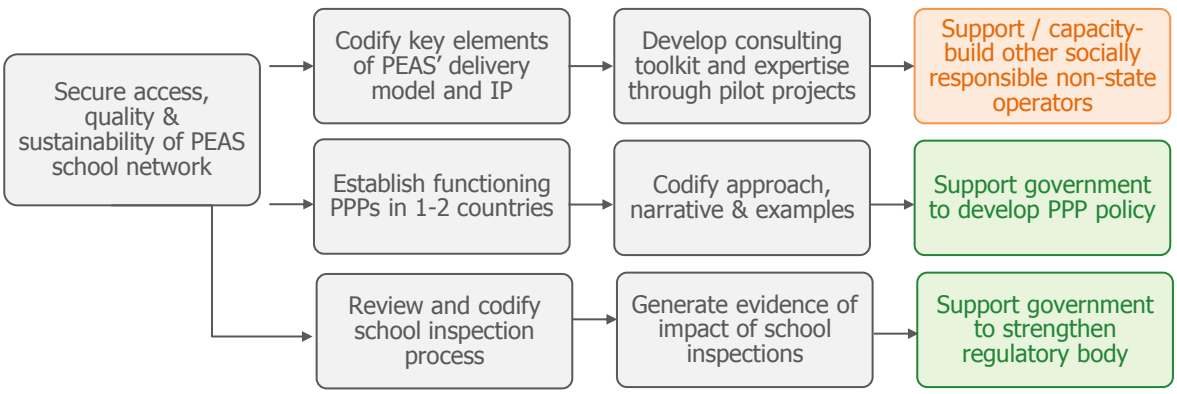
How could PEAS deliver?

- Technical teams sharing experiences from pilot PPPs at government consultations
- Acting as an expert advisor on how to set up PPP agreement
- Providing technical assistance and training for the development of strong school inspectorates

Currently done by?
Not many operator/case study technical advisers (except EPG)

Key success factors?
PEAS having successful pilot PPP experience; PEAS not acting as an operator in that country or working as a sub to a lead government adviser

Before PEAS is able to deliver on either strand, there are a number of pre-conditions.



Whilst these options are the most likely areas where PEAS' experience can add value, this does not preclude PEAS taking more innovative approaches or reacting to new opportunities for taking on the role of an ecosystem builder.

A key risk for PEAS is to play multiple conflicting roles in a market. For instance, PEAS cannot take on a lead role supporting government to design policy or regulation in countries where PEAS operate or intend to operate. In these cases, PEAS can still add value as a technical adviser (with important contextual and practical knowledge) but not in a leading role.

Case study: PEAS has the scale and credibility in Uganda to influence at the system level. Therefore, PEAS has already started the work of ecosystem building in Uganda. For example, PEAS is playing an important role as a case study operator in the ongoing PPP policy discussions being led by the Ministry of Education, DFID and EPG. As a result we are able to influence the process of phasing out the Ugandan Universal Secondary Education PPP and the development of new PPP policy options to replace it.

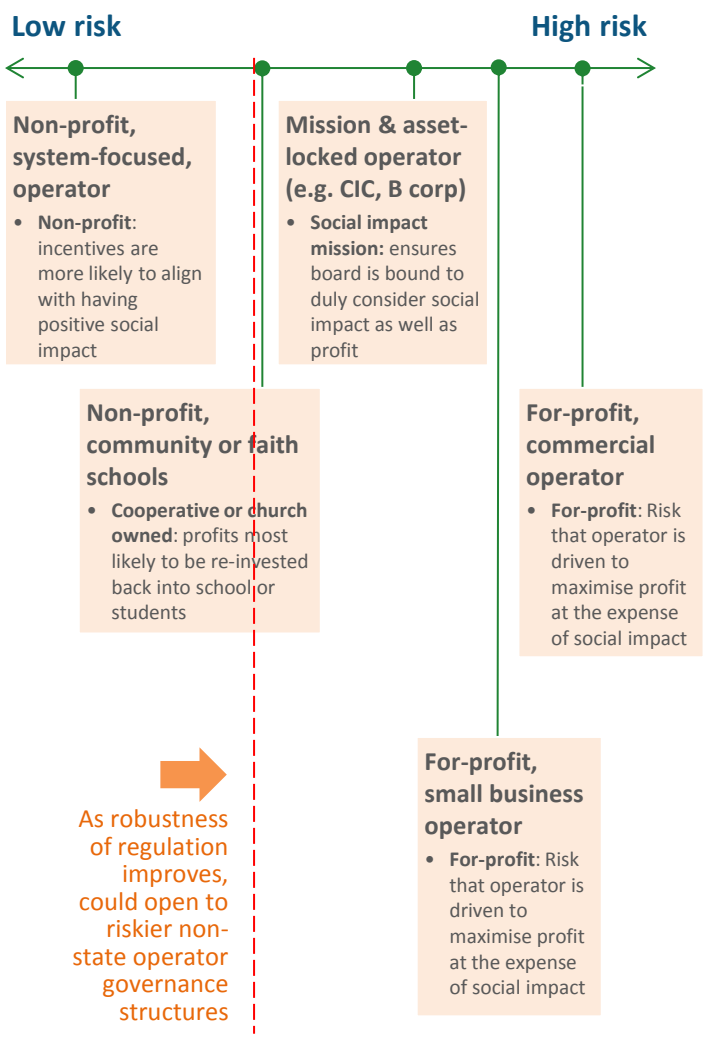
2. Building enabling ecosystems

What is a socially responsible non-state school operator?

Likely a combination of these behaviours…

Social impact-focused mission	Governance structures that ensure long-term commitment to social impact, and limit the tension between alternative outcomes. e.g. setting caps on profits, or admitting an equitable quota of students of different faiths Written into charter, rather than dependent on individuals.
Aware of system impact	Avoids distorting markets. Avoids duplication. Non-expansionist. End game is a stronger education system. E.g. does not crowd out other providers
Collaborative and transparent	Open to collaboration with other operators in developing operational and pedagogic best practice, curriculum, etc. Actively communicates evidence and findings with other actors.
Efficiency and ROI focused	Committed to efficient allocation of resources, taking an 'ROI' / impact per dollar view of activities. Impact monitoring part of their business-as-usual operations.

…with different levels of risk for different archetypes

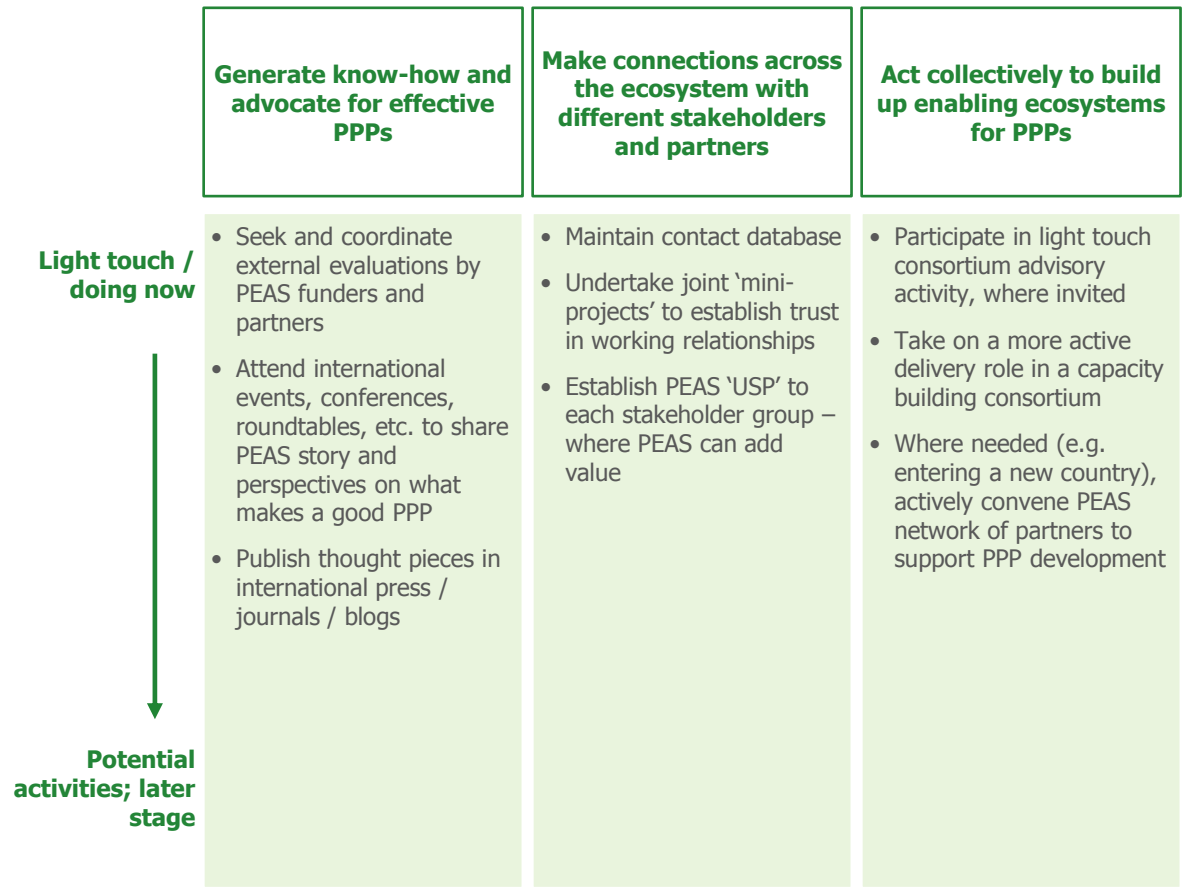


3. Mobilising the international community

In order to unleash the funding and support required to really grow PPP frameworks both within and beyond PEAS' countries of operation, it is critical that the international community – funders, investors, governments and education service providers – are bought in to the potential merits of the model.

As one of the few successful non-state, system-focused secondary operators, PEAS has a key role to play in sharing our experience and mobilising support. PEAS is already experiencing pull for our perspectives in international forums – here we outline a number of further ways in which we can broaden our impact.

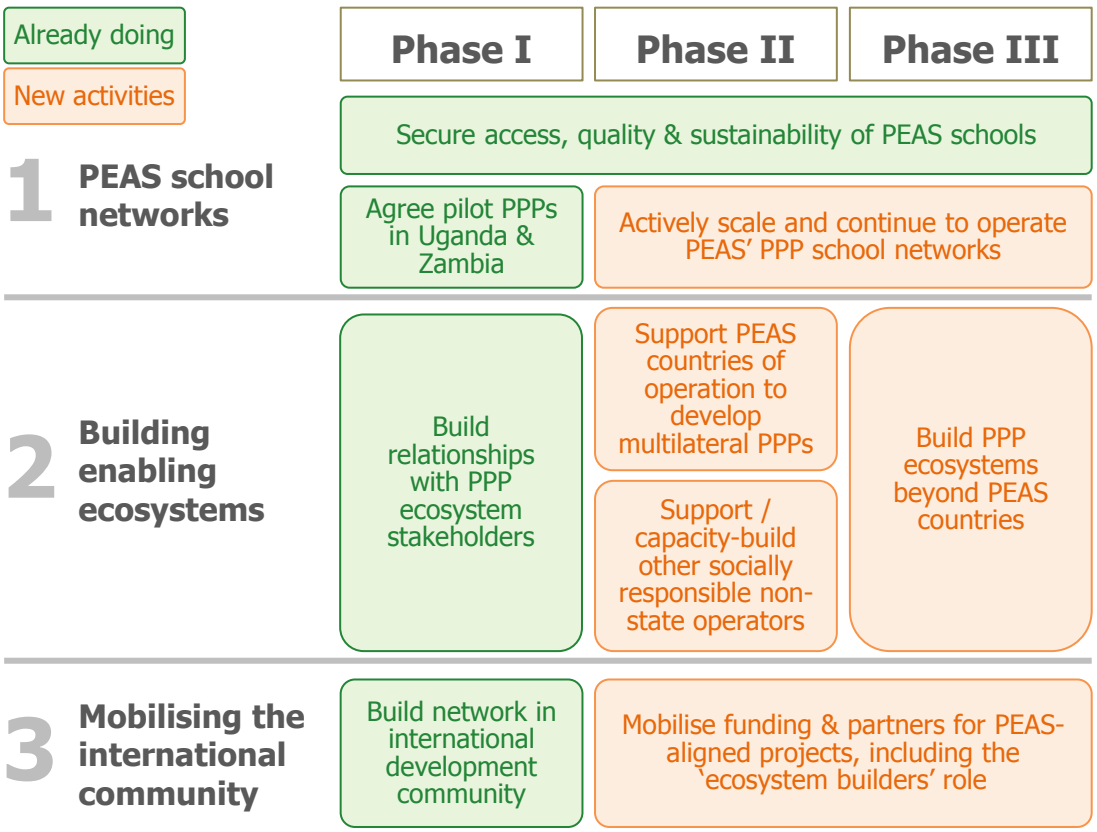
Figure 4 – Map of ways PEAS can act to mobilise international community support



A key enabler of this is for the PEAS to have successfully piloted PPP networks. PEAS will also require core funding to undertake some of these advocacy activities, for example to run learning summits, to set up the internal resources to support researchers seeking data or to codify learnings for external communication.

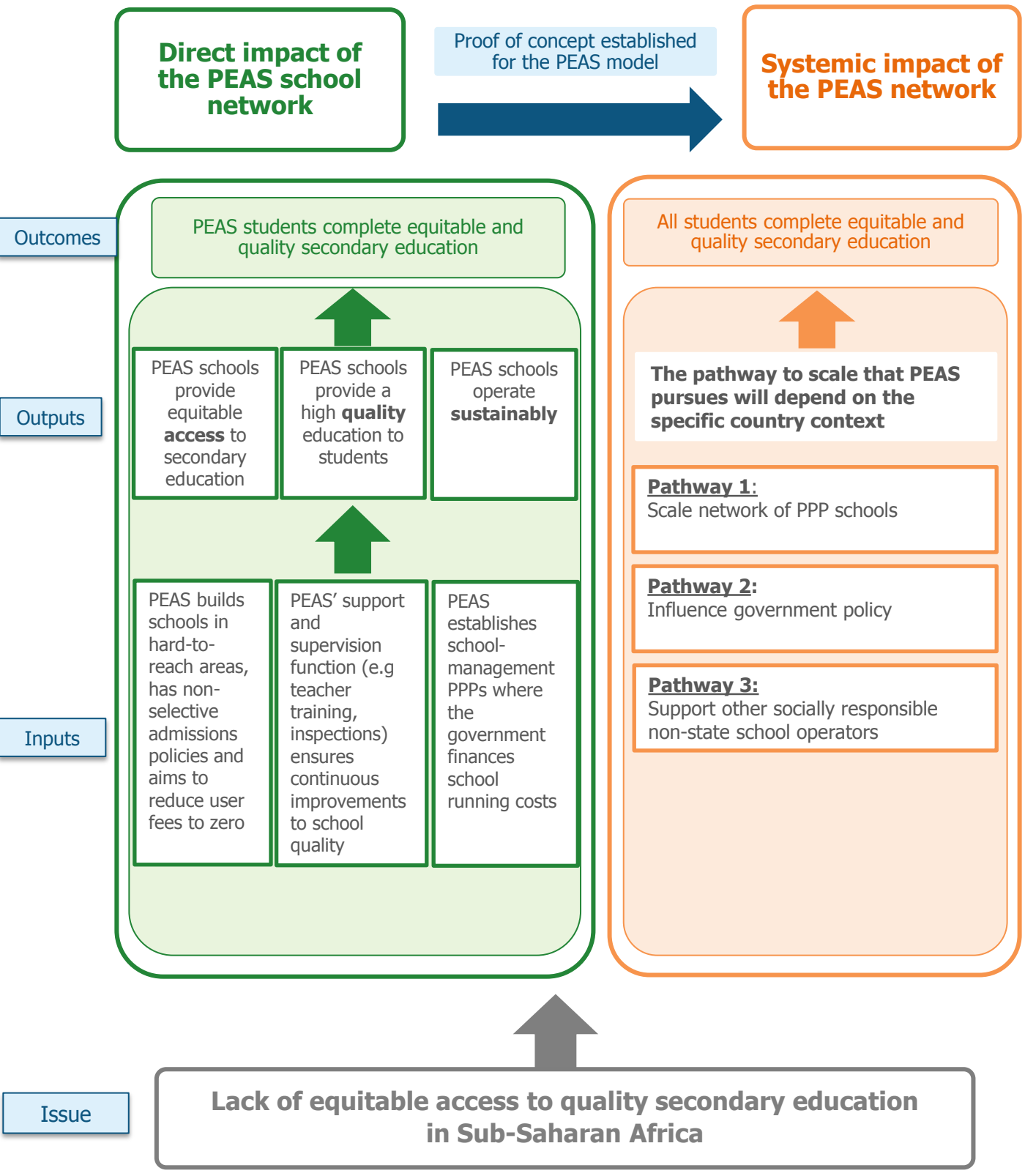
The PEAS Approach - Roadmap

The approach outlined in this document is an ambitious one – and will require PEAS to build up a significantly more diverse capabilities than currently exist in the organisation. While we are confident that this is the right direction in order to maximise the impact of the PEAS school networks on the UN SDGs, we also recognise that careful phasing and sequencing will be needed in order to ensure that PEAS continues to succeed.



Throughout all phases of our roadmap, PEAS will continue to prioritise building and operating PEAS schools, scaling at an organic rate of growth that allows us to maintain quality without getting 'too big to fail' in each of our countries of operation.

Appendix 1. PEAS Theory of Change



Appendix 2. The PEAS Education Approach

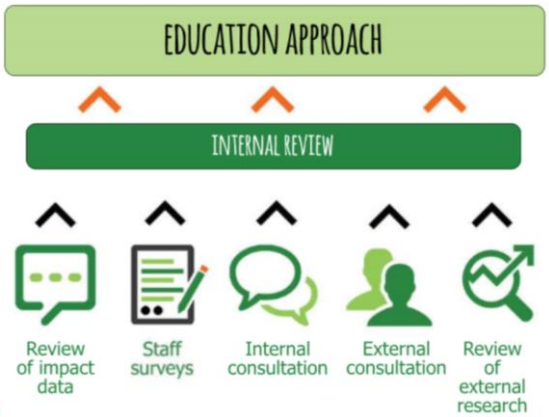
The PEAS Education Approach defines quality education within the sub-Saharan African context.

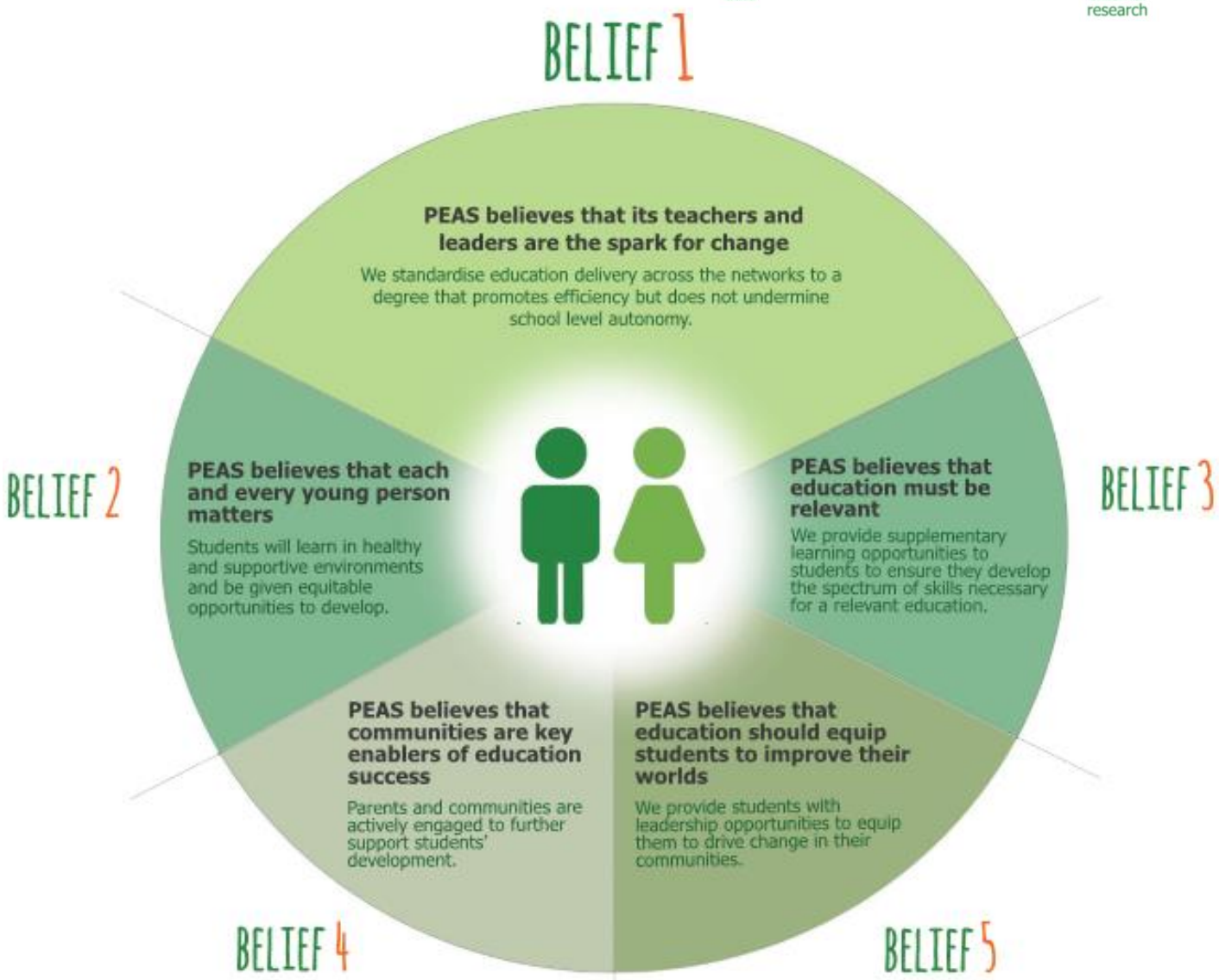
The PEAS Education Approach

PEAS' has five **Big Beliefs** about education**.** These are evidence-based guiding principles that PEAS uses to design its education programme and delivery model.

PEAS focuses on developing autonomous, highly accountable school leaders who are able to drive school improvement at a local-level. Externally generated evidence indicates that, for the PEAS context, this is an effective approach to sparking sustainable change.

Developing the PEAS Education Approach:





Appendix 3. What would it take to replicate PEAS at scale?

There are two key requirements facing any would-be school network operators looking to replicate a PEAS-type model, which would need to be overcome:

I. Physical infrastructure

The cost of building schools has been the key barrier to date for PEAS' network growth. c.£0.4-1bn of capital investment will be needed each year to build enough schools to close the provision gap across Africa; and a wide range of funding solutions will likely be needed to cover it.

- Philanthropic funding – what PEAS has used to date. Not very sustainable and expensive for each funder to cover the costs of a full school
- Debt funding – this becomes possible once schools are generating secure income, for instance once the PPP deals have been agreed. As a market-based solution has the advantage of sustainability at the right price
- Hybrid models – combining debt-funding with philanthropic underwriting could be a way to bring down the cost of debt, while allowing philanthropic funding to go further than in a pure funding model
- Contract management of existing schools – taking on failing state schools, while not expanding the asset base, is a good way to ensure existing school buildings are utilised effectively.
- Frugal construction – while a minimum level of quality is required to support learning, particularly at secondary level, more could be done to lower the costs of delivering on these requirements, for instance through technical innovation.

II. Institutional infrastructure

Once the financing is in place to build the schools, the next key challenge operators will face is the ability to effectively operate a network of schools across countries that effectively deliver high quality at low cost. In practice this will mean putting in place:

- Support & supervision – effective processes to quality assure the education delivered by schools and teachers – e.g. student outcomes reporting, inspection and audit processes, and deliver the support needed by teachers to improve – e.g. training & regular observations
- Building a robust talent pipeline – educating and training enough teachers, school leaders and central staff to deliver on the model – in a context where <10% in each cohort have tertiary education
- Effectively engaging communities to generate pull for school enrolment, support for students to succeed once enrolled in school, and feedback on the relevance and value of the education delivered.
- Strong relationship with government – government relationships cannot be underestimated. To operate successfully as a non-state operator government buy-in is a must.

1 Level 3 sustainability – see p11 for definition

Appendix 2: Collapsed districts

Central region		Population	Merged districts (MDistrict)	Population	Designation
82	Buikwe	422.771	70, 27, 51, 99, 100, 72, 84, 90, 60, 89, 86, 59	3.019.201	CentralSouth
84	Bukomansimbi	151.413	76, 29	3.504.498	CentralMid
86	Butambala	100.840	56, 38, 95, 63, 64, 48, 36, 61, 82, 87	3.005.528	CentralNorth
87	Buvuma	89.890			
89	Gomba	159.922	TOTAL	9.529.227	
27	Kalangala	54.293			
90	Kalungu	183.232			
29	Kampala	1.507.080			
36	Kayunga	368.062			
38	Kiboga	148.218			
95	Kyankwanzi	214.693			
48	Luweero	456.958			
99	Lwengo	274.953			
100	Lyantonde	93.753			
51	Masaka	297.004			
56	Mityana	328.964			
59	Mpigi	250.548			
60	Mubende	684.337			
61	Mukono	596.804			
63	Nakaseke	197.369			
64	Nakasongola	181.799			
70	Rakai	516.309			
72	Ssembabule	252.597			
76	Wakiso	1.997.418			

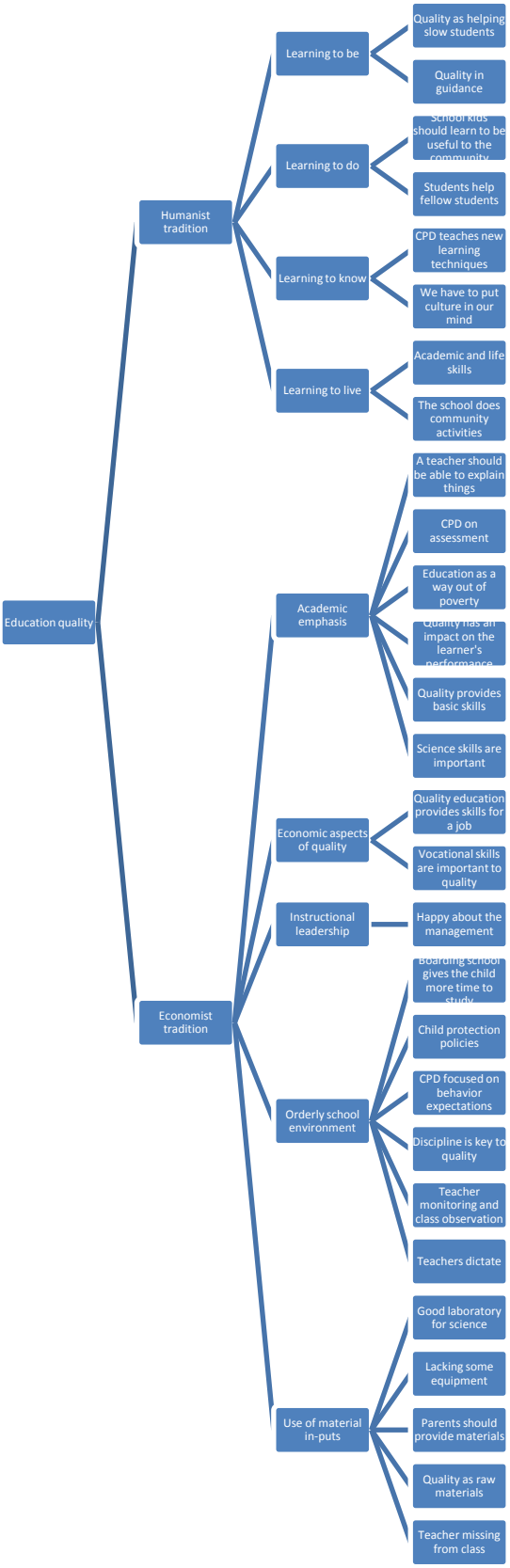
TOTAL		9.529.227			
1/3		3.176.409			
Western region		Population	Merged districts (MDistrict)		Designation
10	Buliisa	113.161	41, 23, 32, 71, 66, 26, 111, 102, 12	2.972.202	WesternSouth
11	Bundibugyo	224.387	109, 81, 55, 40, 19, 31, 34, 24	2.878.882	WesternMid
12	Bushenyi	234.440	11, 106, 46, 96, 37, 18, 52, 10, 92	3.023.778	WesternNorth
18	Hoima	572.986			
19	Ibanda	249.625	TOTAL	8.874.862	
23	Kabale	528.231			
24	Kabarole	469.236			
26	Isingiro	486.360			
31	Kamwenge	414.454			
32	Kanungu	252.144			
34	Kasese	694.992			
37	Kibaale	785.088			
40	Kiruhura	328.077			
41	Kisoro	281.705			
46	Kyenjojo	422.204			
52	Masindi	291.113			
55	Mbarara	472.629			
66	Ntungamo	483.841			
71	Rukungiri	314.694			
81	Buhweju	120.720			
92	Kiryandongo	266.197			
96	Kyegegwa	281.637			

102	Mitooma	183.444			
106	Ntoroko	67.005			
109	Rubirizi	129.149			
111	Sheema	207.343			
TOTAL		8.874.862			
1/3		2.958.287			
Eastern region		Population	Merged districts (MDistrict)	Population	Designation
4	Amuria	270.928	21, 53, 103, 13, 8, 20, 98, 30	3.095.034	EasternSouth
7	Budaka	207.597	88, 28, 14, 15, 75, 101, 49, 54, 7, 91	3.015.651	EasternMid
8	Bugiri	382.913	25, 110, 69, 73, 33, 9, 94, 85, 83, 45, 105, 74, 4, 35	2.911.737	EasternNorth
9	Bukwa	89.356			
13	Busia	323.662	TOTAL	9.022.422	
14	Namutumba	252.562			
15	Butaleja	224.153			
20	Iganga	504.197			
21	Jinja	471.242			
25	Kaberamaido	215.026			
28	Kaliro	236.199			
30	Kamuli	486.319			
33	Kapchorwa	105.186			
35	Katakwi	166.231			
45	Kumi	239.268			
49	Bududa	210.173			
53	Mayuge	473.239			

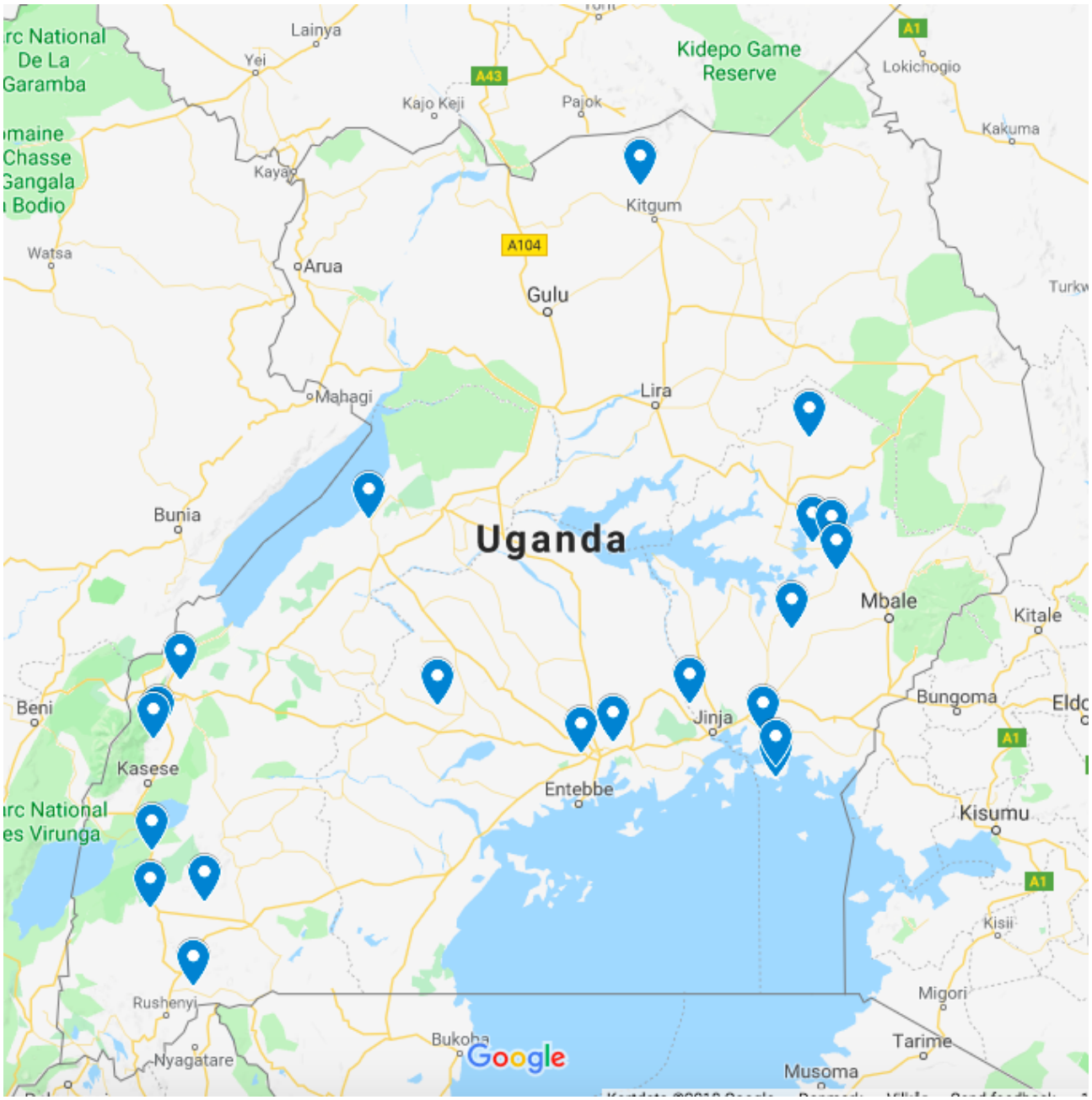
54	Mbale	488.960			
69	Pallisa	386.890			
73	Sironko	242.422			
74	Soroti	296.833			
75	Tororo	517.082			
83	Bukedea	203.600			
85	Bulambuli	174.508			
88	Buyende	323.067			
91	Kibuku	202.033			
94	Kween	93.667			
98	Luuka	238.020			
101	Manafwa	353.825			
103	Namayingo	215.442			
105	Ngora	141.919			
110	Serere	285.903			
TOTAL		9.022.422			
1/3		3.007.474			
Northern region		Population	Merged districts (MDistrict)	Population	Designation
1	Abim	107.966	43, 77, 58, 6, 112, 50, 65	2.435.416	NorthernWest
2	Adjumani	225.251	2, 39, 107, 67, 5, 3, 16, 47, 93	2.275.352	NorthernMid
3	Amolatar	147.166	97, 17, 68, 79, 108, 78, 42, 22, 44, 1, 57, 104, 62, 80	2.477.371	NorthernEast
5	Apac	368.626			
6	Arua	782.077	TOTAL	7.188.139	

16	Dokolo	183.093			
17	Gulu	436.345			
22	Kaabong	167.879			
39	Amuru	186.696			
42	Kitgum	204.048			
43	Koboko	206.495			
44	Kotido	181.050			
47	Lira	408.043			
50	Maracha	186.134			
57	Moroto	103.432			
58	Moyo	139.012			
62	Nakapiripirit	156.690			
65	Nebbi	396.794			
67	Oyam	383.644			
68	Pader	178.004			
77	Yumbe	484.822			
78	Agago	227.792			
79	Alebtong	227.541			
80	Amudat	105.767			
93	Kole	239.327			
97	Lamwo	134.379			
104	Napak	142.224			
107	Nwoya	133.506			
108	Otuke	104.254			
112	Zombo	240.082			
TOTAL		7.188.139			
1/3		2.396.046			

Appendix 3: Code diagram

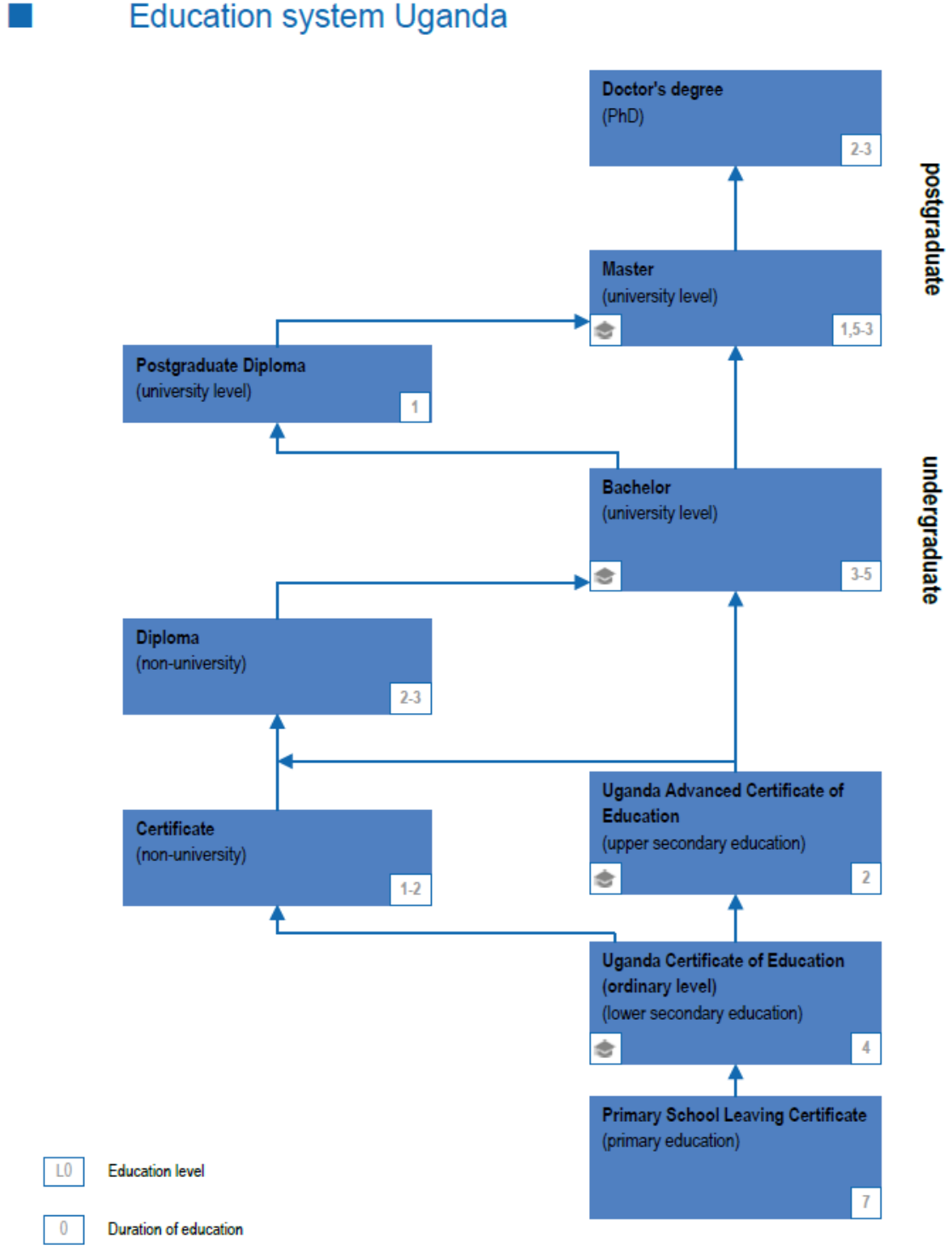


Appendix 4: Map of PEAS schools



An interactive version of the map can be viewed at www.goo.gl/zwfFMg

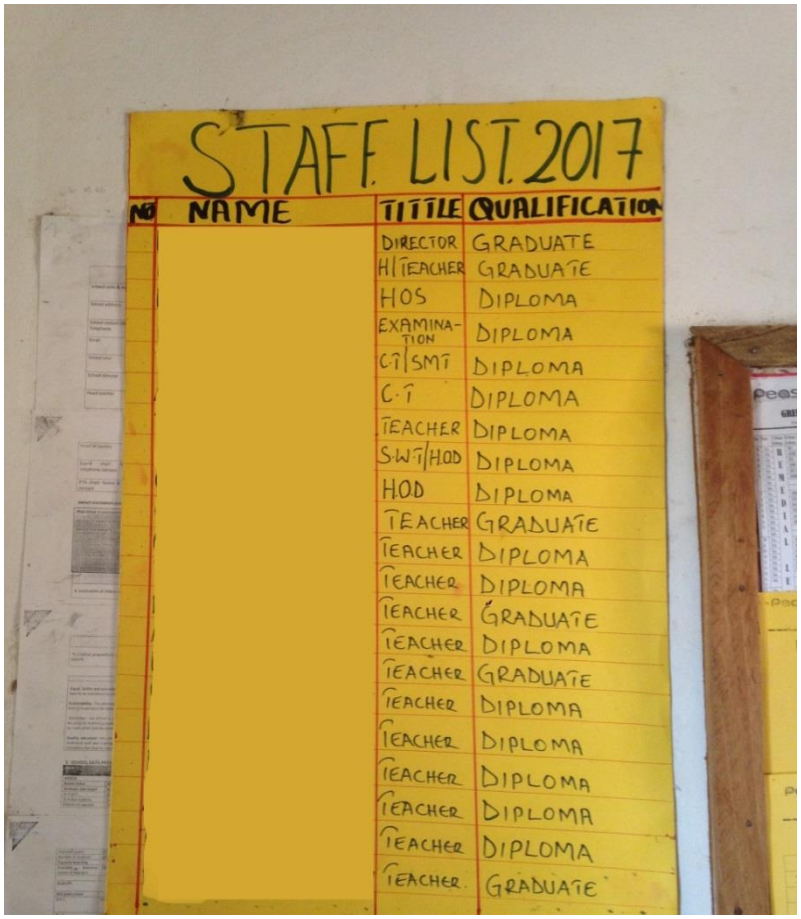
Appendix 5: Education system in Uganda



Source: NUFFIC. (2016). *Description of Uganda's education system and comparison with the Dutch system*. Retrieved from: https://www.nuffic.nl/en/publications/find-a-publication/education-system-uganda.pdf

Appendix 6: Teacher demographics

Participant	Education level	Reported net salary (UGX)
Teacher 1	Graduate	400,000
Teacher 2	Diploma	330,000
Teacher 3	Graduate	380,000
Teacher 4	Diploma	300,000
Teacher 5	Diploma	350,000
Teacher 6	Diploma	330,000
Teacher 7	Diploma	337,000
Teacher 8	Diploma	300,000
Teacher 9	Diploma	320,000
Teacher 10	Diploma	319,000
Teacher 11	Diploma	300,000
Teacher 12	Diploma	330,000



Appendix 7: Parent demographics

Parent	Education attainment	Occupation	Monthly income (UGX)
1	P5	Peasant farmer	100,000
2	Diploma	Pastor	500,000
3	S2	Cook	120,000
4	P2	Peasant farmer	150,000
5	P6	Peasant farmer and casual work	NA
6	P5	Peasant farmer	100,000
7	P5	Peasant farmer	200,000
8	P6	Peasant farmer and casual work	NA

Appendix 8: Cost estimates

Ratio:	Boarding	Day	
Green shoots	35	65	
Samling	30	70	
Average	32,50	67,5	
	2016	2015	
PEAS charitable expenditure	3724723	3323939	GBP
Cost of generating funds	274031	303477	GBP
Cost of service & management	3450692	3020462	GBP
School places	15000	13050	
Day students	10125	8808,75	
Annual cost per day student	230,05	231,45	GBP

	1191638,97	1198926,68	UGX
Student income % total	44,21	43,94	
Other income % total	55,79	56,06	
USE fees per term	128618	UGX	
USE subsidy per term	47000	UGX	
Combined	175618	UGX	
Annual income per student	526854	UGX	
	101,71	GBP	
1 GBP =	5180	UGX	

Year	Unrestricted	Restricted	Total income	Cost of generating
2015	2790176	1979071	4769247	229087
2016	2039315	3292340	5331655	274031
2017	2655507	3168206	5823713	228614

Unrestricted cost pr. GBP	Cost pr. GBP
0,082104856	0,048034207
0,134374042	0,051396986
0,086090528	0,039255712

Appendix 9: ISER

Interviewer: If you have anything to add do it from the questions and add anything. I don't know if you have any questions to begin with.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: I'll be going to PEAS schools -- one just north of Fort Portal and one just north of Hoima -- to interview the teachers and the students there. If you could just

start out with perhaps telling a bit about how the general situation around the right to education in Uganda is.

I've read your reports, but if you could give me a general situation, that would be very good.

Interviewee: The right to education is one of those social and economic rights that is recognized by our constitution so it is an advantage that it is there. Apart from our constitution, of course, we have the Education Act and a number of other Acts maybe talking about technical education and whatever.

But then, the policy that guides education is outdated -- it's from a long time ago -- and where the policy is outdated, of course, there are those things that do not really work well because the law doesn't cater for everything.

In terms of the actual implementation of the right, the realization, what there is at the moment is that somebody gets as what they're able to pay for. We have a policy for universal primary education, for example.

From that policy, yes, there has been improved access to education especially for girls. There are more people who into school, but then, of course, we still have a number of kids -- I think it's put at 10% -- who are out of school.

There is a group of people and that group will usually constitute of kids from ethnic minorities, children with disabilities, and children from the poorest quintile like the poorest children.

Interviewer: And that's because they can't afford the addition school fees, books, and pencils.

Interviewee: The additional or sometimes it's that there area has no school and they have no resources to go to a far off place to be able to access and education, so they will be in hard to reach areas that may not have an education.

In terms of those who are going to school, you find that there is disparity in terms of what everybody can get. There are those who are in these purely UPE government schools who are relying on government subsidies.

We know that the government schools are not well resourced and not well supervised at the moment so there is this attitude from the head teacher. Sometimes if it is hard to reach, you can find a head teacher stays in Kampala and their school is somewhere in Soroti.

They will go there like twice in a week and somehow the school is not well managed. But also the money that is kept in the capitation grant is still very low to offer people subsidy. Some kids who get out of that are the ones who get into the low fee schools that you're looking into and in many cases they are looking for better quality, supposedly.

I guess as you've seen from our reports, it's not necessarily true that there's better quality in these low fee schools and their commercial nature doesn't talk much because they are mostly started by private business men who are looking for profit more than anything as the primary goal.

Interviewer: If we talk of duty bearer, who is sort of bearing the responsibility for the right to education in Uganda? Is it really the private sector that bears the

responsibility because the government has a less fair approach? What's the practical implication of it?

Interviewee: Before I forget, there's also the other group that has money and accesses a different kind of education. That one is again a mixture of some government aided schools and private middle-class schools. Even with any government, there are those high-end that serve a certain category so it's not the UPE schools.

In terms of bearing responsibility, the responsibility is with the state. The private actors like I said are doing this as a business. For them in doing it, it's not that they are looking at themselves as people who have some kind of obligation to educate children, but people who need to make money.

And here is a sector that was liberalized, and for the longest time there were no taxes at all being paid so it was a very good business you get 100% profit. Because the government was looking at it as something that is meant to supplement the public system, so they would get in…

Interviewer: When did they start collecting taxes? Could you see that in a number of low fee private schools?

Interviewee: About 2015 is when they announced. The reality of whether they are paying is a different issue. Because there was a huge uproar when the government came up with this and said they should be taxing the profit of those schools.

They have a powerful association that has said, "You cannot tax us. We're assisting the government. We don't get much money out of this." Actually, it's not clear whether they are paying their dues.

It could be that somehow maybe the government went silent when they were really pushed back. They are not really telling the population whether these guys are paying their taxes, but at least they announced that they should pay.

In terms of responsibility, I think it's still a state responsibility but there has been a lot of laxity in terms of governance, in terms of resources. That has made the sector quite…I don't even know how to describe it. Right now, where we're at is far from the ideal.

Interviewer: With the UPE in use the government feels that it's done its deed to ensure the right to education?

Interviewee: I don't think they feel. The recent efforts by the government to try and come back to regulate the sector is an acknowledgement that something is brewing.

Interviewer: Is that only you trying to close Bridge International Academies or there are other things.

Interviewee: No. There are other things. First of all, they've commissioned an education review consultancy. There is a consultant who's supposed to be looking at the sector as a whole.

Secondly, they've been responding to public outcry on many things, for example, the rising cost of education, and you see that there has been some reaction from the government in terms of putting together a committee.

Thirdly, they've come up with small regulations for private actors. Now, the whole thing with Bridge is just that Bridge is Bridge and they're trying to kind of want people to think they're being targeted.

But it's a whole private sector thing and there are many schools that are closed on a daily basis for not meeting standards, so it's not an issue of Bridge.

There is a recent realization that things are falling apart. I don't know if you also looked into the PPPs. Now that you're studying PEAS, I guess you'll get to know that now the government has decided to stop the PPPs for USE, at least, for senior one and senior five, but are continuing with students.

Interviewer: I didn't know.

Interviewee: They are going to continue with them, but this year they haven't paid for senior one and senior five, partly, that is because they realized that the current PPPs are not working. DFID provided money, and they commissioned Ark to do a review of their current PPP.

Ark recently finalized its report and they are kind of making a proposal. They are not saying that PPPs shouldn't be there; they are saying they should be, but kind of what they're concentrating in is what should the PPPs look like going forward.

I don't know if you plan to speak to Ark.

Interviewer: I actually haven't. It might be relevant, seeing also that they were the main funders of PEAS so it's also sort of a dual hold that they have there.

Interviewee: Yes. You might want to speak to them aside from speaking to PEAS. I think there is a realization from the government that there are many things that are not right with their education sector, and you see more regulations coming up, in terms of guidelines you see some effort at enforcement.

But of course, in a situation where people have not been used to this kind of regulation, there is bound to be push back and that is the franchisee with Bridge.

Interviewer: How is that legislation or regulation enforced then? Is it by visiting the schools, inspecting the facilities, and also auditing the curriculum and how it's taught? What does the current enforcement focus on?

Interviewee 2: For instance, for private schools, we have a basic requirement and minimum standard guideline which spells out what a particular school should have in place for them to operate.

In terms of enforcement, the ministry will be looking at those particular aspects, for instance -- in terms of infrastructure -- security, sanitation. Even the curriculum, we have a national approved curriculum by the Nation Curriculum Development Center.

So they have to look at what a particular school is offering the kids vis-à-vis what the national curriculum is. If it doesn't tally, then that is one of the issues they have to be looking at.

In terms of enforcement, they would look at those particular requirements and see if the school is in compliance or not. If it is not in compliance, then the enforcement would come in.

Interviewee: Maybe you probably also wanted to hear about the mechanism for enforcement. Within the ministry there is a Private Schools and Institutions Department but we also have the Directorate of Education Standards. At the local government level, we have the inspectors of schools who are the ones who actually go to these schools on a daily basis.

But of course, due to limited facilitation they are only able to visit a few schools in a year. From what they say, the money is little. Under district machinery, there is the District Education officers and whatever. There's officers at the district level, but the financing limits the level of supervision and monitoring that they can do.

Interviewer: In terms of the private schools in this increased enforcement, have any of the low key private schools been willing to engage with the authorities to ensure better regulation and implementation and to work with them to build capacity, or are they just struggling against it?

Interviewee: What we see is that in many cases, if a school is closed, for example, the proprietors will go back and correct what it is that was the reason for the closure and then they come back to say "We've corrected this so give us the license. That is ordinarily what happens.

It wasn't really like touching many actors at ago. It is recently that now they've started publicly talking about it and saying "if you're not licensed" because many were operating without license at all. That's why it's now in the news and all.

Usually, the [16:20] one school. They close it, the proprietors goes and handles whatever it is, and places it and comes back for a license. It was on the ground mostly, but people were dealing individually.

Among themselves, I think there are some private school associations – schools that work together with each other that will usually practices and whatever among themselves. I'm yet to see one where there is a partnership with a public school. I'm yet to see that kind of arrangement.

Among private actors themselves, I think some of them do talk to each other.

Interviewer: Has any of your research shown what impact having a low fee private school in the local community has economically, socially, are they well of? What does it mean to the local community that they have the school?

Interviewee 2: Maybe in term of economically. One of the researches we did in 2015. One of the things that was clearly highlighted from that research was to do with issues of discrimination and inequality.

Because in most of these communities where the low fee schools are, you find that most of them do not have a solid income or a monthly income and they don't have just one kid – you find a family with six, seven, or eight kids.

In most of these schools that we visited, even however little the money they charged would seem, but it was becoming a burden to most of these families because there are a lot of things – examination, registration, etc. And you'd find that a family would fail and would reach an extent of saying, "Maybe let's leave the boy in school, and the girls should stay."

Then there were a lot of drop outs as a result of the many costs that these schools are charging. At the end of the day, you find that…In that community where we went, it was during the school term but there were many kids of school-going age who were just loitering around in the community – they were not going to school. The fees became a barrier in that community because they were not able to pay.

The other thing that we witnessed was that most of these low fee schools would close even in the middle of the term. So they would shift like the kids are attending. Before the calendar-year ends, the school has not met their profit so they decide to say, "We've closed, or we're moving to another place."

The parents would have to come and the school is not there so they have to enroll their kids in another school, which brings in issues of stability and so on.

Interviewee: For most of the schools, because they're businessman the businessman himself is usually the director of the school and hires somebody else to run the school, but when money comes in the director usually has other business priorities.

They will get money out of the school and use it for some other things, so you'll find that some of them actually are closed sooner than anticipated because somehow the director feels that it's not viable anymore.

In terms of sometimes not letting the technical head teacher do their work professionally, there are compromises like the quality of teachers and whatever, maybe use of laboratories, because there is limited money.

Interviewer: In terms of the fees and the burden that it places on the families, even the small fees are quite a significant burden to people in the lower quintile. How do they afford that? Do they cut on other spending? Do they work extra hours? Do they put themselves in debt?

Interviewee: That differs from family to family. You find that many of them, of course, are foregoing other things like health care, or having less meals than they would ordinarily have to have.

Because there's high unemployment rate in Uganda and underemployment, you find that many of them are in debt – it is a vicious cycle of debt. For many of these schools, you find that parents pay in installments.

Interviewer: Do they put themselves in debt to banks, or families, or the school?

Interviewee: You find that the very poor, even in urban, won't even be able to access bank loans. Then there are those people who are maybe in employment who can get a salary loan. If you will stay here long enough…I don't know for how long you're staying.

Interviewer: Two weeks.

Interviewee: You'll probably here adverts for school fees loans from banks so they do advertise. They say, "It's the beginning of term; you can get a school fees loan and whatever." For those who are credit worthy for the banks, they will get money from banks.

Others mostly it will be from the school. They go negotiate with the school and the school will let them operate and they keep paying. By the end of the year if you haven't paid, there are schools that have detained children, there are schools that have refused to give children the report.

And that is one of the things has to why kids keep moving from one school to another. By the end of the year they haven't managed to pay all the fees for a particular school, then they will just move to another school, so many of the schools will not give them their report cards, but some of the schools will actually detain them if it's a boarding school.

Now, people have small SACCOs. I don't know if you know the concept of SACCOs.

Interviewer: Yes. Groups of people that…

Interviewee: Small economic groups. People collect money and they give each other -- money goes round. Many low-income people are involved in such arrangements so you'll find that sometimes that is the source of income.

It differs from family to family. Where people can't sustain it any more the kids will drop out.

Interviewer: Do the schools place interest rates on the installments as well?

Interviewee: No, they do not. They just receive whatever installments parents are giving maybe until you fail to pay or something like that.

Interviewer: One last thing before we jump into more specifically PEAS, very briefly. These investors in low fee private schools, do you feel that they do any human rights due diligence when they make the investments or is it just complete base less?

Interviewee: Absolutely none. It's business. Maybe one thing that probably people could ask you about that people usually talk about is, when you talk about these low fee schools and the economic burden, many times people will say but there are also costs in public schools, that some public schools are even more expensive.

The difference with a public school is that, as a matter of law, you cannot send away a child for non-payment of these extra fees, so kids will remain in the school somehow, and you can enforce that. If a child was sent away from school, you have recourse.

From the research that we did with the private low fee schools, people would clearly tell you "This is not a charity, we cannot keep kids who are not paying, and we rely on this money to even pay the teachers," which is not the case with a public school because the teacher is paid by the government, so somehow the school can run in some way. That's a major difference with the public/private arrangement.

Interviewer: I was looking into, for instance, an international finance corporation that has invested in Bridge. When you look at the due diligence on the investment it's like it won't have any human rights implications.

If we move on to PEAS, just very briefly, what your general impression of PEAS in terms of the right to education, quality, the business model, and so on?

Interviewee: Like I said on the email, we have never studied PEAS in terms of its actual model, the way they deliver the education, and all that. What we know is from literature and what information we've picked up from PEAS because we've had several discussions with them and been in meeting with them.

PEAS indentifies as a non-profit and they say that all their money goes back into the development of the school. Whether that is true, we cannot say much about it. Secondly, one of the positives is that, unlike players like, for example, Bridge, you find that PEAS will be in some places where there are no public schools, whereas Bridge in many cases sets up in places where there are other schools.

PEAS in that regard, we would say that it's helping our [28:04]. From what they've been saying is that they try to target the poor children. Again, they say there is a way for them to be able to ascertain that but we don't know that for sure.

The issues that we had with PEAS: (A) was around the payment of fees -- their fees, you wouldn't consider them cheap.

Interviewer: It is 45,000 shilling per term for non-boarding, which is still significant.

Interviewee: That is not the only cost that there would be in term of total cost. But also, many of their schools have a boarding school so they could go anywhere to 200,000 plus, but they say they support zero fees. For them, they argue that if the government was able to provide the money, they will be OK with the zero fees. That is one thing.

The other issue we had before this whole review came up was that at one point they were pushing for…They have some PPP schools with the government. They were having negotiations with the government to increase the capitation grant for their schools only.

We said this will be unfair to other schools because these are kids who are supposed to get equal assistance from the government. For you to push only for your schools would amplify or lead to discrimination because your kids will be better resourced than other kids.

Interviewer: But they succeed with that, right. They did manage to increase capitation grant for some of their schools or what?

Interviewee: I don't think from government directly. I think DFID gives them extra money that would otherwise go to government so they are better resourced. That is the other thing that we talked about because they keep saying that PEAS is providing quality education at a cheaper rate.

What we've told them is that they are not being completely honest. When they say that, they are this false picture to the government and to the public that education comes cheap because within their schools it's actually not cheap.

If you look at the recourses that's available to them; for the PPP schools they have, for example, the kid will get some kind of fees, even the non-PPP schools that they have, but they also have this grants that they get from outside.

DFID will usually give them money. I think Ark used to give money for some of their schools and they also come with this whole machinery of technical assistance of people who maybe have worked with Ark in the UK or have worked with DFID – like technical people who come to provide technical assistance.

These things are not available to the rest of the schools and they come at a cost. For them, they could be getting it because they're PEAS and they have these relationships. But if another person is to do it, then they will have to pay a consultant or something like that. I don't know whether, for them, they pay for it or they get it for free.

We've been telling them that they need to be honest about the resources that they get from all over to give a clear picture that this actually isn't as cheap as they make it seem.

Interviewer: But they would argue that the technical assistance is part of their business model, but you would argue that it's discrimination to the other schools.

Interviewee: Where it becomes unfair for PEAS is where they come to say that they are providing quality education cheaper because these things that they have are not cheap, but it's because they have access to these resources that other schools do not have.

If you're going to advice, for example, the government of Uganda, you don't go to say "We as PEAS, the children pay 45,000." That is not all that you're using to give that education. You need to factor what you're getting, which is a lot of money. I think it's millions. This year, I think there has been a huge grant.

Interviewer: 66% of their income comes from other sources.

Interviewee: Yes. For you to stand and say "We're giving better at cheaper," I think is dishonest. Because you can't compare yourself, for example, to another PPP school that is purely getting 47,000 from the government and that is all they have to even pay the teachers and whatever.

It's not that it's a discrimination issue. I think they are dishonest about the cost of educating a child in their schools.

Interviewer: When I talked to PEAS, one of the things that they mentioned was that with the schools that they are now opening in Zambia, they have a model where the…

Interviewee: They are opening schools in Zambia?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Why?

Interviewer: I'm actually not entitled to share. The schools that they are opening there are also public private partnership and the memorandum of understanding with the government…

Interviewee: No. Let's get it clear, Sambia here in Uganda or Zambia?

Interviewer: Zambia.

Interviewee: Zambia. OK. You know, why we ask Sambia. It's like you're talking about a suburb in Kampala. We were like, "Why?"

Interviewer: Zambia the country. The memorandum of understanding they have with the government there is they have a mechanism whereby the public inspectors will go to the schools along with the PEAS inspectors and then build capacity that way.

They argue that that's a way for them to transfer some of the knowledge and make it available to other schools. At the same time, that can also mean sort of a privatization of the government role and how it is run and so on.

Those were all the things that I wanted to run through. I don't know if you have anything else you want to add on PEAS or PPPs.

Interviewee: I don't know. They have a huge consultancy that has been running for three years, which seems to be bringing…

Interviewer: With the Economic Policy Research Center.

Interviewee: Research center.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I don't know how much they engage various stakeholders. When we saw it, the two things that stood out for us is that how are they comparing themselves to other people who are not equally resourced.

Also, when they were talking about the grades, we felt that some of the schools that they were comparing themselves with, that perhaps they should be comparing themselves with more established public schools or other private schools to be able to get a clear picture.

I think it would be unfair for them to be drawing from the very under resourced or the other plainly low fee PPPs that exist because the resources they have are not the same at all.

Interviewer: That's not really taken into account in the reports. They've just published the final report.

Interviewee: We have seen all of them.

Interviewer: I think the final just came out recently. He sent it to me.

Interviewee: We haven't seen it.

Interviewer: What's your general impression of the Economic Policy Research Center? What reputation does it enjoy?

Interviewee: It's a respected organization. Who was I talking to? I think maybe somebody from EPRC. I was trying to actually bring out the argument that "You guys, I don't think you are really honest," because we saw the report that came out before the final is out.

She was saying something like, "Sometimes the person paying for it has an influence of how it goes." I don't know how independent that particular piece of research is, just like we don't know how independent the Ark piece of research is given that DFID financed it and DFID has particular interests.

In terms of how PEAS has been performing, I think they've been performing quite well in terms of the output of the kids, but there are many factors that give them an edge.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. That was all I came for.

Interviewee: It's good.

Appendix 10: MoES

Interviewer: As I mentioned to you on the phone, what I'm doing research on is PEAS as a case study of what it does well and what it doesn't do as well, and I'm particularly interested in questions around what is quality and how the business model impacts the local community and the school members.

If you would perhaps just start out introducing yourself first and then we can take the questions afterwards.

Interviewee: My name is Ismael. I'm a commissioner in charge of private schools and institutions in the country. Of course, I have some other responsibilities like I coordinate in the health HIV unit of the sector, but basically I do work to do with the private schools and institutions – that's where my work is.

Interviewer: The first question I would just like to ask you is how you understand quality education.

Interviewee: Quality education has got so many aspects of all components, but the kind of education that will be able at the end of the day to transform that individual to a useful citizen of this country.

The kind of education one has gotten at his either primary, secondary, or university level, if it can enable that individual to become a useful person then I'll say he has gotten quality education. We may not have quality measures for this kind of quality education because what you would think as quality may not be the quality one is going for.

So quality is a perspective, but the kind of quality education we talk about is a wholesome kind of education. It's not just how you excel in mathematics, in English, and that that defines quality education. No. But the whole package that you get from a school defines what would be quality education. Because if you were a good, for example, teacher in school, the teacher is very well mathematics and all your students are passing mathematics, but at the end of the day they cannot make you solve that mathematics they are getting, then it's not quality. In that perspective, it's not quality education.

Education can be measured by the outcomes, but what comes out of the kind of educational needs defines the quality that has…

Interviewer: If we subscribe to that understanding of quality, how well would you say that the schools in Uganda are doing in terms of delivering that quality?

Interviewee: The schools in Uganda are trying but amidst so many challenges. Because what they are doing is to make sure, for example, that they are well stocked, well facilitated, well monitored schools in place. You need to have the schools because you cannot provide quality education when, for example, if you're going to have all the basics in terms of labs, in terms of what, in terms of classrooms – that's the basic.

But that said, of course, the classrooms alone may not provide the quality education one is desiring for.

Interviewer: Yeah, of course.

Interviewee: We need to look at others; of course, the teacher, the inspection, the monitoring, and many others.

Interviewer: The impression when I talked to teachers and I talked to the head teachers, a lot of them emphasized that quality is really about employability getting the skills to go and get a job after secondary school. Is that the objective of secondary school or is the objective broader than that?

Interviewee: Yeah, the probability is. That's why I talked about the kind of education you're getting defines the quality you got. It is not just employability. Okay, that's what we're aiming at, but you can be employed when you're lacking some other skills.

Interviewer: You have a national new curriculum that is to be implemented; will that make some of the changes?

Interviewee: Yes. Because that culture is focusing on skills – it's a skill-based kind of culture. We want at the end of the day these children we are producing-who are coming out of the schools-are able to sustain themselves even after work and even after school. Meaning that they must have gotten skills from what they have learned.

Otherwise, what has been happening in Uganda, and that's the biggest challenge and that's why we are forming even the culture, we can teach all the biology you know in this world and it's basically knowledge-based – our education system is knowledge based. It ignore 5:47 that others improve their skills. Somebody has had a lot of biology or a lot of physics-let me give you an example-but at the end of the day, he cannot even fix a bulb. You need to call upon somebody to come and fix that bulb for you. Now, what's the relevance of that physics you're getting. The new culture of 6:04 have exactly that – to give these people skill so that they are able to…

Interviewer: Even the current curriculum which is knowledge-based, is there room in the current curriculum for a citizenship education and this sort of broader skills that you just mentioned before?

Interviewee: Yeah. There is a provision for that, but again, there are a lot of gaps, and that's why now we want to reform the curriculum. That's after we have seen this, and that's why even the mission now in that question there is some element of vacationilization. 6:50 skilling, you have heard of the approval skill in Uganda.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: That's what's made to bridge that very gap that exists in our current curriculum.

Interviewer: I will just jump into the whole question about private providers. You're now terminating the youth scheme; do you know what other plans to replace the youth scheme? Is there any plans to commence that or will you rely more on public provision? What are the sort of provisions?

Interviewee: I would say there's no government in this world that can really provide education to its citizens by the public means – there is no country in this world. Go to a country in UK, go to America, go to where…In fact, they have seen the resources are becoming scarce ever other day so you never have a budget which can really fund all the educating activities you have to take. In that aspect, I'll enter in this PPP I already made – it is inevitable.

As much as this one is being faced out is because there quite a number questions - has it being providing quality education, has there been accountability, is there value for money, and many other issues. That's why we had to revisit and review and say "Why don't we face this one out. But as we're facing this one out, we're not closing gates to the PPP I already made. There are other models.

I want to give you an example. Many of the schools you see in this country are government aided they are not government schools. The majority of the schools are government aided but they are not government schools. You get the point, yeah?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: When you come to the government schools (the public schools), for example, in case of secondary schools, we have about 1,100 but out of these, we don't even have 300 public schools; we don't have them. The majority the schools are either PEAS based or community schools. Already that one is a PP arrangement.

We are not saying that now we're facing this one and we're doing away with the PPP. No. I want again to tell you this, we had a stand 9:14 stand here which was fed out by ARC, and the reason why we had that steady, PEAS was presenting a model, somewhere, some people got concerned and said, "No. If we allow this, people will question, people will ask us 'why are you giving special attention to PEAS? Why don't we now come up with a broader frame work where all these other models can be embedded, can be anchored?"' That was the original research that ARC carried out.

Interviewer: What did that show? I didn't know the report was published.

Interviewee: The report is out. It has just been validated recently. Now, what's going to happen is to present that report to representative of the ministry so that at the

end of the day we come up with a frame work that will allow the many partners to come on board.

Interviewer: So a new public private scheme will be introduced?

Interviewee: Yeah, it can be introduced.

Interviewer: Then in the transition phase, there's a risk that schools will have to increase school fees because they don't get the 10:33 computations right.

Interviewee: Yeah, that one may be inevitable but the government is trying to provide. The government has provided and has tried to provide all the time. The PPP came as a stop gap measure in 2007; and that time, the government wanted to provide education to all children that would access secondary education but didn't have the capacity so it called upon the private providers to lend a hand, which they did.

Now, over time, the government has been building capacity in terms of constructing new schools, which are called seed schools, in terms of grants (aiding more schools) so it is now somewhere – there's a fair kind of level…

Interviewer: What do you think?

Interviewee: …although there are some specific areas where there's that need for this secondary education. Now the challenge came, we wanted to of course look at case-by-case and say, "Why don't we say, in those areas and counties where there's no alternative we leave the PPP," but then, we will face the challenge of how to do this.

Interviewer: Do you think you'll be able to offer free secondary education before 2030 for instance?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: So free public education and secondary education through public private partnership?

Interviewee: That is our plan and we hope it will be achieved.

Interviewer: One of the things we're very concerned with is exactly this thing that you also talk about, your capacity in public private partnerships to actually have accountability and to regulate the area and so on. You mentioned that there's been collaboration with PEAS and with ARC Foundation. Have there been any steps between you and private providers do actually boost your capacity to regulate the area? I know you've also started that.

Interviewee: Yeah, there has been. For example, this PEAS arrangement, it has been a collaboration between the government and the PEAS network to help build the capacity. That's why when you look at most of the PEAS schools are found in areas where there's no alternative – in rural, deep.

I wonder whether you visited some of these schools.

Interviewer: Yeah, I was in…

Interviewee: They are found in areas where you don't have many schools. That kind of arrangement was agreed with PEAS and ARC to make sure that those areas are provided – capacity is created in those specific areas.

We're also working with faith-based organizations. Again, because the government has no capacity in some areas, these faith-based organizations are starting schools either in their parishes, the church headquarters, to provide capacity in those areas.

Interviewer: Just a quick question; I know that you've started enforcing regulations and you've also started to collect taxes from private schools. Does that have an impact on the number of private schools here?

Interviewee: Of course there's an effect because this is a service which should be a really free service. The school shouldn't be really taxed, but what we are saying should be clear here. We are saying that the schools which are for profit, which are making profits, should be able to pay taxes, either in UK or where.

Once you make a profit, then you should be able to support the government – it should be taxed. But those schools which are not making any profit, them they are not taxed. How can this one be proved?

We are advising our schools to make sure they have their books of accounts proper audited. Once that one is done then Uganda Revenue Authority can easily find out which school is making profit and which one is not making a profit. Now, that one making a profit should be able to taxes. Why this tax business is coming in here is that because we want a big percentage of these schools which are operating as businesses.

Interviewer: Exactly. The last part of that question is about PEAS specifically. First, I would just like to ask you what your impression is of PEAS in terms of the right to education, the quality they deliver, and their business model.

Interviewee: The right to education, I appreciate what PEAS is doing because in some areas those students will not be able to get education. Although they have the right to have this education, they will not be able to get it because in those areas the government has not built the capacity.

PEAS is really supporting the government in this direction to make sure that children get their right, have this right to education and have it. We appreciate PEAS in that direction. Just look at how the schools are distributed.

Interviewer: I know.

Interviewee: Find out where they are.

Interviewer: In the rural areas.

Interviewee: What would happen to those children there? They would be denied their right to education, but with this arrangement and with PEAS in particular, they are able to get their right to education.

Another question was about…

Interviewer: The quality and business model.

Interviewee: Yeah. Again, their quality is okay. What makes it okay, I think it has really invested in these schools in terms of infrastructure, in terms of structural materials. We have had to monitor some of these schools and when we compare with our government schools in terms of infrastructure development, in terms of structural materials, PEAS schools are at a higher level.

What makes PEAS be able to provide the quality education that it provides? It is because of its monitoring system. They are able to monitor first of all their teachers, their head teachers. Their time to task 17:00 is really very high, which is lacking in schools.

Now we talk about absenteeism of both teachers and learners, where in schools? But PEAS is making sure that that one doesn't work because of strict monitoring frame work, which is everything.

Interviewer: You mentioned it yourself that PEAS is actually investing heavily in their schools. I guess that also means that the money spent per child is actually much higher in PEAS than in other schools because they bring in money from development agencies, foundations and so on.

That's not really sustainable in the sense that the money cannot be expanded to the entire country or it cannot be copied by any private provider. What are elements of the PEAS model that could be disseminated or is there something that they can learn from other providers?

Interviewee: First of all, they have been some training. They train their teachers. That's one thing that we can really copy. Again, their inspection and monitoring system is one component of their model that should really be copied by many of our schools because that is where we have a problem.

In our schools, there's no monitoring system at school level -- it is lacking -- which is perfectly done in PEAS schools, so that one can be copied. Even in terms of financial management and the way the finances in PEAS schools are managed is different from the way we manage.

Interviewer: How so?

Interviewee: Because there is strict financial management procedure in PEAS schools, but there's a lot of laxity in government- the way how schools account. Even with USaid money, we have had issues with accountability, but we have not had issues with PEAS schools. Why? Because of their perfect financial management.

They 19:20 teachers is another thing. Our teachers here are centrally recruited and there's no clear monitoring system or inspection of these teacher, so that is another thing that should be copied. PEAS can hire and fire instantly, which doesn't happen in our government schools. There are a lot of bureaucratic…

Interviewer: I guess that's also some policy that you can choose from this…

Interviewee: Yeah. If we can have the teachers locally recruited by schools or a network of schools it will be easier for government to monitor those teachers. But now you recruit teachers in Kampala here and you send them to Kanungu, you don't know what is happening there; you don't know how the teacher is performing.

Yes, we are supposed to have an inspection system but it is weak, it is not facilitated, it doesn't have record, it doesn't have manpower, human resource.

Interviewer: Is that something that's on the minister's radar? Is that something she's aware of and is working on?

Interviewee: Yeah, she's aware of, but of course our involvement 20:27 is limited.

Interviewer: Are there anything that PEAS could learn from other providers public or private in Uganda?

Interviewee: Yeah. There are quite a number. These I've seen on the field. As much as we're saying it is providing quality education, but it is not yet wholesome kind of education. Why? I have not seen PEAS very active in sports – I have not seen this, and this one thing you can copy from the other schools.

We have very good high performing schools in terms of sports, because you never know. A child may not excel in academics but do great in sports. PEAS also has to make sure it looks at this other area.

Interviewer: Last question and then we can finish. There was some talk that PEAS have managed to negotiate a higher capitation grant than other schools, is that right?

Interviewee: A higher capitation grant…

Interviewer: Under the youths.

Interviewee: Yeah, under the youths.

Interviewer: So they did manage to negotiate that, and how much higher? Do you know that?

Interviewee: It was around 200, just the capitation grant that the government is putting in these schools. You don't simply look at the 41 that the government is paying for each child. When you argue you total what the government is paying to teachers and what the government is putting in terms of infrastructure, it goes to around 200. And that's what PEAS (this model) was requesting for – that if you can give us this 200 that you're spending on each child in a government school or a public school, then we will give you a far better quality education that we are able to do…

Interviewer: So they were arguing that they pay their own teachers and that's why they were…

Interviewee: Yeah. That's where the problem came in. Our system here, even coming from our constitution, is not very easy. Because we want it to be clear: if you're going to recruit these teachers, who's going to be responsible, what will be their terminal benefits, and who will be in charge? And that's where the argument now dwelled, and that's where people got even fears and say "Now, if we give PEAS and tomorrow it recruits and fires, who is going to be responsible for this?"

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had for you.

Appendix 11: PEAS CEO

Interviewer: To begin with, the idea is to look at low fee private school as the broad concept that it is, in context of the SDD4, and to sort of say, what are the opportunities for the low fee private schools to contribute towards the achievement of SDD4 and the realization of SDD4?

Also, what are the limitations and are there any things that can be improved or lessons that can be learned for the public sector. It's still being scoped a lot. The focus area is low fee private schools, SDD4, the notions of quality, and particularly the business model you have.

That's why it's PEAS that I want to look at and not Bridge, Omega, or someone else, because you actually seem to be doing quite a few things very well. It's more fun to look at people who do stuff well and be able to disseminate those ideas than it is to just be rude about things that don't work that well.

There's really trying to understand how you deliver the education you do, how you understand quality, how you operate, and what impact your way of operating has on the students and on the families that send their children to your schools.

The interview today is sort of an expert interview that will inform some of the other work and that I can use to inform the whole analysis in the master's thesis.

The idea is to have a few more expert interviews, and when I'm in Uganda, to have interviews with your headmasters, with some of your teachers, and with pupils and parents if possible because it's really the people that I'm interested in talking to. That's the framework.

Interviewee: Thank you very much for your interest. Let's hope through the end of the process, you think PEAS is as good as you do at the start. I'm very sure you will, but we'll wait and see.

I'm very happy to give broad brush stuff about the sector itself, as well as how PEAS works, and how we're trying to deliver school improvement and impact ourselves.

Interviewer: Just a quick question, first, if it's okay with you that I record it so that I can actually remember what we talked about.

Interviewee: Of course, yeah.

Interviewer: I have a set of questions that we can go through and hopefully they can touch on a lot of the things that you also want to say.

Interviewee: Sure. Sounds good.

Interviewer: The first thing is if you could reflect a little on what PEAS is; and broader speaking, low fee private schools, and what your rate on data is in the whole education landscape?

Interviewee: Before PEAS, I was in Uganda in 2002, and I met a guy who was a finance director at a low fee primary school. A lot of the kids where finishing that school and didn't have access to secondary school in the local area.

Only one in four kids is enrolled at secondary level in Uganda and there's this massive wave of kids coming through on the back of universal primary education. Before I knew much about the sector, but I knew I was interested in education.

I visited the primary school and felt like I needed to do something, in respect of individual children who I met, and decided to try and bring together that emotional drive to make a difference with the research or what I was learning about the pros and cons of aid within development economics, which I was studying at the time as a part of a degree in politics and economics.

I was aware of the failures of some aid approaches and I wanted to try and bring together income-generating principles with the impact side of things so that you could aid as a catalyst to have growing impact, rather than as a substitute for domestic expenditure or private expenditure on the ground.

It's about using aid really to trigger growth and increase productive where sometimes there's a risk of reducing productivity through the dependency issues.

This guy that I met, who is a finance director, and I hatched a plan to build a new low fee private secondary school, that was going to be not-for-profit, with the aim of sustainably increasing access to secondary education.

I went back to fund raise the capital for the school in the UK after having spent about a month with him creating a business plan. The idea was that the school itself would be funded entirely sustainably from local revenues and industry – entirely fee funded.

I then did a couple of years teaching in the UK. The school grew to 500 kids by about 2005, and that was sufficient proof of concept that this model was one that could be really impactful and scalable for me to then just dive in and set PEAS up as an organization and start to fund raise how to grow.

I set it up as an NGO or charity very specifically because I wanted to be in a position where there was never any conflict between the incentives to generate the profits and getting the balance right across access, sustainability, and quality.

I'm sure, in this interview, I'm going to bore you with how important the balance of access, sustainability, and quality is and that's key to the conceptual framework in terms of the way that we've developed our impact methodology. That's the history of PEAS up to the point where we had sustainable schools that were funded locally but were built with philanthropic capital.

In 2011, we joined Uganda's public private partnership, which allowed us to get a certain amount of money per student/per term to help reduce the long-term costs that students had to cover. That helped us improve access, quality, and sustainability at the same time.

That amount hasn't risen since that time and so it's becoming increasingly small. So we're back to having to charge fees, arising with inflation each year, alongside the other schools in that program.

In principle, what PEAS is trying to do is to get education which is free at the point of use through public private partnership rather than just being a part of the low cost private school side of things.

We believe that the only way to get true equity and access is by getting fees down to zero, even if that means you lose the hook of kids really having a lot of ownership if they have to pay for their fees. I think it's so important for access that our ambition is to get fees down to zero.

Very excitingly, last year, in Zambia, the government there agreed a bilateral deal with us where they're going to give us 90% of the cost of educating a child in a government school for every child we educate.

When you combine it with boarding fees for 2,700 kids in our schools there that will be boarding, that's enough to cover the cost of the school network and the cost of the support and supervision that we'll provide at country level.

We just need to raise the capital and the whole thing will then break even at about 10 schools, so we'll be at a point where we'll have free day-school fees and very high-quality education. It will be the first free schools in Zambia at a secondary level. That's a real game changer.

We're just launching the first school under that approach as we speak. Its been up and running for a week and the government should be paying their first installment under the public/private partnership soon.

Our aim is that we then model with them a PPP funding arrangement that could expand to other providers if it works with us that we will grow up to 30 schools and 30,000 kids over the next 5 to 7 years – there's partly funding depending in terms of the capital. That's where the model has emerged from and is going to.

PEAS, on the back of that, maybe the next 15 years, will be about using our approach in series, [10:32], for example, our networks in different

countries including, potentially Ghana which is creating a PPP at the moment.

We want to use those model networks to then have impact at the system model by helping governments create PPPs and bringing other partners by providing technical assistance to other partners to run great networks of schools as well.

We very much see our role as kind of supporting the ecosystem of education rather than just running school networks. That's partly because we're a not-for-profit and what we're looking at is to try and fix the problem and the problem is getting every child through to complete great secondary education.

That gives you a broader understanding of where our current work fits into a longer term plan.

Interviewer: Yeah. And also causes a lot of questions. It's really an interesting model, and it's impressive to see how you're able to scale it so efficiently and swiftly when opportunities offer themselves.

The ambition is to bring the fees down to zero and you seem to achieve this now with the public private partnership in Zambia. If you could tell a little bit about if you have any strategy in place, or if you work towards a goal whereby the public sector would also be able to deliver education independently, or if the objective is to support more of the public private sector than just the public sector, and how your relationship with the public authorities in Uganda is like?

When you have this public private partnership, is there a continuous development or dialogue between you? What is the relationship like?

Interviewee: Lots of good questions there. First of all the very important one is how does this theory of change affect quality within government schools and the government's provision and ability to run its own schools better. I think that's really important.

I talked about how we were expecting to provide technical assistance to non-state schools under a PPP should the government decide to scale it. But I'd also expect that big parts of the way we support our schools like the effective inspection of schools, particularly formative inspection; audit of schools; instruction on leadership, which is making sure that the head teachers and senior teachers in the schools are actually focused on learning rather than anything else.

And that means getting into the classrooms, team teaching, observing younger teachers and providing feedback, and getting the teacher professional happening within the school rather than just sending people off to workshops and things like that. Those big areas of helping schools, some of them are cookie cutter. You could take them out and they could have reasonably good impact in government schools as well.

In Uganda, for example, we inspect all our schools under our own inspection process. We now have government inspectors coming to inspect our schools along side our inspectors with the aim that they can then go and inspect government schools under a more sophisticated kind of inspection schema. We're trying to have that cross subsidizing happening already in Uganda.

The aim is certainly that if the government gets to the point where its contracting effectively and regulating a PPP set of schools, then it should introduce symmetrical accountability structures to its own schools, which I think is a really healthy process. So you create an inspection in an outcomes matrix system within the PPP contract.

By the way, I can show you the contract paper work for our PPP in Zambia, which will give you an idea of everything we thought through and helped the government think through in terms of how to incentivize us to be delivering effectively for the money they're giving us.

We were in a slightly weird position where we were both getting the contract for PEAS but also wanting to make sure the contract was designed in a way which was really fit for the purpose for a scaled program.

As a not-for-profit, we felt confident we could sit on both sides of that fence. But obviously, in an ideal world, you'll have a third party advisor to help the government get that right. You'll see from the paper work that it's a robust contract.

That comes to your second question round how they do the contract thing. Just to go into a bit of principle level stuff and philosophical level stuff. Personally, I'm anti for-profit private schools in public private partnerships.

I think the government should only really contract not-for-profit third party operators, or should invest the same money in improving the government system. That's because I think, there are so many ways that you can gain educational out comes. That there are just too many times in which the strategy which you might adopt to maximize profit is not the strategy which is the best thing for society or even the kids in your school because it's so easy to just kick out difficult kids, or selecting brighter kids, or do things which give the perception of high quality but not the reality of high quality.

Some of those incentives also help not-for-profits. Don't get me wrong. It's an uncertain and complex thing running a school, but ultimately, our governance structure points towards maximizing impacts. But that's a personal thing.

PEAS itself are developing something called a socially responsible operator description and the aim of that is…

[interruption]

Interviewee: PEAS institutional perspective on all this is that what matters is that the operators are socially responsible, and that it is possible to think of examples of governance structures of for-profits which can kind of mitigate some of those risks, so we're being a bit less black and white about it as an organization than I might personally be.

That just gives you an idea that we find it quite frustrating that everyone talks about the low-cost private schools sector as this homogenous block where actually it's very varied. On one wing, you've got the libertarian end, which is James Tuli and others, who're promoting the marketization of education.

We are very much on the other wing which is that, there are potential benefits of third party operation and government commissioning, but the third party should generally be not-for-profits because that's a helpful proxy for them being aligned with the government's mission if you like.

We are the other wing. Obviously, there are people who are further on the other wing to us, which are the statists who think that any PPP is doomed to failure.

I'm probably jumping on to future questions. In relation to the for-profit private sector, I don't think for-profit private schools should be shut down today. I just hope that within 20 years they will be unnecessary, and they'll be out competed by the government sector. And the government can regulate them out of existence once the government is in a position to be providing sufficient quality enrollments for that sector to become increasingly irrelevant and narrowed down to maybe an elite of schools which exist in most rich countries.

That gives you an idea about where I'm coming from in the way of the debate.

Interviewer: It's good to know. I think it also tells a bit about where you see PEAS moving. Even though you leave a room PPP, you should also talk up against the fact that the public sector should be empowered itself to take on responsibility for education, and not only leave it with PPPs, but also have a rather strong public sector that drives education but with a room for PPPs to exist.

Interviewee: I think that's right. I think PPPs can potentially just keep everyone on their toes, so you've got a bit of innovation, a bit of third-party operation, and the government should be in a position that can still run its own schools directly.

In the UK, we're in a process of making every single school a third-party operated academy at the moment. I'm not sure I'm a big believer in that to be honest. I think PPPs work best where they are very specifically targeted at a particular issue. So it might be access amongst kids of a

particularly group to reach or something like that and you bring in particularly specialized partners in order to do that.

But just outsourcing the whole thing, you get to a point where the supply of effective operators falls below the demand for those operators, so you have reduced control without the benefits of third party operation, and then you're in the worst of all worlds.

I'm a big believer that the state should continue to retain its ability to run its own schools, but there are potential benefits of small targeted PPPs within that. That's kind of my ideal vision and it's not very black or white; it's a balance of different things.

I'm a pragmatist, ultimately, and I think you need to avoid ideology in these debates. Anyway, I'm blubbering on. Ask me the questions.

Interviewer: If we can move a bit into the business model you have and how it works and so on. You mentioned that the subsidies that you get under the use program have been hollowed out.

What is the level of fees that households are paying at the moment? Perhaps if you could then start to talk a bit about who are the population groups that PEAS aims to reach and how you do so?

Interviewee: The first thing that's very important is for you to get a hold of our mid-line and soon to be published end-line evaluation from EPRC who produce very good data about the proportion of our kids from different wealth quantiles within Uganda.

The mid-line data is that 64% of our kids come from the bottom two wealth quantiles, as opposed to 39% in Government schools, and 20 or less percent in the for-profit private schools.

We are really focused on getting to the poorest kids. There are a few reasons why we have those numbers. The first is that we build schools generally in areas that don't have other schools and that are very poor rural areas.

The second is that we charge the lowest fees we can to sustain schools efficiently.

Interviewer: What level is that currently at?

Interviewee: Government schools in Uganda do also charge fees and so that's why we have this apparent outcome – our performance against government schools in terms of the kids that come into our schools.

Another big reason is that we take on students that the government doesn't even take on – that have achieved worst primary leaver exam results that would allow then to get places in the government secondary

schools. 15% of our students get worst grades because we deliberately want to widen access to the poorest kids that would otherwise miss out.

Interviewer: Those are students with test scores, leaving primary, below 28 the average score.

Interviewee: That's exactly right. You're pretty up on this stuff. That's impressive detail. How have you got that level of detail? Have you researching Uganda, or is this from reading PEAS stuff?

Interviewer: Reading PEAS stuff. I went through the Crawford study on management.

Interviewee: He's a nice guy. I can connect you with him if you'd be interested in speaking to him at some point. There's that in terms of the background of the students. We measure our self principally by looking at the value rather than the absolute results of our students. Which allows us to do what other people might regard as shot ourselves in the foot with trying to go for the hardest kids, because we're ultimately focused on widening access in really substantive ways at the same time as improving quality.

This balancing is really critical, and I think only really possible if you're not-for profit is this access, quality, and sustainability. You need to be making each strategic decision on the basis of what's the net effect across those three things.

If you increase sustainability, ultimately, you're going to have to charge more or reduce costs in some way and that's going to have a negative impact on access or quality.

If you want to improve quality, you're going to have to reduce sustainability or access. So they compete against each other unless you get a great PPP, at which point, all three jump up at the same time because you're not needing to cover costs from the pupil.

Its core to the business model is this constant sense of how to do that. In a way, we're like a commercial organization but with a negative margin.

Interviewer: How do you achieve this low cost of operating? You have the income-generating activities, is that able to…?

Interviewee: That's not actually a very significant part of our income; it's virtually nothing. We cross subsidize from boarders so that we can keep the day-school fees low, and the day-school fees are about 100, 000 Ugandan shillings per student, per term, which in dollars is just under $30 at the moment.

That's the day-school fees and that includes lunch every day. Lunch costs about 45,000 at the moment, so it's pretty insignificant actual tuition fees. Although, when I say insignificant, I need to be careful with that.

It is very low but it's still significant for students in the areas we work, obviously, which is why we're constantly trying to get them to zero. What else?

Interviewer: If you say the income-generating activities don't help much, is it then because you're able to decrease staff costs so you're able to sort more effectively or you built in different ways? What are some of the key words to how you're able to drive down the price?

Interviewee: We audit all the schools and we have stronger financial control than the majority of other schools. That means that we're just more efficient because there's less money going missing, which is significant loss in other schools.

We pay teachers a bit less than in government schools and a bit more than the wider private schools. We pay teachers about two-thirds of the government unionized teacher's salary so that's a significant saving against the government schools.

I think generally, we do the boarding thing better and more efficiently. We do subsidize a little bit, where schools are yet to bet even, so some of it comes from subsidy but reasonably a small amount. About 5% across the network as a whole is subsidized.

Interviewer: That subsidy is from aid agencies and charities.

Interviewee: Yeah, philanthropic subsidy.

Interviewer: Actually, it seemed to me it was the income-generating activities. What's the role of the income generating activities?

Interviewee: They are there because it helps students learn skills that they can use as practical skills to generate income themselves later on. That's probably the main reason they exist now.

We wanted to try and make them be a significant part of the turn over for schools but as soon as you do that, you're distracting from actual driving towards education quality as well.

We found that it became a bit of a distraction and that it's very hard to make them significantly profitable. Because if you've got a brilliant businessman at your school making a school income-generation profitable, then why don't they just go and run that for themselves somewhere else.

You require someone who's exceptionally benevolent. In rural Uganda, there aren't people that are going to be doing that given a potential for them to make more money themselves and break out of poverty.

It's just unrealistic to have school income-generating activities really generating a lot of money effectively, at the time, and it's a distraction as

I was saying. That type of a business I wouldn't say is a significant one anymore. We tried it and it didn't work brilliantly.

The major revenue streams to pay fee is boarding fees and government subsidy.

Interviewer: I think it makes a good bridge into the discussion of quality just before we head into that discussion. Also, if it's okay, we've been talking for half an hour now, if you have more time.

Interviewee: I'm likely to move out of this office in about another 15 minutes or so.

Interviewer: Perfect. I think that should be enough, so just one last question around the business model. You have these relatively low fees and you're very good at reaching the poorest of the poor.

Do you have any schemes in place for them to pay it off? Do they pay it in cash and they take it from their own household? Do you offer any schemes where they can pay it off from work or from loans?

Is there anything there that I should be aware of when I visit the schools?

Interviewee: To some extent, it varies school by school, but what is nearly universal is that schools will allow people to pay in installments. To create a creditable threat and ensure that the fees can remain low, we do need people to pay fees and so, we do need have to go through a process of sometimes of not allowing kids to come in until they've cleared fees in a given time. And that's just one of those incredibly difficult hard-headed decisions that allows the whole thing to be sustainable and for you to make a bigger difference in the long run.

Where students have joined the school and then they have a change of family circumstance, sometimes individual schools will help them remain in the schools through reduction of fees or bursaries. We don't tend to create bursaries from scratch. But there are some differential fees to help kids be able to remain in the school, if they've lost a parent half way through, so that we can increase retention.

Broadly, the model is, let's say it's 100,000 day-school fees, you normally need to clear some of those at the beginning of the term and then clear the whole thing within two or three installments. Otherwise, you wouldn't be able to return for a new term if you had a back log of fees from previous periods.

Interviewer: As you said, of course, you need money to run and there needs to be a credible threat. Some of the other low fee private schools have incredibly advanced payment schemes.

We talked about income-generating activities and how the purpose they serve now is more to provide pupils with skills.

Interviewee: One other thing on payment. We are in a process -- and its yet to be evaluated, the extent to which it is impactful -- of introducing mobile money payments for fees. Which we think is going to make a difference because at the moment parents have to pay all the transport costs of going into town and getting cash or making payments into a school's bank accounts and things like that.

It's going to both reduce the risk of cash going missing at the school because it will reduce the extent where we have cash moving around, and at the same time will reduce the costs of parents to actually get the school the fees as well.

That's something that we're piloting and rolling out across the network at the moment.

Interviewer: If we dive into quality, if you could just start out reflecting a bit on how you understand the notion of education quality and what that encompasses for you?

Interviewee: Again, we have to share paper work because this is a big question. I will spend a lot of time thinking about. We want students to be in a position to define and lead a fulfilling and socially responsible life on leaving a PEAS school.

To the extent that we're able to do that, the big things are making sure the students are literate and they have the best exam result from the Uganda Certificate of Education.

That they are given the best chance of getting formal sector jobs, but if they don't get formal sector jobs, having skill that are going to allow them to be more productive in whatever they do end up doing, which is generally farming or local work in the informal sector and just improving the productivity of their parents' farms, for example.

Quality in a broader sense is a foundation of the best possible academic learning they can provide and sitting on top of the cycle social development life skills. We've developed a specific curriculum around life skills which brings together concentration on literacy and non academic practical skills which range from health stuff to enterprise stuff so that students have those opportunities.

Where possible, individual schools create clubs, sports clubs, dance and drama clubs, and all different sorts of things that you might hope that a school would provide so that student s are in a position to develop beyond the academic curriculum.

Every school has a real focus on making sure that girls have as many opportunities as boy to develop and to succeed. We've got a slightly higher proportion of girl than boys in the network.

We have girls' clubs in each of the schools as well to help empower girls and provide them with a safe space to be working through the challenges they face, particularly.

They are different from boys', and help to make sure they are retained in the schools by combating the various things that are specific to girls, which are things like early marriage, pregnancy, and things like that, and trying to reduce the extent to which that stops kids completing school.

We have a policy at PEAS schools that's quite unique or which is certainly rare in Uganda, which is to, when a girl has a child while still in school, to encourage her back into the school and support her to complete her education, for example.

Interviewer: You mentioned that you developed a set of life skills curriculum. How curriculum is generally decided and developed? Did you develop your own curriculum? How does this work?

Interviewee: We don't rock the boat with curriculum that much, so wherever we adjust curriculum it's just through supplementary curriculum rather than substituting the government main stream curriculum for the main stream exams because we want our kids to be able to take recognizable qualification. Everything is directed towards the government's Uganda Certificate of Education and Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education so they are learning the standard subjects they might learn in other schools.

We don't try and have too many different subjects so we reduce down to 10 or 11 subjects for each child so that they are able to focus and do well in fewer subjects. Yeah, most of the subjects are just taught under the normal Uganda Certificate of Education and Uganda UNEP curriculum.

Where possible, we're looking for opportunities to advice UNEP as they develop new curriculum or partners that they have commissioned to develop new curriculum as well. We want to do things better rather than radically different in that particular area.

Interviewer: How would you say you do things better in the teaching than the public private schools?

Interviewee: It's about focus within the school on learning and making sure that the head teacher of the school has systems in place that are basically pointing towards improved learning.

Providing high-quality leadership training every year, and then teacher training that's focused on basically effective pedagogy. It's all sorts of things but might include, for example, understanding where all your students in the class are at and not just focusing on the five brightest kids that put their hand up.

Really focusing and making sure that you're teaching to the majority of kids at the right level. It might be about the way in which you help kids practice the concepts and not just learning things by rule, but introducing concepts in ways that actually lock them into the long-term memory.

It's a huge number of different pedagogy things that are both transferring from the UK expertise of 'teach first' type of trainers and bringing in Ugandan expertise educators to work alongside the schools as well.

Interviewer: You organize these from the country office in Uganda and you go and teach teachers in each of the schools.

Interviewee: Yeah, we do direct teacher training from the center, but the big route to change is by making sure that the leaders in each school are in a position to train their own staff.

I use the phrase 'uniform approach to teaching'. It's not completely uniform approach to teaching. But the themes are well understood by the head teachers in each school and they then work within their school to provide particular lesson observations where they might ask a teacher to try a particular technique out, feedback on that, and then visit them again the next lesson to see how they are making improvements.

One of the ways that I talk about the kind of way we improve the schools is doing the boring things better. It's about setting up the foundational things that allow the school to become great, and then hiring the best people we can and providing the support to help improve year-on-year.

But we don't try and get involved too much at doing big expensive teacher training across the network as a whole, just because that only really works and is efficient once you've got the basics right in terms of management structures, teacher appraisal, removal of people who really can't improve, HR systems, financial control systems. All these things which have to sit there for any of the work at the classroom level to be effective.

[42:46] but the issue within school improvement is that people dive in at the level of the teacher recognizing that it's all about getting teachers teaching well. They dive into classrooms and work directly to help teachers improve through teacher training, when the underlying issue is that the way teachers are being managed doesn't allow them, even with training, to be able to be effective over the long-term.

Interviewer: The head masters are all merited teachers that have experience, have shown to be credible and successful teachers.

Interviewee: Yeah, and they are held to account for the performance of the teachers in their schools, and they are trained to be delivering teacher training themselves within that school and be observing teachers and improving teaching quality direct.

Interviewer: Fantastic. Just to try and round off, I think that the last question might be quite big. One of the major criticism that the low fee private sector has been faced with and also coming in and going into the PPPs -- and you've touched a bit on it yourself -- is this whole thing that what is stored is really only what is measured or what can be measured because that's how you're incentivized.

How do you think PEAS responds to that or do you respond to it? Just reflect a bit on that. I think that would be my last question. Of course, if you have anything else you think you want to add, you're more than welcome to do so.

Interviewee: I think it's certainly an important issue. I don't think it's necessarily unique to low fee private schools. Sometimes profit can push hard on just working towards the accountability that is being shared rather than the wider goals.

Let's look at Uganda as an example. The problem in Uganda is not just that there's a narrow focus on academic outcomes, but there's a narrow focus on academic outcomes for an incredibly small group of kids and a way of communicating those outcomes which doesn't actually incentivize schools to improve the education they're providing but incentivizes them to gain the system.

One of the big things we've sort of supported and work on over the last few years is work by an organization which is a partner of our school which could introduce a value added system where they've assessed schools on the extent to which they've helped students to improve from primary leaver's exam to Uganda certificate of Education rather than their absolute results at the end of their secondary school. Looking at their prior learning and how much they've learned during the interim. And that just completely transforms the accountability of schools. You're starting to really help focus on the right thing which is what's the kind of learning curve rather than how good are you or kind of kicking out kids that aren't going to do well and whatever else.

That has really improved the sophistication of how Uganda is starting to assess the schools which is great. I think with any accountability system, even in the state schools, you need to recognize that accountability is helpful and the more light you can shine on what's happening the better.

But ultimately, you do also need to be thinking about how are schools set up and governed to be thinking about the bigger picture for their students and their future lives, so that they can as professionals and professional leaders get the balance right between the stuff which is measurable and they are most publicly accountable for and also just having the greatest impact they can on each individual student's life.

I think it's more to do with the accountability system and public knowledge around the different benefits of education than it is about the particular governance structure of the school.

Having said that, as I told you earlier on, I do get concerned sometimes that whatever the accountability system, there are some groups of schools where they find it difficult to actually be pointing in the direction of students or wider society.

Interviewer: Fantastic. I think that was everything that I wanted to ask you -- lots of good insights and definitely something to build from. If you would share the documents you mentioned, that would be a big help.

Interviewee: If you could email me through my email or whatever, I promise that I can potentially connect you with authors of previous reviews as well. They may or may not be able to give you a bit of time as well.

I know you want to do new work so it would be good to make sure that's additional to what's already been done. The person who just did the review of the EPRC evaluation I'm sure will be happy to link up with you at some point.

Interviewer: I've read the EPRC review, the Crawford…

Interviewee: We've got an end line coming out soon, which is kind of two years after that mid-line, what's happened since.

Interviewer: Of course, once I finish, I'll also get back to you and you can see the result if it's of interest to you.

Interviewee: Yeah, absolutely, it will be. I'm sure. So you're going to let us know when you want to do visits as well.

Interviewer: Yeah. I've been in contact with Henry already. I sent him the dates that I'll be there and I think it's settled. I'm settled on that I want to visit the school in Kisingu and the school is in north of Fort Portal and north of [Namaa 49:26]

Interviewee: Which ones?

Interviewer: The ones north of Namaa, the Samling School.

Interviewee: North Portal is Green Shoots.

Interviewer: Yeah, sorry. The one is Kisingu which I think is Samling.

Interviewee: Yeah, okay. That's a pretty area of the country.

Interviewer: I actually selected it on some household surveys, on demographic surveys that…

Interviewee: What you should do is just get a network wide data on their performance relative to network and it will give you an idea of where they sit in the range of PEAS schools as well.

Interviewer: If you're able to share that, that would also be a big help.

Interviewee: Yeah, I'm sure we can share the value update. It should be coming out quite soon -- the latest stuff -- so you get this year's from December Exams.

Interviewer: Fantastic. I had a look around your website and your annual report and so on seems to be a few years old.

Interviewee: Yeah. I'll connect you with Rachael who's our head of MME and she'll be able to pull together papers like that.

Interviewer: Thanks a lot. That's everything. Thank you very much for taking the time to talk to me.

Interviewee: My pleasure. I look forward to seeing the results.

Interviewer: Have a nice day.

Interviewee: Thank you! And you.

Interviewer: Bye.

Interviewee: It was good to speak to you. Bye.

Appendix 12: PEAS Country Director

Interviewer: I come from Copenhagen. I study at Copenhagen Business School. I study international business and politics so really the mix between the two not either/or, but when they meet, how they complement; and how they work against each other.

In that sense, private education is very interesting because, of course, it's policy but it's also a business engagement where it works and where it doesn't work and so on. As I mentioned, what I'm particularly interested in is what are the limits and opportunities of low fee private schools in SDG4 and I'm using PEAS as a best case study.

In relatively good context, with well management, and great organization, what is the impact that low fee private schools makes. If you could start out briefly introducing yourself, and then we can go on with some of the questions.

Interviewee: That's great. Henry is my name. I'll give you a card just to make that name right. I've been in PEAS for eight months. I joined PEAS last year of June in summer. I come from a [01:38] sort of development world in terms of my previous work. I have worked into a number of development interventions across health, education.

Anything social economic, I've been into it. I'm now the Country director for PEAS Uganda. I don't know if that's enough introductions.

Interviewer: It is. My first question is just how you would describe quality education. What are the holistic?

Interviewee: My definition won't be different from what others have defined it and have looked at it from the reality of it. It's an education that empowers the students, the individual to have a meaningful life in future and become a relevant society.

It has to be an impactful education that does not only focus on passing and getting an academic certificate, but rather an education that empowers the individual to be relevant in society and be useful.

Interviewer: If you break down empowerment and being relevant to society, what are some of the skills competencies that students need to acquire to do so?

Interviewee: Let's say that you have this curriculum that you'd use to take students through in terms of teaching and learning -- this curriculum either is national curriculum or international curriculum -- I think quality education goes beyond the curriculum like what are the elements of education that we want to give in order to build up these individuals to become relevant.

Are there life skills trainings that we want to add to that curriculum? Are there elements of vocational trainings in that curriculum that would help this person become relevant? Are we changing the education curriculum to meet the current demands and needs in society because the curriculum can be very irrelevant as well.

It can be obsolete so you need to review the curriculum to be able to meet the needs of the market and to respond to the needs of the market. For me, that is the empowerment. When an individual comes out after acquiring the skills, and these skills are skills that are required in the market to be able to create an impact and also be employable or be able to employ himself, that's the empowerment.

Interviewer: Those are vocational skills or what skills? Can you give an example of how you respond to some of these demands?

Interviewee: In PEAS, we have life skills training which is a bit outside the normal curriculum. We've introduced life skills as part of the empowerment and building up the students' skills.

We have also introduced what they are calling the livelihoods training. We have a livelihood program which we are starting this year.

Interviewer: What do you train in those?

Interviewee: What the livelihood program focuses on is to build entrepreneurial skills amongst students right from understanding -- from theory to practice as well -- how to select a business, manage a biz brand for a business, and manage a business.

Interviewer: Those were the subjects. When I was visiting your schools, that was entrepreneurship and so on, right?

Interviewee: The entrepreneurship that you might have come across is the entrepreneurship subject that is part and parcel of the curriculum, but we have introduced something extra. We're calling it livelihood skills and that's an extra.

Interviewer: On top of the life skills and…

Interviewee: Life and livelihood, life skills learning, and entrepreneurship training.

Interviewer: You follow the national curriculum in Uganda but you add on.

Interviewee: Yes. We follow the national curriculum and add on a few things.

Interviewer: When you say life skills, what skills do you mean by life skills because that's also something you will not always agree on?

Interviewee: Some of the life skills are focused right around self-esteem. Because we deal with the youth so you we need to deal with their self-esteem and confidentiality. We also empower the students to be leaders in the school and in the community so we build their leadership skills, as well, as part of life skills.

Interviewer: Can you give you an example of how that is reflected in a teaching? What are some of technical tools or some of the things that you teach them to become leaders in their communities?

Interviewee: We do have a life skills training manual. This life skills training manual is the one that helps us to deliver the life skills training perfectly to students. The practical bit of it would actually involve things like holding debates or having students' clubs.

I think you saw there are some girls clubs. All those clubs are skill empowerment processes for the students. We do have a very clear training guide manual both for the teachers and the students that we use for life skills.

Interviewer: When we talk about the SDD4-7 on global citizenship, education, equality, human rights, sustainable living, those are the elements that are addressed through your livelihood program and your life skills, you would say.

Interviewee: Some of them.

Interviewer: Are some of them missing or are some of them addressed elsewhere?

Interviewee: It depends on the list. If you go through the list, I can tell you which one is there and which one is not there. I can't off the head remember the content of SDD4

Interviewer: That's about global citizenship, education, it's about equality, it's about human rights, and it's about sustainable living. That's one target where they are sort of clustered.

Interviewee: Some of those elements are there. In human rights, you're talking about child protection. We do have very serious child protection policies and we enforce them in schools – so no corporal punishment, no sexual abuse, and no abuse of children.

Sustainable living, there's a bit of that. We've talked about livelihood trainings. I think we do quite a lot of equality. PEAS is promoting equality in African

schools. We've focused a lot on equality -- ensuring there is a balance between the girls and the boys.

Actually, because in the African context, you may have less girls going to secondary schools so we do fortunately have more girls in school compared to boys. We have 51% enrolment of girls and 49% of boys in most of our schools.

Interviewer: That is really integrated in your name.

Interviewee: Yes, it's part and parcel of our name.

Interviewer: While we are at that, how would you say that PEAS differ from other low fee private schools?

Interviewee: First of all, our schools are located in hard to reach disadvantaged communities. We are not for profit. We don't look for profit. We focus on access so we locate our schools in remote and disadvantage communities that don't have access to secondary education. I know you saw it in some of those schools that you visited -- so really off the grid and sort of deep there.

The second thing that brings the difference is that our children enrollment policy focuses on passing. Whichever student has passed according to the examination board is admitted in our school. We don't have a cut-off point so we admit whoever has passed primary seven can enter in our school, which brings the difference.

The third element, we focus on our school fee structure. Our school fee structure is not based on profit; it is based on operation like what is basic for us to operate in school. Because we aim at access, we ensure we charge a fee that is just reasonable enough to operate the school rather than make a profit out of it and sometimes we do subsidize our schools to operate.

In average, we're charging 100,000 Ugandan Shillings, which is about $25, for a day student, which is largely very acceptable in a setting where a student has to come to school, fed the whole day.

That's the same money you're using for paying of teachers, buying of water, and other essentials like chalks, text books, and other things that are required for running a school. The fee structure really differentiates us from the other low fee schools.

The other point is that it's our mission and we focus on low-cost, low-cost integrations, low-cost approaches. In everything we do, we focus on low-cost. We try to make sure that the cost of educating a student in our school is far below than educating a student in a government school or other schools.

Interviewer: The 100,000 shillings that you charge in school fees, that's still only a fraction of the money you spend on a student, because you have the U scheme money and you also have, I guess, half of the money you get from the charitable donations and development agencies that also goes into the school.

Interviewee: Let me explain that. A lot of the donations that we get here are donations that go to infrastructure development rather than the day-to-day running of the school. We can get a donation for a building; we can get a donation for textbooks but that doesn't trickle into the day-to-day running of the school.

Interviewer: The 100, 000 in fees and what the…

Interviewee: The government would give.

Interviewer: …and that is for running, to pay the teachers, for food.

Interviewee: Exactly.

Interviewer: And to support systems for infrastructure.

Interviewee: Sure.

Interviewer: When we talk about the reason why you're able to deliver this process, in entirety, you try to do everything as cheap as possible or low-cost as possible. What are some of the reasons why you're able to deliver education at this lower cost than others?

Why is the low-cost mentality kicking in, where is it making the difference?

Interviewee: The basis for the low-cost is the mission around access. Development in Africa and development entities in Africa ideally have a challenge in terms of accessing social services to people. Some social services can be free while some social services can never be free, even when God made things there for free, they're never for free.

The issue for PEAS is that when you look at the statistics you find that probably 40% of the students who are eligible to join secondary education are actually in secondary education – 60% of the students aren't there. The question is where are they?

They are there but they cannot afford secondary education. Because they cannot afford [background noise]…and say, "If they cannot afford secondary education, how do we ensure that it is low-cost even for the disadvantaged to be able to afford to get that low-cost.

If we make it as expensive as other private entities then no one will every access education. So our mission and focus is really to make sure that we focus on the disadvantaged by making sure it is low-cost and it is based on the fact that statistics are showing that 60% of students who are eligible to be enrolled in secondary are not actually in secondary schools because of different reasons.

Interviewer: What are the areas where you're more efficient than others or where you have low-costs than others that allow you to charge low fees?

Interviewee: I think one of them is the salary structures for the teachers is one area where we do several low-costs. That's one area when we scheme the operation of the school.

Interviewer: When you say salary structures of the teachers is that…?

Interviewee: We pay slightly lower than the government in terms of pay for teachers so that's a big cut of the expenditure. The other area is in terms of the purchase and procurement of the day-to-day items that run the school. One will be direct purchases from suppliers.

Two, we have a very robust team that will help build a lot of transparency and accountability because we are surrounded with nepotism and it will spoil it in terms of corruption and other things.

That if you're going to buy a laptop at $300, it might cost you $500 elsewhere - the same laptop, so if you don't have very good control systems that ensure that you buy the laptop at $300 and not at $500, you'll end blowing up your budget.

Interviewer: How is that practically done? There's a school director…he or she has responsibility or do you also oversee the school director from here?

Interviewee: We have the country office team and then we have the region office teams. The region office teams have finance officers who regularly visit schools to check on the expenditure and revenue s of the schools and advice them on how to spend and how to do the revenue of the school.

Interviewer: When we talk about low-cost, what do you think the implications of the USaid terminating will be? Will the costs just be transferred to the student?

Interviewee: This is tentative, not final. We are just trying to think through the best options of how to manage that crisis. The withdrawal of the USaid grant automatically will have an impact on our model.

What we're trying to do is to minimize that impact so that we cannot pass on the entire financial gap loss to the students. Otherwise, they will not be enrolled again into the schools and it will also affect our principle of low-cost and targeting the disadvantaged.

What we're doing is we're going to do a progressive approach where we could pass on some amount over to the students and to the parents to contribute but in a more progressive manner.

Interviewer: So the richer parents will pay more than the poor.

Interviewee: No. Progressive in a way that it might take us like three years to pass-on that cost whist we find cushions and gap fillers in between the three years. The other option is also to review our expenditure as well.

Interviewer: Do you feel you can cut expenses?

Interviewee: Yeah. There might be some models that we need to test and see. We know our biggest cost drivers in the schools -- apart from salary; there is one which is food. We are thinking through some model where we can do extensive…We can grow food and cut costs.

Interviewer: The income-generating activities seem to not be so relevant at the schools anymore. John was also saying this when I talked to him, that you tried it but it's hard to really make a profit from the income-generating activities.

Interviewee: It is. It struggled because it was not well-thought out. The one which has been tried was bottom-bottom as opposed to bottom-up so the reaction did not pass the reception. It wasn't good.

What is coming up is livelihood program I've talked about. It's building into that by doing a bottom-up project where eventually it will end up into enterprises that can raise incomes for the school, eventually.

Interviewer: I think your website said that both PEAS schools in Kasingo and the one in Kigorobya had income-generating activities, but the reality was that they had some maize that they had used for food already.

Interviewee: Yeah, that's very true.

Interviewer: The last question around the business model is the Green Shoots School in Kigorobya that I visited; they said that they have never had a profit in that school – they've never broken even. How is that sustainable?

Do you think that you'll be able to continue to run that school with transfers from other schools? What are sort of the prospective of a school like Kigorobya that doesn't break even?

Interviewee: It's not only that. We have about 16 out of 28 schools this year that are not depositing a balanced budget. We are going to review their budgets in April and see if they can have a balanced budget.

The sustainability component is a bit tricky; you can look at it from a different angle. One of them is that the schools failed to raise enough school fees from the students and that definitely impacts on their revenue, if they can't raise enough school fees from the students, if there is no payment 100%.

If it is 60-70%, 75-80%, definitely, it doesn't add up because the budget remains the same – the expenses will remain the same. Two, we are trying to look into the frugal use of resources, the way the frugal is cost-effective, and efficient use of resources.

Trying to make sure that our schools are more accountable and use resources, basically, insuring that the child is at the forefront so all the expenditures are dictated by the needs of the children.

Frugal use of resources comes with training and support and at some point ensuring that there is compliance to policy. Rather than, say, buying unnecessary materials like tee-shirts or whatever, is that the best use of the money or the best use of that money is actually to support the child?

There's a bit of the frugal use of resource issue that we were also looking at in terms of ensuring the schools are sustainable and posting surplus annual budgets. The other element is increasing of enrolment.

There are constant cost-drivers like if you have 20 teachers, whether you have 30 students in the whole school, whether you have 100 students in the whole school, running S1 up to S4, you still need the 20 teachers to teach them. It means that the 100 students cannot cater for the cost of the 20.

We are talking about increasing our enrollment numbers in most of our schools. The assumption is that the enrolment numbers come with an increased budget – they come with an increased revenue as well.

Interviewer: That would mean placing more students in each class.

Interviewee: Exactly. There're schools were we have under enrolment.

Interviewer: Like in Green Shoots, I guess, the website said they were targeting 1,000 students and 600 at the moment.

Interviewee: If we had 1,000, chances of that school being sustainable are very high because you have more revenue coming.

Interviewer: What is your target number of students in a class?

Interviewee: In terms of standards, 70 to 60 students in class -- it's the compliance of the standards. There're currently 80, but compliance requires that we have 60.

Interviewer: In terms of the USaid being a public private partnership, I'm very interested in knowing. How would you describe the partnership between you and the government? How has it been or how would characterize it?

How would you characterize the partnership between PEAS and the government, under the USaid?

Interviewee: The partnership between PEAS and USaid Schools hasn't been very different from other schools, to be honest with you.

Interviewer: USaid is not a partner in all your schools?

Interviewee: No. 20 out of 28 schools were receiving the USaid grants.

Interviewer: What are the reasons why the last eight were not?

Interviewee: There are a number of reasons. One of them is that some schools are close to the urban centers and so they don't qualify to benefit. Some schools are close to other government USaid schools, they don't qualify.

Interviewer: So it's about the qualification and not…

Interviewee: Back to the point you were raising. Our relationship and partnership between PEAS and government and the PPP hasn't been very different from any other school. The only difference is that PEAS is a network of schools.

As a network of schools, we definitely got excited that 20 out of 28 schools are part of the USaid PPP arrangement. In terms of fund delivery and receipts of funds will go directly to the school, and the school will manage the resources, and account directly to the government.

Of course, we're going to check using our audit systems here, but the schools directly receive the money and directly account for the money to the government. Because we are a network, we were involved in the negotiations and discussions and ensuring that our schools are part and parcel of the USaid grant.

The only thing is that we've been working around a new partnership outside that sort of broader PEAS partnership PPP [32:06] where we told the government that that's the only sort of unique one apart from the other which was sort of broader and everybody would fit into that.

This one was different. It's a bilateral PPP between PEAS and the government of Uganda. The request for us was to say, "We can build as many secondary schools as possible for as long as the government can give us the money to operate those schools." In summary, that's it.

Interviewer: What capitation grant were you aiming at?

Interviewee: We were aiming at receiving 90% of the cost of educating a student a secondary school, which was coming to about 230 Uganda Shillings, because the government was giving us 47 under the other previous arrangement.

Interviewer: So under this arrangement you get 230 from the government and you'd collect some small school fees.

Interviewee: No. We would move to zero school fees.

Interviewer: And then the 10% of your costs would come from?

Interviewee: The 10% was going to be subsidized.

Interviewer: For books, equipments, etc.

Interviewee: That's what we've been asking the government. That's separate from the other broader PPP.

Interviewer: Then your donations could continue running the support staff also.

Interviewee: Ideally, what that would mean is that with that funding the schools will be able to pay for these petty costs – the cost of staff here who are there to do monitoring, to do what. They will be able to pay and we would continue, for us, to build more classrooms, build more infrastructures in the schools, and build more new schools.

Interviewer: What are the prospects of that partnership?

Interviewee: A big half has been affected by the whole phase out of PPP, but we have not given up. We are still pushing. We have to be pushing.

Interviewer: Directly, that answers my next question which was like, if you have any sort of envision for increasing the private delivery of access to free education. It seems you have a very clear vision about how to do that.

Interviewee: Yes, that's what we want to do. Give us that cost, zero school fees for students, free education. Give us the money we build schools, operate them. You give us the capitation grant per students up to 230,000 shillings per student and we move on.

Interviewer: Do you think there's a future for public education? If that's the road they choose, to go down with a partnership agreement with you, is there then any possibility for the government to actually deliver its own public education?

Interviewee: What do you mean?

Interviewer: If they choose to go down the road of the proposed partnership agreement you have.

Interviewee: With us?

Interviewer: Yeah, with you. That would also mean that the chances of the public education system ever rebounding and becoming…Because now it's like 60% of all schools are private and 40% are government. They will never be able to rebound when they've put all their eggs in the private basket so to speak.

Interviewee: I don't know. It's not possible for the private players to be the only education providers in this country. The government would still invest in constructing more schools and also continue running its own schools that have been established for many years.

The point is that our bilateral PPP arrangement was going to be pilot for the government. A pilot in a way that it would later be scaled up for other players who are willing to…

We would demonstrate to the government that, yes, it's possible by doing that. Then after a year, or two years, or three years -- depending on the agreement we put -- they will then scale it up to other players who are willing to do that kind of partnership.

The other point was that we were wishing them to move out of the arrangement where you contract everybody. They set a contract missionary partners who focus on quality education delivery and they have accountability systems in place, but also they have a network of schools – more than just one school.

Interviewer: What do you think that other private providers would to learn from you? What is something that is easy and very capable from PEAS model that other private providers could replicate?

Interviewee: There's a lot. One of them is the focus on accountability and responsibility as a player – to be what we call a socially responsible public private player education provider. You have to be socially responsible in that, you're a providing a public good and this public good has got to have standards.

The standards have to be met. There has to be salaries defined and these ones have got to be met. You have to have a focus – it's not about profits; it's not about the money. It's all about the quality of the education you are providing to the student and that's very critical.

Interviewer: About the standards, you obviously have a lot of standard, but you also emphasis that teachers need to make their own lesson plan.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: How tight are the standards in terms of what needs to be taught and how it needs to be taught vis-à-vis how much can the teacher decide on the lesson plan themselves?

Interviewee: I'll come back to that question because we have not finished. What I know is that when teachers are writing their lesson plans they definitely follow the national curriculum and the other training guides that they have. And these go through an approval process through head of studies and the subject heads to approve that this is what you need to teach and also do duration plans [40:10] across the whole term and these are prepared at the begin of a term.

Basically, it is a requirement for every PEAS teacher to do that. I hope that's what you found out. A number of teachers that we've recruited would say, "No. we have been elsewhere and we've not been making lesson plans." We say, "Yes. But in PEAS we need lesson plans" because you are checked against the lesson plan in terms of your performance.

The point is that they don't dodge teaching because they know that on such and such a day I'm supposed to deliver this lesson. And so it affects you if you don't deliver that lesson and there is an observation as well going on in the school.

At that point when you do, one, enforce the need for lesson plans to be prepared, that's the first thing, and then use the heads of studies to check on the quality of the plan. Thirdly, they do approval of the lesson plans and making sure the lesson plans comply with the national curriculum and other training guides that have been provided.

With that, you meet the standards at that level. When we come back to the other question. The other point I would say is that we do have a very robust inspection system with tools and human resource that go to a school every year to conduct a comprehensive inspection, and give reports, and support to the teachers to improve their teaching [42:09] they are teaching students. That's very unique from other players.

We do have an audit system, audit department that does a lot of audit of our schools, look at the finances, and basically give a report on what they found out and act on those reports.

We do have an M&E system.

Interviewer: What is M&E?

Interviewee: Monitoring and Evaluation. The Monitoring and Evaluation Department does data collection, write reports, and also manage what we can the school tool. The school tool is an EMIS, Educational Management Information System, where you post all the data from the school from teacher attendance, to student attendance, and other. That is robust for PEAS.

In addition to that, we do have things like Joint Mock across the network that basically access the students. We access the students and then know how they are performing and support them.

We build capacity; we [43:34] them CPDs, Continuous Professional Development for teachers, where we continuously and continuously train teachers to improve on their teaching and learning, good in introducing new approaches to support the learner, and sometimes focus on specific subjects like Math, biology, and science subjects…

[crosstalk]

Interviewee: …which teachers struggle to deliver. The other thing is that we have a program that build up leadership skills. There's a program called school leadership development program which targets leaders in every school to build them as responsible credible leaders, running them through team work, leadership, creating visions for the school, engaging in the communities, improving child protection in the schools, and quite a number of things that come into that. That is critical.

All these things are unique for PEAS. I'm just mentioning a few of them. There's quite a lot.

Interviewer: The most important ones.

Interviewee: Yeah, the most important ones. We are now focusing on what we call value add. The effect is called value add or school effectiveness measure, which is about measuring the progress we make with students in terms of learning rather than just passing.

Interviewer: What would you expect from the user?

Interviewee: What exactly comes up. That's also unique for PEAS. The government is starting to think about it but for us, we're already doing it. There's a lot of that.

Interviewer: As I understood it the money to renovate schools also come from central…

Interviewee: Some of it. For major renovations.

Interviewer: You have some schools that I guess are 10 years old and you would you start to see some major renovation work to come up. What are the prospects of that? Will you be able to cover that through UK and external grants? Will that place an extra stress on you? Is that something you accounted for? What are the implications?

Interviewee: There are two components of renovation for school maintenance. We classify renovation into two. There is what a school can afford and what the head office. If it is a minor renovation, minor maintenance, the school can afford from its supplement budget.

Everywhere, we encourage schools to allocate some money on that line of school maintenance and then they use that money to maintain it – add a coat of paint, or do something, or do some repair on the floor.

We do have the major. The major maintenance costs largely come from the national office. The donors who have been funding our work are not yet [deleted] from us. They are still part of us, and they have a special attachment to those schools. So they will keep wanting to come and see, "OK, Do you need an extra classroom block?" "Yes." "Do you need renovation here?" "Yes." "Do you need that?" "Yes." And they do start to make that contribution.

Interviewer: That's good to see. Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had. I don't know if you want to add something or comment.

Interviewee: There's nothing much I'll add. Just to say welcome, and thank you for making the time to come over. It was good hosting you. Hopefully the information will be helpful to complete your thesis and be able to present it for your Master's and graduate at some point.

When are you graduating?

Interviewer: June.

Interviewee: June this year?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Great. That's so good.

Appendix 13: Samling Head Teacher

Interviewer: I'll just introduce what it is I'm doing. I'm Viktor, as you know. I do research on low fee private schools and what they do well and what they do less well, and what that means for their ability to achieve the global education goals that countries have agreed to.

I'm independent from PEAS. PEAS is used as best case study of what a business model or what a school model in a country with relatively well regulatory frame work can achieve.

I'm particularly interested in the quality of education and the business model - what that means to the quality. I wanted to ask if you could just briefly introduce yourself, also the school, how many boarding students and day students, and the fee level.

You are part of the USE Program, is that right?

Interviewee: Partly. Thank you so much, Viktor. My names are Tohamil Robert. I am the head teacher and this is my fifth year in the school. Our school is a stable school, I can say. Since I came, we have been financially stable as much of the low fee which we collect, so we have been using it minimally to ensure that we sustain ourselves.

We're also getting partnership with the government under USE. If you're new in Uganda, you don't know that beginning from this year partnership has been phased off. We currently have it in senior two, senior three, senior four.

The current senior ones intake is not going to have any benefit from the government as far as that contribution is concerned. It may have an impact on our income, because an enrollment of like 200 senior ones, times the number of the amount the government has been giving us, it should be a reduction in the income of the school.

But our sponsors PEAS, [name], is stationed in Kampala, are working around to see how they can fill up the gap and rhythm.

Interviewer: They are phasing out USE also for senior one to four?

Interviewee: It is going to go out gradually. The current senior one intake is not going to benefit anything, so it is going to keep in two, three, and four. Next year it will be in three and four; and the other year, in two until three; the other three years ahead will come over and it will be finished.

The enrollment so far is quite big as much as it is not reaching the expected number. We are now 624 as they took this morning. Out of the 624, about 324 are not here. I don't have a certain number.

The boarding is 192. 624, I deduct 300…

Interviewer: I also just need the approximate ratio.

Interviewee: 432 is day and 192 is boarding. The day's fee structure is tomorrow. 125 is the fees for a day student. On that Monday, students get lunch. A big number is in day section. Meaning that 290,000 which is charged for a boarding student is quite some good money, but the parents might not manage, so that's why most of them are preferring the day section. You can see a big number is in day section.

Interviewer: What is the combined fee level? One thing is the school fees, but how much do parents usually incur on top of the school fees for other costs, for the day students?

Interviewee: For non-USE?

Interviewer: Also for USE. Do they incur costs?

Interviewee: I told you 125,000 is for USE day. Those who are in the bracket of 28 hundreds and below, that is what we call the USE team.

Interviewer: They also incur costs to books, uniform, and so on, or what?

Interviewee: That is basically fees.

Interviewer: Then I wanted to move to questions about quality. I wanted to ask if you could describe to me how you understand quality education.

Interviewee: Quality education according to me is where some student really adds some value on himself or herself with the support of the teacher and the parent. You find that some people coming from primary with let say 28 -- and that is division four according to the Uganda Education Standards -- then at senior four, he get like a division three like 48-50.

And that really is some value added on him and now the child has really got quality education. He has not failed, but at least he has gone out of secondary education with a grade which can actually put him to some other level of education.

That's what we call quality education. And above all, at a cheap cost, if you consider with PEAS schools they give quality education at a cheap cost. When you look at 125,000 and the child studies and gets a good grade compared to somebody at King's College Budo…

I don't know whether you know King's College Budo where they pay over one million, and yet all of them, at the end of the day, they get the same grade. Actually, they'll need some good quality education in PEAS schools.

Interviewer: What skills do you think students need to succeed in life? When students have been through quality education, they have been through PEAS, what are skills that you think they should have to succeed in life?

Interviewee: One of the challenges we have in Uganda is students finish senior four, they can go to A-level, and then they keep out of education-they don't

have the other part of it. I would take the skills to be more of the technical that any other skills.

Also, other life skills go on – how to manage life, how to manage their income, how to socialize and relate with other people, how they can manage their homes in future when they grow up; as men and women.

The other kind of life which is more demanding is skills which are best taken. At least a student should learn, and come out of education to go into life, and really has some technical knowledge to make him survive. That's what's lacking in Uganda.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how you help them achieve and acquire these skills here at the school?

Interviewee: At the moment, we don't have. Most of the skills which I can say are technical are more to do with technical drawing, it can be to do with tailoring, it can be to do with agricultural practices, things to do with home economics and management, things to do with catering services, things to do with breaking making and brick laying – all those.

That part is not there. We don't have them. We are basically teaching them the usual subjects which are lacking the other technical part of it.

Interviewer: What is it that PEAS does well that prepares the students here for life after school?

Interviewee: Life after school, to me I look at it as still challenging. You'll find some after senior four, if they don't any technical school here, they don't have work to do. Fine, they have basic knowledge, they have basic education, they know how to write and read, they can socialize, and they can use their knowledge to have any other work to do but not specialized work. That is what is lacking right now.

One time, I remember sharing in Kampala in a conference. I remember suggesting that when we're teaching life skills, we're just teaching the usual life kind of skills, but they are not technical skills.

My proposal was if PEAS can sponsor another section of integrating the technical part of it. There's a school where I was teaching in Bushenyi and there was some sponsorship from Netherlands. It was doing some good work for the children.

From the classroom for geography/history, then you're going to go back to say tailoring, others go to secretarial, and others would go for brick making, and other technical activities. You find there is some integration of education and one, at the end of the day would choose where to go.

Interviewer: But you do have some agriculture and poultry here at the school, right?

Interviewee: Right now we don't have. The challenge that we have is land – we don't have enough land.

Interviewer: You had some income-generating activities, right?

Interviewee: We have never had one. We just had some small enterprise rearing goats. It was very small. The fact of the matter is it was just teaching some learners but not really engaging them. Because of the shortage of land we could not continue with the project.

Interviewer: In your opinion, why do parents choose to send their kids to PEAS?

Interviewee: As I mentioned earlier, one of the most important reason is the low fee cost. That's one of the most important reasons. Yet, at low fee cost, the learners get quality education. Quality education in term of, they pay less and students perform in the current Ugandan way.

They come out with grade one, grade two or grade three; and some later on join A-level, others join technical schools, other join private teachers colleges and others join nursing schools.

At the end of the day, you find that somebody who is paying like a million can actually cater for a child for the whole year. So he can use about four million to cater for education of four years; where the Kings College Budo, a million runs for a term.

That's where now education for PEAS comes in to help the learners.

Interviewer: You mentioned that students here can go on to do other things. Where do your students usually go after they have finished their O-Level?

Interviewee: We normally take a track. Some go for A-level, others go for private teachers colleges, others have joined schools with a nursing section, and others went for technical education in some technical schools in Uganda. Usually, we have been advising them whenever they come.

I wanted to make a reunion this term and bring all of them together -- those who started finishing in 2013, '14, '15 -- so that we can capture their record in terms of where are they now. It is in the pipeline; we are planning for it.

Interviewer: But you have an impression like where do people generally go?

Interviewee: Yeah. It's good really. Most of them are going on to a better life.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you if you could explain to me how the partnership between you and the school director works. How would you describe your cooperation?

Interviewee: It is very cordial. It is very good. We have no problem. We support each other, anyway. That's the most important thing. When he's in, I am in

and we're pushing the whole thing. We've been together for the last there years.

Interviewer: What would you say your role is when you talk to the school director? When you and the school director are together, what is the difference between what you do and what he does?

Interviewee: Automatically, basically, I do support too much work on teaching and learning that's my major area attention. For him, much of his attention is always in general administration and with finance part of it.

According to his roles, he's more bending to the other financial part of it. But at the end of the day, we are all accountable.

Interviewer: Is there sometimes a conflict between those two?

Interviewee: No. For us, as a school, we don't have. I don't know happens in other schools. For us here, we are so cordial working together.

Interviewer: What is the most important role for you in relation to your teachers? You said your role was to supervise the teachers.

Interviewee: My most important role is to ensure teachers really teach. First of all, come in time, attend to learners. We make lesson observation to see how teaching delivering is going on in class. Monitoring how they make assessment for the learners.

How they analyze the results and the way they look at the report tracker to attach performances, which is a positive one. [16:35] some areas where I normally put a lot of time and attention.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a little more about how this practically happens like how you work with the teachers on a daily basis? You mentioned that sort of you keep track that they come to class on time and so. How is the relationship between you and the teachers? What's the nature of that that role?

Interviewee: The relationship is very positive because they respond to most of the daily activities. They know what to do, and at times, I keep making some reminders in terms of some things. They are human beings and they can forget.

We are positively working together and we don't have any bad relationship.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you how the teacher turnover is like. I've talked to some teachers who've been here since the start and other teachers who've been here for a short time. How is the turnover?

Interviewee: I think we're stable. Since 2014, I had a case of biology and chemistry; that's where the turnover was. But the rest of the other staff members, we

have been building a very strong team and we have not experienced turnovers.

In Uganda, we have a challenge of teachers of sciences – they are not very common. To get somebody to be really at school and give time to school and learners, it has not always been so easy, so we had that turnover only in that area, otherwise, others were good. Our turnover is not very high frequency.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask if you think that the school has an impact on the local community or what the school means to the local community here. The fact that there is a school in Kazingo and the fact that it's PEAS, what do you think that means to the local community in Kazingo?

Interviewee: The impact has been so positive. These 432 learners who are in this school, actually, you can see the big number. If the school was not here, all these 432, where would they be? That is one impact which I can really admit.

Some have always come in our general meetings and they have even confessed and said, "Praise God, this school came here because our children will not have where to go." The impact has been so much there.

The level of education and awareness is really getting out. Especially, when it comes to the learners, most of them are girls and they know what it means to by having education for girls.

Interviewer: And the fact that they have to pay fees outweighs the fact that they can actually send their kids to school.

Interviewee: Exactly. The fact that they can pay little fees and in installments, after all, they don't have a lot of pressure; somebody brings 20, 40, and by the end of the term he has finished 125, so they're so much appreciative.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you if you could describe the relationship between the school and the authorities. How does that work out?

Interviewee: It is like our?

Interviewer: The central government who oversees the secondary education?

Interviewee: In terms of the central government, I think we've not been so much bad because the government has always supported us. They also have the other section of inspectors. They have inspectors at the district level – they have a District Education Officer.

At the Ministry, in Kampala, there is a department there is a department in charge of private schools. They have always come to us, they have always supported us, they find us very organized, and even compared to other schools they managed to find us.

Whenever they come with the inspection tool they find everything is available – tick, tick, tick. Our relationship has been very good.

Interviewer: They do come here and check up on you?

Interviewee: They do.

Interviewer: Is there any of the practices that you have here that they would have a hard time understanding or that they have been inspired by and broadened?

Interviewee: So much. They've been inspired. For example, I understand they were inspired by our lesson plan – how it is run, it is very short, and it is good. They are copying it to use it in their schools.

Interviewer: The curriculum you use here, is that the national curriculum?

Interviewee: It's the national curriculum. We are not very much from them but, for us, our implementation strategy is very positive and we run faster than the government schools.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask about this cluster of PEAS. We just briefly talked about it outside, but could you explain it a little more to me and what implications it has for you as a head teacher?

Interviewee: This one is a new practice this year. The cluster were made in such a way that some schools which are in the same region can work together. For example here in Fort Portal, there're two schools and the most important practice is that we need to mentor one another and learn from one another.

We have some good practices here which are not in our sister school: the sane applies to them, and we keep in strong mentorship and…

Interviewer: Is that among the head masters or?

Interviewee: It is among head teacher to head teacher and then the director.

Interviewer: Is there anything you gained from it?

Interviewee: We're just starting beginning this term and that's why you see one of the teachers is using this file.

Interviewer: That's another thing, this management system.

Interviewee: Management practices, teaching practices, and all those to run a school daily, generally, we learn from each other.

Interviewer: How does the hierarchy work? Now I'd talk to the champion teachers. I guess there's the head master, champion teachers, and then normal teachers. I understand that PEAS has very clear guidelines for promotions and performance requirements for teachers, if you could elaborate a bit on that?

Interviewee: In terms of hierarchy; we have the head teacher, then supported by the head of studies, then champion teacher, and when the school grows big the champion teachers are always two. For example, for us here, we have two.

We have our administration team and distributor and instruction leadership team. I'm the chairperson as the head teacher and champion teachers are members. We work together in terms of: one, monitoring in teaching and learning, lesson observations, monitoring duty during the course of the week, monitoring discipline of the learners, counseling and guidance, mentorship of the learners, and any other school work; those are done together with our teaching staff, generally.

Anyway, all of us are teachers. We don't say that the teacher is not around. I go to class. If the boss goes to class, champion also goes to class, and the other teachers. In short, we become the role models to the rest of the other teaching staff.

Interviewer: Would you say that this very clear structure and also the performance requirements to you that they help you?

Interviewee: So much.

Interviewer: What are other performance requirements for a head teacher?

Interviewee: [background noise]. Yeah, it is there. I have to liaison, for example, with the director to see how financial can support teaching and learning – that's one of my performance requirements.

I have to work with him. I have to work with the government to ensure -- the school -- whatever the government is really demanding in terms of ensuring curriculum is at par.

In Uganda, there is an association of school head teachers and we are part of the association. I have to get to the district. For example, we normally do mocks for senior fours and I'm in charge of that. I have to make sure the school also gets part of the district cooperation.

When it comes to the national examination, I'm the focal person. I have to ensure national examinations are done successfully and the results are received. Those are the most focal areas where I have to really come in as the head teacher.

Interviewer: One of the things that was mentioned by the teachers and by the students when I talked to them about quality education was that, you would be able to behave in your community, you would be able to lead your community.

Can you give me an example of how you teach this at PEAS?

Interviewee: Cooperate with the community in terms of working together?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Something we have not done maybe is something to do with visiting the community. We have been visiting, anyway. We have been visiting churches; we pray with them. In terms of community work, we did it in 2016; but, the whole of last year, we did not.

We visited our trading center nearby, then we networked with them, and then we did some cleaning around. I think that's what we did. We have not been very active, anyway, last year.

Interviewer: Another issue is the issue around sustainability, environment, and so on. Is that something that is addressed somehow in your teaching? For instance, environmental impacts on peoples' livelihoods, or when you do farming how you can farm in a sustainable way, these are not questions that are addressed or?

Interviewee: Our source of everything basically depends on the school fees – we don't have any other extra income also in the school fees.

Interviewer: The last question which was actually one of the first questions that I forgot to ask you was just what your teaching experience was and your qualifications.

Interviewee: I did a diploma and then a bachelor's degree in education, certificate in administration, and certificate in administrative law. I've been in teaching since 2000 so this is about 18-19 years.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I have taken longer years. I'm aging. I want to fight to run off faster. I can have early retirement.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions. I don't know if you have anything you want to add or if you have any questions for me.

Interviewer: You may not be having a lot of knowledge in PEAS. I don't know. The question has been on who owns the school. Is it PEAS Uganda, PEAS UK, or the community? That's one of the most important questions.

Interviewer: And what would you say?

Interviewee: That's why I'm asking you. That's one of the most important questions which has really been. Parents get the education of their children from here, but in terms or the ownership of the school, PEAS UK plays a big role because they bring infrastructure and they bring whatever is required as far as running the schools is concerned.

In terms of the parents support, they ensure the little fees for the child is paid and the school really keeps on sustainably. Like what I told you at the beginning, since I came in 2014, I have not been having any problem to do with asking for money from UK through Kampala secretariat, so

we have been really supporting ourselves through the little fees parents pay.

Who owns the school has been a question from other people around and the community asking us. Even the people we work with are asking, "Who owns the school? Is it under which religion?"

Interviewer: You would prefer parents to have more ownership of the school?

Interviewee: I don't know. That one depends on the original composition of PEAS.

Interviewer: You mentioned you have an annual or a general meeting.

Interviewee: Yeah. We normally have general meetings.

Interviewer: How does that work? Do they make any decisions at the general meetings?

Interviewee: Sometimes they make decisions and when we present them to secretariat and to UK as well, sometimes they don't accept.

Interviewer: What could that be? Do you have an example?

Interviewee: Some parents were looking at the fees we charge as little fee – some, not all. Then they were asking how much teachers are getting. Generally, all of us including me the director are getting little pay.

They were sympathizing because they were comparing us with primary teachers. Primary teachers here are earning 500,000, and I'm here earning 600,000, and my teachers here are earning 300,000.

A primary teacher in Uganda is better of paid than a PEAS teacher here. So they proposed an increment and the parents said, "Let us have a fund aside which should an additional allowance to the teachers to motivate them." When we submitted it to Kampala it was rubbished off.

Interviewer: They wanted to increase the fee a bit to…

Interviewee: Yes. It was going to have an increment on fees but not high – like 10,000, 15,000.

Interviewer: And direct that to the teachers?

Interviewee: To teachers; it does not cater for any other thing but to teachers.

Interviewer: It was adopted at the general meeting?

Interviewee: Yeah. The general meeting parties accepted and recommended it. But when we sent it to Kampala, they refused it. Now that's where the parents come in and ask, "Is it a community school or is it a PEAS school?

If it is a PEAS school and they are the sponsors, why can't they also sponsor some community work and activities like increment of the salaries for teachers?'

Interviewer: Why did they sympathize with you or because they like you, also, because it has an impact on the community that you are paid substandard?

Interviewee: Yeah. It has an impact on the community. At the same time the parent look at the fee and they sympathize.

Interviewer: Thank you for sharing that as well.

Interviewee: That is one of the questions. I don't know whether you have some risk also there.

Interviewer: I can answer it from purely…

Interviewee: Since you're doing a research, you cannot get the message over.

Interviewer: My answer would be that it is owned by PEAS UK because PEAS Uganda is fully owned by PEAS UK. That would be my very practical answer. Even if [34:30] is owned by a company in another company there is nothing to prevent that that company allows the community to have a decision-making ability.

For instance, are there things at the general meeting that have been adapted and have been carried through?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: What are the examples of things that parents decided and that were implemented?

[pause]

Interviewee: When I'd just come, the school had no power at all -- it was in total darkness. Actually, this is one of the situations which I found here. When I had a meeting, I remember, we decided that parents to get some money and we squeezed to buy some small lamp system.

Immediately after that -- I remember it was in term one, term two, and term three 2014 -- PEAS now started to come in to give us some solar systems to go and light the school. I have been with that up to last year to get power.

Interviewer: Thank you. I don't think my answer was much helpful but it's the best I can do.

Interviewee: Since you are taking message home, it's OK.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Interviewee: You are welcome.

Interviewer: I'm actually finished by lunch. Do you have more parents coming?

Interviewee: No. I don't think.

Appendix 14: Green Shoots Head Teacher

Interviewer: As I mentioned previously, what I am doing research on is low-fee private schools like PEAS, and PEAS is a case example of a best case so to speak, because you seem to be doing a lot of things very well. And we need to see how that can be disseminated, but at the same time, we also want to see what other areas in which PEAS needs to improve to make the model even more sustainable, even more equitable.

As mentioned, I am independent of PEAS. If you could just briefly introduce yourself and the school? I see you have got approximately 600 students and you're a member of the EU Scheme or you're participating in the EU Scheme, right?

Interviewee: Mm-hm.

Interviewer: What are the approximate fees, and what is the ratio between boarding and non-boarding students?

Interviewee: My names are Annette Birungi. I work as the head teacher in the school. With enrolment, we have approximately 500 students at the moment, this year. We have more day-scholars compared to the boarding students. We have more boys compared to girls – the boys are many than the girls.

Interviewer: What is the approximate ratio? Is it like 30% boarding, 70% day?

Interviewee: I think 35% is boarding and 65% is day.

Interviewer: Fantastic. What are the approximate fees? Did you manage to find sort of overview I could have or take a picture of?

Interviewee: The fees?

Interviewer: Yeah, with the fees.

Interviewee: The fees that we collect in a term altogether.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Including the USD Fund or excluding the USD Fund?

Interviewer: Excluding, so the ones you collect from the parents.

Interviewee: The one that we can collect from the parents, I think, by the end of the term, we might collect around 20 million.

Interviewer: Was there a place where I could see what each student pays, like what is the school fees for a day student in senior 1 and senior 4 and a boarding student in senior 1 and senior 4?

Interviewee: Those are there. I said we're going to print. I will give you a copy.

Interviewer: Perfect. Just a clarification, do you have two or three terms here? How many terms do you have?

Interviewee: We have three terms in a year.

Interviewer: For background, what are your qualifications? Have you worked as a teacher before, or/and have you trained? What are your qualifications?

Interviewee: I qualified as a teacher. I taught for around six years, and then I joined the administration before joining PEAS, of course. I acted as a deputy for some time, and then later, I joined PEAS as a head teacher.

Interviewer: In PEAS, you've already been a head teacher.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: You have a diploma.

Interviewee: No. I have a degree in education. Specifically, my teaching subjects, I teach history and geography.

Interviewer: And you still get to teach sometimes.

Interviewee: Yes. I enjoy teaching, especially the practical teaching.

Interviewer: Then we move on to education notions of quality. I wanted to ask you how you would describe quality education. What is it to you?

Interviewee: To me, what I would look at being quality education is the type of education that is producing wholesome citizens, I would say, where we are providing theoretical education and practical education. This type of education that maybe students are doing other work so that if they don't get opportunities of going for further education, the person can sustain him or herself after senior 4.

Interviewer: What does wholesome mean in this context?

Interviewee: I would say it means somebody who is with practical skills and with theoretical education.

Interviewer: What are the practical skills and the theoretical education you think that you need to equip the students with?

Interviewee: I appreciate PEAS because they are trying to develop practical skills for the learners. For example, we have girls club where students practice knitting table clothes so this equips the learner with a certain skill that incase he fails to continue with education, he can make the table clothes, and sells to the people, and get some income.

Interviewer: When we talk about -- broader speaking -- what are the skills students need to succeed in life after school then that would be among it. Do you think there are other skills that students need to succeed in life?

Interviewee: There are other skills that they need in life. As I said, practical skills especially things like learning welding, maybe break laying, knitting, carpentry. They can gain certain skills that may help them in future.

Interviewer: Can you give me more examples of how you prepare them with these skills in PEAS?

Interviewee: In PEAS schools, we don't prepare them with each and every. At least, as I've told you now, I'm looking at this school level. We promote football so people who are talented in that field they'll participate and they develop their talents.

Then we have clubs like the girls where they make a number of things like weaving baskets and they develop that skill, which is not in other schools around here. In fact, in both government and private, it is not there. But when you come in such a school, you'll find people are developing such skills among others.

Interviewer: Why do you think the parents choose to send their kids to PEAS and not some of the surrounding schools?

Interviewee: One is because of low fees comparing to the other surrounding schools. Secondly, for us, we allow installment payments and we don't have very many material things. We don't ask for very many material things compared to other schools which can even ask for a bag of cement, so you find that parents cannot afford there.

Another thing is the quality of education. We don't get fast-class students from these village schools but we try and make them pass.

Interviewer: How do you try and make them first-class? What is the key ingredient?

Interviewee: That helps us to make them pass the exams.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: The teaching and learning that we do, we make sure that we monitor. We monitor teachers on attendance, time management in class. We also go in class and do lesson observation and we see is the teacher really doing what he is supposed to do. Then when they scheme, they're scheming according to the national curriculum, we even verify.

We look at teachers' schemes and the national curriculum per subject, "If they were in term one, has the teacher considered the work for term one?" And then we make sure they make lesson plans and we monitor them.

We even help our learners because of their inabilities. Sometimes you find some people do not perform very well in a class so we encourage teachers to do some remedial works so that these people can understand and try to grasp.

Interviewer: Much of your work is supervising the teachers with their lesson plans and observing in class.

Interviewee: We even give CPD to our teachers so that we can try to help them and see that what we are delivering in class is really understood by the learners. Sometimes we encourage the teachers to make learning materials. The school provides the

learning materials so that when they go to class they display so that the learners look at something.

We encourage them also to use the library. We have some textbooks from the library; we encourage them to go and borrow, they read on their own so that they can expand on the knowledge that they get in different subjects.

Interviewer: You're talking about materials, so they need to make textbooks themselves or they need to prepare projections. What materials is it that you encourage teachers to prepare?

Interviewee: For us, we don't have the projections. What we do, we use manila papers.

Interviewer: Sorry, what?

Interviewee: Manila papers like this one behind you – the pink one. The teacher will draw if it is a diagram. I'm just giving an example in agriculture. If he's teaching about, maybe, mechanical part of agriculture and he's teaching about the vehicle engine, he will draw the engine on the manila paper so that everybody can see "The engine looks like this"

Because most of them have not seen the engine, they don't have access; they don't have vehicles so they may not understand what it is. But when it is drawn on a manila paper and it is displayed in class -- and the teacher can leave it for some minutes -- they can look at it and say "This is the engine," And so they get acquainted to it and incase it happens to come in an examination, of course, they will be able to identify.

Interviewer: The students have their own textbooks. Do they need to buy them or are they in the library or where? How does that work?

Interviewee: No. Not buying them. As I told you, the community around here is poor. When you tell them to pay fees and at the same time you tell them to buy textbooks, they will not be in a position to buy textbooks.

They are in the library. PEAS is doing a lot of work in providing those materials. They bring them and we just encourage learners to go to the library and access them.

Interviewer: You also mentioned that one reason why parents might put their children here, of course, compared to the low fees, but other schools would ask for cement. I guess that's for maintenance of the schools.

How is maintenance covered here? Is that covered through your running budget, or do parents make contributions to the maintenance of the school as well?

Interviewee: No. Parents do not contribute anything to the maintenance of the school. We at school level, we just do minor things of maintenance. Most of the work is done by PEAS.

Interviewer: It will be the PEAS office in Kampala that decides when and what renovation should take place.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: They would also fund the renovation.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: To get back to the whole part about education. Do you have an idea about what students end up doing when they finish their O-levels here? Do people continue with A-levels? Do they continue into colleges? Do they start working? Do they become unemployed? What is the tradition or what do most students do?

Interviewee: After senior 4, in fact, a few go to A-level. Others go to colleges, especially teaching colleges, nursing. Mostly, boys go for mechanics and welding. Most boys are going for mechanics and welding in town. A few go for A-level, and others get married.

Interviewer: And some start working unskilled or?

Interviewee: Yes, they just start working around.

Interviewer: Why do people want to continue to A-level? Is that because of their grades from here, because they can afford it, or because they want to go to college?

Interviewee: It's because they can afford.

Interviewer: One of the things that I've been looking a lot for is how questions around environmental sustainability, economic sustainability, social sustainability, equality, human rights, and intercultural dialogue – these very abstract ideas. Do you see any way where they are integrated in PEAS curriculum, the teaching you do? Can you give an example of it?

Interviewee: An example of what?

Interviewer: Of sustainability, or equality, or human rights, or intercultural dialogue being integrated into your education.

Interviewee: Yes. It is integrated. With equality, when we are teaching, we consider both genders – girls and boys. We even encourage teachers that when they are asking questions, they should encourage girls to participate. Because in most cases girls tend to be so reserved and they don't want to talk, so we try to encourage them.

We even give guidance and counseling to our learners. We encourage the girls that, "You can make it. You can also become big people in the community." We try it out like that.

Interviewer: Thank you. I want to move a bit onto the business model and ask if you can just explain to me how the cooperation between you and the school director works. Is it a partnership? Do things work out? Can you maybe describe the relationship?

Interviewee: The relationship between me and the school director, so far, is not bad. Because whenever I ask for support -- for him, he controls finance -- when money is there, he supports.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of something where you have to go through him and where he has agreed to it or not agreed to it?

Interviewee: To support.

Interviewer: Yeah. For example, maybe teachers, when they want things to use in the laboratory if they want to make a practical, they will write to me, and then I go and ask him – he gives. The materials I have talked about, the manila papers, the markers, when we need them. When we need scheming materials, when we need lesson plans, of course, they all take money. We just write to him and say "This is what we need."

He also gives support, especially, when we're recruiting teachers. If any teacher leaves and we want to replace him, he also participates.

Interviewer: Are you equal partners or is he above you?

Interviewee: He's above me.

Interviewer: What is the most important thing to you in relation to the teachers? What is the relationship that you have with the teachers, and what is your role in relation to the other teachers here at the school?

Interviewee: The first relationship, we're all teachers and I am their supervisor. I supervise them, but of course, I supervise with leading examples. When it comes to teaching, I also teach the students.

When we're doing anything, we work as a team. In other words, we work together. When they want anything, they come freely to my office and they ask for it.

Interviewer: Do you also plan some of the CPD or is that only done from the office in Kampala?

Interviewee: No. We also do our own internal CPDs. For example, when we go for lesson observations, I can see there is an area that we need to talk about -- it's a general challenge -- we can organize a CPD along that line.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of something that you sort of saw in class was lacking and that you then took initiative to organize an internal CPD around it?

Interviewee: We organized a CPD about the great [inaudible19:33], the things when teachers are in class they must always look at, how they should always prepare for their lessons. We had a CPD about that. We had a CPD about how the learners should behave because sometimes you would find, in your own class, that other students are paying attention, others re like this, others are sleeping, but we just need them to sit up like this.

Interviewer: Obviously, you provide a lot of support for the teachers, but what support do you receive? Is there any dedicated trainer for you, or do you have someone you can coach with? How does this work?

Interviewee: When we are having the CPDs?

Interviewer: No. For you as the head teacher, what is the professional development that you're offered?

Interviewee: They also give me CPDs -- the PEAS people -- during holidays. They take us and they give us CPDs on management and other things.

Interviewer: They collect all the head teachers.

Interviewee: They'll collect all the head teachers in the PEAS network, then we go in one place, and then they train us in different aspect.

Interviewer: Is this school a member of a cluster in PEAS? Do you have any partner schools?

Interviewee: Yes, we have partner schools. My partner school is somewhere in Namaa.

Interviewer: How does that work, the partnership? Do you talk to them often? Do you exchange views?

Interviewee: We exchange views. We share challenges. We ask one another, "How have you gone about this? I have this challenge. Do you also go through this? How have you come upon it?" And we give advice to one another.

In a term, we meet once. He can come this side or I can go the other side, such that we can see how we are moving.

Interviewer: You said your partner was Robert from Samling School.

Interviewee: My partner is Moha from Samling Namaa in Mpigi District.

Interviewer: I was at the Samling School just north of Fort Portal.

Interviewee: Robert is not my partner but I know him.

Interviewer: I was there last week.

Interviewee: You were with him.

Interviewer: Yeah. I just wanted to talk about remuneration. You pay the teachers a salary and that's the remuneration they get, right? They get food here, of course, for lunch but none of them stays here on the school, right?

Interviewee: Mm-hmm.

Interviewer: Do you live on the school? No.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Robert, he was living in the school. I was thinking that maybe someone works better. That's just good to me. I've clarified. How is the teacher turnover here like? I know you pay below what the public schools would pay, and you have a lot of young teachers also. Do people stay here for a long time or do they tend to go elsewhere?

Interviewee: They stay. Of course, others, especially the science teachers, they want to do what we call part-time because, for them, their demand is very much. They happen to be few, and schools are many, and every school wants their service so sometimes what we do is we just accept to work with them on part-time.

Interviewer: They work part-time to full-time salary and then they teach elsewhere also. How does that work?

Interviewee: The part-time teachers, in terms of times.

Interviewer: Yeah. You were just saying that they were insisting to have part-time jobs -- the science teachers -- and that's because they would be teaching other places as well. Why do they insist?

Interviewee: Yes. They teach in other places as well so they can give us like three days. Somebody stays here from Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and then on Thursday and Friday, he will not be here. But other teachers can stay here for the whole week.

In terms of sustainability, we have teachers who have stayed here. There are teachers I found here, they are still present. They are here; they are comfortable. I think reason one, however much, we're not paying like those other government or public schools, but at least our payment is prompt so it is one of the factors that keeps them in this school.

Interviewer: That seems to matter to a lot of them. I would understand why. Do you feel that the school has an impact on the local community here? What is the influence that the school has on people of here?

Interviewee: One, it helps the students in this community here to access quality education with low fees. Another impact is the skills that these people are getting -- computer skills. I think this is the only school which is teaching computer. In other schools they don't, and if they want to gain those skills they pay money in turn. But for this community here, at least this school can provide that skill.

Even the other skills that we talked about, weaving and the rest, it is only this school where they can access such skills. I think they are being helped.

Interviewer: I also wanted to ask if you can tell me a bit about…explaining how the relationship is between you and the authority. You're a registered school. What does that mean in terms of how you communicate with the authorities? How often do they go here? Do they place any requirements on you -- that you have to document? How does this work?

Interviewee: The authorities at the district?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: Our school is registered. Of course, we keep them updated with information so we normally visit their offices. If there is anything, we inform them that this is what is happening to our school.

We give them information. Then sometimes, they also visit the school and they monitor around so they can even talk to the students; they can even talk to the teachers.

Interviewer: When they do these management visits what is the outcome of the management visit?

Interviewee: When they visit, they make reports. If the report is good, automatically, your school will be praised. But when the report is poor, automatically, they make recommendations, "Improve on this and improve on the other."

Luckily enough, our school, according to the PEAS standards and settings, they have never complained.

Interviewer: What is your impression of the authorities? Are they competent in the work they do to judge whether or not you deliver quality?

Interviewee: I think they are comfortable.

Interviewer: More comfortable than qualified or?

Interviewee: To be…?

Interviewer: The inspectors, are they qualified?

Interviewer: They are qualified people and they are also teachers. They have degrees.

Interviewer: Obviously the fee installment scheme is quite important for a lot of parents to keep their children here. Could you elaborate a bit on how the scheme works?

Interviewee: The scheme works in such a way that we encourage parents that, at least, when the term is opening, to pay some little money. That's how we agreed with our parents -- that when the term is just opening, send the students with some little money.

Then after a month, add; towards the end, you complete. But unfortunately, sometimes even this one fails. You find that parents are sending students at the opening of the term with no shillings. You ask them, they tell you there is no money.

As I talk now, for example, we're almost coming to a month when the term has started but we have students who have not yet paid any single penny of school fees.

Interviewer: Is there a formal agreement or is it more an agreement between you and the parents that they pay the fees as they go; but before the end of the term, they need to finish?

Interviewee: It was an agreement in a meeting. We all agreed that, "We have agreed you paying in installments, but at the end of the term, make sure you have covered all the fees." However much we have said that, some of them can even go past term when they have not cleared.

Interviewer: Are there any repercussions if they don't clear?

Interviewee: Of course, if they don't clear, they affect us in terms of maybe sometimes we even fail to get salaries for the teachers. Because we give these students lunch, we may even fail to pay some of these people here.

Interviewer: If they used installments scheme, there are no repercussions? I mean, there is no audit costs associated with using the installment scheme.

Interviewee: The repercussions?

Interviewer: If I used installment scheme; I don't have to pay a fee to use the scheme, I don't have to pay an interest rate?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: I saw that your retention rate is 76%, at the moment. Those 25% that do not retain, is that because of fees mostly? What are some of the reasons why students would…?

Interviewee: 95% drop because of fees.

Interviewer: Does it happen within the first-year, usually, or do they go to the forth-year, or is it…?

Interviewee: At O-levels.

Interviewer: You mentioned it yourself that this is a relatively poor district and fees is still significant for the people here. A lot of people must be kept out of education because of the fees. Is there any way, for instance, someone earning 50, 000 shillings a month would be able to pay their children's way through lower secondary?

Interviewee: They can if they are committed. If the parent is committed, they can pay. But in Waibare, we have parents who cannot even earn something like 20,000 per month – they are also there.

Another thing, mostly, it is mothers or women looking for school fees for their children but not the husbands.

Interviewer: The husband will bring the money, but the wife will be responsible of taking the money from him and paying the fees.

Interviewee: No. It is not the husband bringing the money, but it is the responsibility of the mother to look for the money. Husbands don't mind a lot.

Interviewer: That was what I was meaning.

[background conversations]

Interviewer: I was meaning that the husband earns the money, but it is the wife who needs to take the money from him and…

Interviewee: No. Not like that. I would say, around this place, husbands do not mind about the education…Not all, but most of them do not mind, so you'll find it is the mothers struggling. I think that's why they pay in installments and very small installments sometimes.

Interviewer: 50K a month is still quite a chunk of money for people living here. For me, that's just her picturing if you have 200,000 shillings per term, you would be able to pay 50% of your income in school fees plus other fees associated. I mean, they might need a uniform. Do you see the parents manage this?

Interviewee: They manage. If you have allowed the installment, they can manage.

Interviewer: Also using other means like loan group.

Interviewee: Yes, those ones are many.

Interviewer: Do you think that PEAS reaches the poorest of the poor in this community or are they excluded on the grounds of their…?

Interviewee: I think PEAS has really helped the poor children to access education.

Interviewer: They've made it more accessible.

Interviewee: Yes, they have helped.

Interviewer: Just one last question I forgot to ask previously, but that was like the finances of this school. How are they overall? You make a surplus and you put the money back into PEAS Uganda, or are you making a deficit?

Interviewee: We have never made any surplus.

Interviewer: So you rely on money from PEAS Uganda?

Interviewee: We have never made any surplus. Sometimes we can end the term without money, but maybe when we have money for paying teachers, we do end at that. Sometimes we can end the term when we don't even don't have money to pay teachers for the last month of the holiday, and then PEAS would just give us the money.

Interviewer: That's from the PEAS Uganda office, right?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Thank you. Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you want to add something or if you have any questions for me?

Interviewee: Thank you so much. I would request PEAS to really look at the bursary scheme because sometimes there are some bright students who can get first grades at PLE but they fail to go to secondary schools because of fees, but if they can give bursaries to such students…

Interviewer: Then it could help, yeah. Thank you for that.

Appendix 15: Teacher 1

Interviewer: If you could just briefly introduce yourself and your qualifications? That would be very nice for me to begin with.

Interviewer: I'm by the names of [name]. I teach agriculture. I am a graduate by qualification. I had a diploma and then upgraded for a degree. I've worked with PEAS for seven years. I'm among those people who started this school from a primary teacher.

Interviewer: How does it work, with teaching agriculture here? Is that together with the income-generating activities? How is that done?

Interviewee: Here in school, we have got some projects just to teach learners hands-on because agriculture is a practical subject. There is no much income, but we skill the learners. We teach.

From class, we go and participate in these practical and see what's going on in the field. We have some animals around, chicken -- that is poultry -- so learners have got those skills.

Interviewer: If we talk a bit more about education quality, how would you describe quality education? What's important? What is good quality education? If we talk about kids needing to have a good education with high quality, how do you understand that?

Interviewee: I would look at it as, one, it should be accessible. PEAS as an organization; that was its objective, that learners should access quality education. To me, I feel we are putting that into practice in that the enrollment, how we started this school, was low and has improved meaning that parents are seeing the value of education so they get to bring their learners or their children into school.

Two, we've got learners from different schools. We have nearby schools but we're seeing learners are coming from these other schools meaning that they're seeing a difference…

Interviewer: So they come from other secondary schools?

Interviewee: Yes…meaning that there is something exceptional here. Teachers themselves know what they are doing, the systems in place.

Interviewer: What do you think you're doing that's exceptional?

Interviewee: Our mode of teaching is learner-centered and it's practical – the sciences. We involve much our learners into the whole activity of learning. Two, we have child protection policies in place in our PEAS schools.

Those things are exceptional to me, I feel, which are lacking elsewhere. That makes it quality education.

Interviewer: What skills do you think that students need to succeed in life afterwards?

Interviewee: Our learners have talents. They have a lot of talents, so if these students are identified at this stage and helped to improve on that talent they can be far better in future, that's one.

Two, like I've been telling you the whole case like agriculture, a student if he is exposed to agriculture and outside class participates in these practicals -- farming and rearing of animals -- in future, this person may not stop there but may go and practice the skills he has acquired from the classroom, even if he's out of school.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how you inspire the students and how you groom their talents?

Interviewee: Majorly it's through participation. In the school, we have various games or sports activities. We have basketball, we have football, and we have netball. In that way, we have identified good students and we help them to improve.

In our normal lessons we tend to identify weak learners and we engage them. We call them, as a teacher, and try to counsel him or her and see how he can improve. We even set targets together -- the teacher and student -- and you say that, "I expect this," and he also agrees that, "I'll improve in this."

And then at the end of the day you evaluate yourselves, "Have you improved this." That one has been a great improvement in academic performance. That is skill development.

Interviewer: About skills development; you are all skills development because I understand PEAS have these internal trainings for teachers. Is that something you've benefitted from? If so, how would say you've benefitted?

Interviewee: So much. We call them CPD, Continuous Profession Development. These ones have so much helped us to improve on our professional performance. In fact, it has developed us professionally because ones in awhile we review ourselves on the new techniques of teaching, the methods, and different approaches to the different learners. That has so much helped us to improve professionally.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of something you feel that you've learned specifically in CPD?

Interviewee: Lesson preparation; I've improved so much in that. Lesson delivery to class. Grouping of learners like giving equal opportunities to both boys and girls. In that way, I have so much improved. Involving learners during lessons.

Interviewer: I want to talk a bit about the financial side of it. I wanted to ask you how much you're remunerated or how you are remunerated, because I understand that PEAS pays below the national average. Does that have any implications for you? Do you get anything else than a pay? Do you have food or housing covered by PEAS? How does this work?

Interviewee: No. PEAS set its own pay – they pay according to qualification. A graduate gets something slightly more than a diploma. In that way, it may not be enough. But at least compared to other schools, since there is a uniform structure, there is a way that…

As much as there are no other allowances, but you feel at least you are aware of what you're supposed to earn at the end of the month. It is streamlined.

Interviewer: Are you comfortable sharing how much you're paid?

Interviewee: I am a graduate. I get 400,000.

Interviewer: 400,000 shilling a month?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: 400,000 and I sometimes think…

Interviewee: Ah, dollars or…

Interviewer: …because some people here give you prices in dollars, but I'm thinking shillings.

Interviewee: No, if it is dollars it would be so much. It is shillings.

Interviewer: Are you able to sustain yourself on this, or how well are you able to sustain yourself on this income?

Interviewee: The income is not enough according the needs and demands because we are adults and we have responsibilities. It is upon ourselves to do other outside income-generating activities so that when you get this money you invest it elsewhere like in farming. Some of us are doing agriculture, so that one is an additional income.

Interviewer: You have farming at home, as well, next to this.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Other teachers do the same as you.

Interviewee: Some have businesses. Once in awhile, they go undertake to their businesses.

Interviewer: Is the pay something that could cause you to look for somewhere else to teach?

Interviewee: Yeah, if given a chance, because everybody needs survival and time-and-again demands increases. If somebody gets a better opportunity elsewhere, you can compare. If you find it's a better option, you have to go for it. I can't say I'm comfortable.

Interviewer: I understand. Even if I'm in a comfortable job and a better job comes by, of course, that will affect.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were actually just the question I had for you.

Interviewee: You're welcome, sir.

Interviewer: Do you have anything to add or any questions for me?

Interviewee: Are you a student somewhere in university?

Interviewer: I'm a university student.

Interviewee: Doing which course?

Interviewer: I study a Master in international business and politics.

Interviewee: In the UK.

Interviewer: In Denmark.

Interviewee: That's good. That's all I wanted to know. Maybe we can exchange contacts once in a while if you don't mind?

Interviewer: No. I can give you my email. I have to write it in block letters because I'm such a bad writer. It's not my strong side either.

Interviewee: It's not bad.

Interviewer: You said you were a graduate. That's also from university or from a college.

Interviewee: University.

Interviewer: Where did you go to university?

Interviewee: We have our university here – we call it Mountains of the Moon University. Have you ever heard of it?

Interviewer: No. This sounds weird. When I was looking for a place to stay here, there was a hotel called Mountains of the Moon. I don't know whether that's…

Interviewee: I know that one.

Interviewer: Mountains of the Moon is something that's used here.

Interviewee: Thank you so much.

Interviewer: You are welcome.

Appendix 16: Teacher 2

Interviewer: Just to introduce myself. I am Viktor. I'm doing a research on low fee private school and PEAS is a best case example so to speak. The research looks at limits and opportunities for PEAS and low fee private schools to help fulfill some of the global goals that we have on education.

Interviewee: Thank you.

Interviewer: If you could just start out by introducing yourself briefly and also your qualifications. That would be very nice.

Interviewee: My name is Rugumayo Yusuf.

Interviewer: You are a teacher.

Interviewee: I am a teacher of geography and history as my teaching subject. Apart from that one, I have other responsibilities. I'm the Head of Department, Arts. I'm also the second champion teacher. I'm the head of religious affairs. I also head the welfare for both students and teachers.

Interviewer: You said you are the head of Arts so that's all the electives or?

Interviewee: We have two departments – Arts Department and Science Department. For me, I'm heading Arts Department.

Interviewer: What does that cover?

Interviewee: Art Department has all the humanities – geography, history, CRE, even English is under that one, and then we have Kiswahili. All those subjects are under Arts Department.

Interviewer: What does it entail that you're head of a department?

Interviewee: First of all, to become the head of department, you must be a senior teacher. I've taught for 13 years. You have to be a full-time teacher. A part-timer cannot be the head of department because you need to be on the ground all the time, basically.

Interviewer: What are your qualifications?

Interviewee: I have two qualifications. Here as a teacher, I have a diploma in education. I've also pursued a bachelor's degree of public administration.

Interviewer: When we talk about quality, could you tell me how you understand quality education?

Interviewee: To me, as a teacher, I understand quality education as, one, education which is usually given to learners holistically to make them holistically, an education which can actually unlock their full potential as a human being.

Quality education is whereby, once the students have left the school can they go and survive outside using the knowledge acquired. I think that could be really quality if education can help someone to push on with life.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how you teach them to become holistic or to unlock their full potential?

Interviewee: Yes. First of all, here, when we are teaching we don't emphasis classroom work only. As we're teaching, we're trying to incorporate the life outside school – how can you live in society, how can you be part of the community, how can forge life ahead.

First of all, we tell them to be practical. For example, apart from coming here to study, when they go for their holiday can they engage in home activities, can they dig? If they have business, can they be part of the business so that they also get that skill.

As we are in this school, not everybody will go to Makerere, to any university. You might find someone has acquired some basics and he can become a trader, he can become a leader in the community. How do you behave? How do you conduct yourself?

Interviewer: You said that students here wouldn't go to university and so on.

Interviewee: I mean, when we're giving them examples because when we start some things people may opt to have other careers. So if you don't want to continue with education, can you have something you can do using the basics you have got?

Interviewer: What do students usually continue doing after finishing? You only teach O-level here, right?

Interviewee: Yes, we have O-level. Apparently, most of our students who finish with us here have joined nursing schools. At least we have those who have trained in FINS – it is in Fort Portal. We have those who have joined Virika Nursing School. It is a Catholic institute here in town.

Many have joined Canon Apollo Teachers College and other colleges here. At least the number is increasing here.

Interviewer: When we talk about the skills you need to survive in life, can you give me examples of what skills you think are important to succeed?

Interviewee: People should engage in agriculture. That one is very important.

Interviewer: To sustain themselves or?

Interviewee: Yes. Sustain themselves and also to have food security. In most cases, you find that farming activities are left to the elderly and that one brings insecurity in homes. We say, as a student who understands the effects of farming, when you are there, also engage yourself.

Skills like art and craft because we are in a place which has got a lot raw material. We have got swamp papyrus, reeds. We use those to make mats, traditional table mats, and all these are sold. It is a source of money.

Even we give them skills of self-protection, especially the girls, when we are telling them, "You must be a girl who is very careful: who understands because this world is full of trickery. As a girl, can you have a skill which can help you not become vulnerable?"

Interviewer: That's a good thing. When we talk about CPD that PEAS has, is it something you think that you've benefitted from?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how you've benefitted?

Interviewee: I have benefitted from these CPDs in many ways. One, they refresh my mind. Actually, they are like refresher courses. You come back; you are just reminded because most of these things they are giving us, we last saw them when we were doing school practice some years back.

Now they're coming and trying to say "Are you doing the right thing?" They have helped now to deliver in class. They have helped us to teach us more how to prepare a lesson. They have taught us how to…When I'm teaching, my teaching must embrace everybody- I should cater for different abilities. And we get all those skills from the CPDs.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of something specifically you feel you've learned from the CPDs?

Interviewee: I have learned many, but let me give you one. I've have learned how to relatively set my questioning styles to learners. I've learned that when I'm setting my target…Basically, we have three targets and each learning objective must cater for a certain group of people.

In that, different students of different capabilities will be catered learning objectives. For example, when I'm now teaching, I have to begin with the known to the unknown. By doing that one, I'm trying to incorporate these learners who may not be able to get a difficult concept, but we begin with the simple ones.

When I come to the questioning style, when we're asking a learner, sometimes we ask a question and someone explains and stops there, but he has not explained deeply. I have learned what we call stretching.

If I ask you, "What is your name?" You tell me, "I'm called Dennis," "Dennis, where do you come from?" "I come from Fort Portal." "Dennis, in Fort Portal, how many radio stations do we have?" There you'll get to know if the student really knows what he is giving or he's lacking something then you begin from there.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for sharing that. I want to talk a bit more about the business model of PEAS. I wanted to ask you how you are remunerated.

Interviewee: The remuneration, to me let me say it's good. The salary scale, PEAS actually tried to move with the government standard. If you are a diploma holder, they give us salary according to how the government is paying, which is a very good practice.

If you are a Bachelor's holder, the scale also is marching with that one of the government. That one at least tried to bridge that gap.

Interviewer: Are you comfortable saying how much you earn?

Interviewee: Of course, now I would say I'm comfortable for some reasons. One, the payments are prompt. We get in time and it helps.

Interviewer: Can I ask you how much you earn?

Interviewee: Right now I'm earning 330.

Interviewer: Are you able to sustain yourself?

Interviewee: Yes, I'm able because I also have some side incomes at home.

Interviewer: What are these? How do you do that?

Interviewee: I deal in poultry.

Interviewer: So you do that next to teaching full-time.

Interviewee: I'm here full-time, but I have a wife who looks after the poultry.

Interviewer: Is the pay something that could cause you to go somewhere else to teach or you feel that you're comfortable?

Interviewee: No. If I get greener pastures. When I get something more than that…The work here is involving. Money is never enough. Sometimes you can be promised 500,000 but you are not paid. It is better to keep here where they're giving me my money promptly, rather than going somewhere because of greener pastures and you don't get the money.

Interviewer: You don't feel you have any struggles with living.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Thank you. Those were actually all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have any questions for me or anything you want to add.

Interviewee: After this research, what are the future prospects?

Interviewer: I do the research and then hopefully it will also be published. Because this one is a case study it's hard to generalize. Hopefully other researchers will pick it up and do other studies.

The good thing here is that it's is very practically focused. It focuses on what works well and what doesn't work as well. I'm independent from PEAS but PEAS will also read it. They might want to [13:33]. For now, this is the plan.

Interviewee: Thank you very much.

Appendix 17: Teacher 3

Interviewer: Just to tell you what I'm doing. I'm a research and this research focuses on low fee private schools and PEAS is a best case example. The research looks at what PEAS does well and what it does less well and it hopes to answer how these schools can help achieve some of the global goals that we have in the education area.

Interviewee: Welcome.

Interviewer: If you could just start out introducing yourself, who you are, and your qualifications. That would be very nice.

Interviewee: I'm called [NAME]. I am a teacher of CRE/History – a graduate.

Interviewer: If you could start out telling me a bit about how you understand quality education. What is important in quality?

Interviewee: For education to be of a quality level it should be with qualified teachers.

Interviewer: Anything else you think?

Interviewee: Qualified teachers should be with enough teaching materials to help learners to advance in their studies.

Interviewer: What skills do you think students need to succeed in life after school?

Interviewee: They need hand skills, communication skills, and many others.

Interviewer: What are the many others?

Interviewee: The communication skills can help them. For example, she or he may be a leader in the community so that can help you know how to address the community to talk about the issues concerning the community.

Hand skills like making crafts and whatever can help him to develop his or her own family -- from here to school --to be self-employed, and many others.

Interviewer: Can you give an example of how you help the students become community leaders or try and prepare them to become…?

Interviewee: We help them by organizing debates where they are trained on how to communicate in public. We have mentorship. We have careers day – some students represent their issues.

Interviewer: How do the career days work? Do people come in from outside, it's all about what they work with, or do the students prepare something themselves?

Interviewee: Some students are encouraged to prepare some entertainment to parents. They communicate to parents what they benefit from the school. They make their parents aware and assure the teachers.

Interviewer: About the Continued Professional Training, CPD. Is it something you feel you've benefited from?

Interviewee: It's so beneficial to teachers because when we completed our studies we were so junior in the field, but these CPDs keep reminding us about our profession and how to improve our skills. It has helped us to improve in our teaching process because we gain a lot.

We are trained on how to deal with students, how to deliver content. For us teachers, we are very [04:53].

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of something you feel you've learned specifically at the CPD?

Interviewee: For example, the methods to use while delivering content to learners. We had some methods, but because of CPDs, we are now getting a lot of methods on how to deliver content in class so as to help these learners to benefit a lot.

Making objectives like you have to cater for all categories of students in class, and that was from CPDs. Most of us never knew that we have to cater for all students in class. Some of us knew that it's better to deal with the clever ones, we leave the average.

Because of CPDs, we are aware we have to be in class. We cater for the average, the clever ones, and those who low achievers.

Interviewer: How do you cater for these low achievers and the average students?

Interviewee: When I'm setting my objectives, I have to first put out there an objective that I will fulfill, at the end of the lesson or in due course, to cater for the low achievers – how will I do it or how can I do it?

We are told to always set three objectives. One may be so simple – to cater for the low achievers, the whole class should be able to answer that or to achieve that object.

Then the second may be somehow complicated from the first like it is for the average. The low achiever can gain but it may look somehow difficult for them. Then the last objective is for those who are so clever. That's how I can cater for the low achievers.

When you are setting those objectives, you also set the methods how to achieve those objectives. Like for the low achievers, I may set a method of group discussion where I may get a group of like five, five, and five -- whether clever, whether dull -- and then they combine.

In that group, the low achievers are also able to participate; you give them time to participate and in that way they achieve in your lesson, and not to leave them behind.

Interviewer: So CPD is very important.

Interviewee: Very important.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk a bit about PEAS's business plan. I wanted to ask you how you are remunerated and how much you're paid if you are comfortable sharing it.

Interviewee: I'm paid 380,000.

Interviewer: Are you able to sustain yourself on this?

Interviewee: I'm not able to.

Interviewer: What are the sacrifices that you make? What are the priorities that you need to make because of the…?

Interviewee: I'm not getting you.

Interviewer: It's more like you don't eat?

Interviewee: My salary is not enough according to our Uganda of today, because we all want to drive. As a full-time, that amount of money, when you compare it with other people who are in other fields -- not education -- it's very little money because we all compete for the same.

We want also to develop to be important in future, so when I keep earning this kind of money at my age, it means I'll not develop, those who I started with will develop and leave me here in education.

Interviewer: I see. In education this is the…

Interviewee: No. Not even when you compare with certain schools and this is an NGO. But for us, we are still juniors here. Our parents always ask us, "As an NGO, how much are you paid?" And when you say such kind of money they say, "Ah, which kind of NGO is this one?"

NGOs always give money to motivate their workers but this one is paying us less. When we deduct taxes and whatever you remain with nothing. [10:30] with the system.

Interviewer: What is the tax level in Uganda? I don't actually know?

Interviewee: Sorry.

Interviewer: How much are you taxed in Uganda?

Interviewee: We are taxed Pay-As-You-Earn. We have NSSF. We have local tax. All that amount is deducted from that small…

Interviewer: Do you know how many percent approximately that is? I'm just asking out of curiosity.

Interviewee: From my salary they deduct like 90,000.

Interviewer: It's around 30% or something.

Interviewee: When you deduct NSSF, local tax, Pay-As-You-Earn, the bank will also deduct some, you remain with nothing.

Interviewer: This is also something that could cause you to go look for a job elsewhere, I guess?

Interviewee: Jobs are not there.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were the questions I had for you. If you have any questions for me or anything you want to add…I'm really glad that you shared this is me. That's it.

Interviewee: I don't have any question.

Interviewer: That's also fine.

Appendix 18: Teacher 4

Interviewer: If you could just start out introducing yourself and your qualifications. That would be very nice.

Interviewee: I'm [NAME]. I think I have been here since 2015. This is like my third year. I have a diploma in secondly. Next year, I'm finishing my degree.

Interviewer: So you take the degree while teaching.

Interviewee: Yeah. I am achieving a degree while I am teaching.

Interviewer: A degree in teaching.

Interviewee: In education, still. Next year, in May, I will be through with it.

Interviewer: Fantastic. Thank you. I want to talk a bit about quality education. If you could just explain to me how you understand quality education?

Interviewee: My perspective on quality education is where teachers are given resources and they are able to deliver what they wish to their learners. But if the resources are not there, then it can't be quality education.

Interviewer: Would you say that you have the resources that you need to deliver quality education?

Interviewee: Some are there, some we're using our own resources as teachers, improvising.

Interviewer: When we talk about what skills students need to succeed in life, what do you think are important?

Interviewee: Personal.

Interviewer: Your opinion.

Interviewer: Maybe I have to use that to discover what I don't know because there are some other techniques that are coming on, especially the ICT skills. We need more training about ICT.

Interviewer: What skills do you think students need to achieve in life afterwards?

Interviewee: I think in Uganda, today, the skills they need is to have more practical than theory work.

Interviewer: What are the practical work that they need to have?

Interviewee: I don't know whether during their course of senior four, after their school. At least they should advocate, above all, they should sensitize them about the importance of practical work in order to achieve their goals.

This theory education of ours, yes, some people are getting successful out of it but some are finding it hard to get employed because the universities are producing a lot of graduates and they tend to migrate to the other part of practical.

I think if they could put in some practical -- it can be practical, it can be practical subjects -- these kids can be equipped with them.

Interviewer: What is your impression that students do when they finish their O-level here? Do they continue A-level and do some go through to university, or do they stop education?

Interviewee: Ever since 2015, those were our first pioneers of Uganda Certificate of Education; our kids haven't joined the universities as such. We have some few who joined A-level but on a very small portion.

Others branch and go to this primary teaching, others join nursery teaching, others have…

Interviewer: You don't need A-level to do the diplomas?

Interviewee: I think if A-level was there they would maybe access it. A-level is also expensive. I think if PEAS could add an A-level school -- you never know -- it would maybe be affordable and they take.

Interviewer: You don't need A-level to go to nursery school, for instance. With O-level, you can go to nursery school.

Interviewee: O-level, they go to nursery schools, they go to primary teaching, so here we don't have A-level.

Interviewer: We talk about the CPD and PCPD.

Interviewee: Those things, I found them in PEAS. They are interesting, but above all, very hard. For example, they teach you a method but sometimes when you go to practice it and you find it is not easy with our kind of students.

Some of those practices are good. However, some of them…Like me; I did not get them properly.

Interviewer: Do you feel that you benefit from the CPD?

Interviewee: Yeah. First of all, they made us to become confident. When you put your objectives on the chalkboard and students read them, some bright student then tells you that the objective are this and this.

Another thing I saw in these CPDs, because you run many things you can't be like the other teacher who has never studied them – there is something similar to BDD phrase. But in CPDs, we had some CPD about over four aims, measurable, what, what.

I tried it in class and found the thing was really complicated. But others, we have been using them.

Interviewer: Is there something from the CPDs that you feel that you learned and that you can actually use in practice?

Interviewee: Yeah, they are there. The stretch it and you start stretching it. You ask a student and a student gives you from the little a student knows. Then you continue asking that child until the day the child gives you the wide knowledge about something and you begun on something small.

That method, we got it. We have had CPDs about involvement of learners mainly in lessons. We had CPDs about using different methods of teaching like think and pair methods. They have taught us very many skills.

Interviewer: I want to talk a bit about PEAS's business model. I wanted to ask you how you are remunerated by the school, how much you're paid.

Interviewee: Every year, they tend to increase by over 5%. They always tell us that they have put an increment of about 5%. It is usually gradual. Back in 2015, I was earning 250. Presently, I am earning around 400.

This 400 I'm telling you includes all the allowance – you have some little money for remedial, then there's this money for the class teacher. Above all, they even tax it.

Interviewer: You don't get that?

Interviewee: The net is 300. When I get some other little allowances they put it there and then they chop the money.

Interviewer: Are you able to sustain yourself on it?

Interviewee: Actually, I can praise PEAS that when it comes to finance they pay our money prompt – they pay it in time. That one I agree. With our Uganda, we've a lot of needs -- you want to study, you have a family.

I find myself squeezing a lot to get some tuition, to go for university, and to buy books to teach learners. Because we made several requisitions of new books and they are not coming sometimes I have my new text books. I buy.

Interviewer: You also have personal expenditures for teaching.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were the few questions I had for you. I don't know if you have any questions for me or anything you want to add.

Interviewee: Something I can tell you is that taxation is really taking us here. I don't know whether you can have a remedy of how we can reduce it. Even our 'class teacher' which we used to receive -- it was 20,000 per month and then the whole term 30 -- they are now taxing it.

We said, "Please, can a teacher have it in-hand?" They said, "No. Every money, according to PEAS, must pass through the bank." When I was earning this money taxation was not much – I was getting it wholesome.

But the day these small allowances came in, the chopping increased. They copped it to like around 120 per month.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Appendix 19: Teacher 5

Interviewer: Just to introduce myself. I am Viktor. I'm researching low fee private schools and using PEAS as a best case example – what works well, what works less well, and see what it means for low fee private schools in terms of achieving the global education goals.

Interviewee: I am [name]. I am a teacher. I teach mathematics and physics.

Interviewer: You didn't have anything to do with…This is chemistry.

Interviewee: I teach physics and mathematics. I've been here for five years.

Interviewer: What are your qualifications? Do you have a diploma or a degree?

Interviewee: Currently, I'm a diploma holder, but I'm a student already pursuing a degree.

Interviewer: You are pursuing a degree in?

Interviewee: I'm doing degree of education in my subject areas mathematics and physics.

Interviewer: I want to ask you a bit about quality education. What do you think quality education means?

Interviewee: Quality education, to me, I think is delivering a form of education or impacting skills and values which is of good use and of importance to our children or learners.

Interviewer: Can you give me any more specifics? For example, what you think that means?

Interviewee: In the subject of physics, I can say, most people teach theoretically but that's not quality education. For quality education, like in physics, you're supposed to do most of the things practically. Each thing we teach in class should be practical in order to enhance the students understanding and that will be quality to me.

Interviewer: What do you teach practically for instance?

Interviewee: An example, now.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: I was teaching Hook's Law in physics. We had to get quite a number of examples like springs, strings, and rubber bands so people were able to put different masses and see how things elastic are. We didn't stop there.

We even talked about the application in real life. So someone is likely to understand why these things are done that way and their use in daily life. I think he learns more.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you what skills you think students need to succeed in life.

Interviewee: Specifically physics?

Interviewer: Broadly speaking.

Interviewee: Someone is supposed to develop the practical skills of manipulating the apparatus. In that, people need to know how these things work in life. One is the practical skill. Two, I can say the thinking also is stimulated but what is most common is the practical one. The practicability is the skill which people normally develop in doing praticals in physics.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk to you about the CPD and what you think of it.

Interviewee: They are a bit good and they improve us. I remember of some CPDs which we've had; we begun with the mindset. Indeed, most of us teachers had a fixed mindset that some of these things can't work out; like that we cannot deliver only practical lessons in class, that some things should be theoretical, but now our mindset was changed.

We had a number of CPDs like how to use the [04:41] in class. Indeed, these things when they are put into practice there is a way it makes even lesson simpler for us and our work is make easier, so CPDs are so good and they should continue being there.

Interviewer: What are some things that you feel specifically you've learned from the CPDs?

Interviewee: The use of teaching aids in teaching and learning. Having a changed mindset; diverting your mindset from your fixed to a…I have learned about using techniques in managing students behaviors in class.

I have a behavioral chart in case people are making some noise. We develop a certain word like the word star. Here we use star to mean…I don't remember very well, but we have those charts in our classes.

In case someone does a mistake you'll find the star chart and remember, "I want to become a star. What is someone supposed to do? Be attentive in class. Be participative in class doing this A, B, C, D." so somebody will always be open to that.

I found that CPD are so important and up to now I keep on referring to those charts. I say, "Please, if you want to be a star, a star is supposed to be like this." We've developed techniques of managing classes.

We also had CPDs about the methods of teaching and we shared quite a number of methods. We even discovered that different teachers use different techniques and methods which are even better and we absorbed them.

We came up with the think-pair-share method. You give a question in class. You say, "OK, brainstorm about the question." You give them some two minutes and they think about it individually. Afterwards, you pair up two people then, "Share what you thought about it. Write it down." They write down and then they come up with a better reaction. When they give an answer, from two heads, that answer is of quality than one person who should have given.

We've also had things like the cold-call and very many things. They are all good and we need to appreciate.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk to you a bit about finances. I wanted to ask you how much you're paid.

Interviewee: The gross pay is 450. Of course, I work as a champion teach so there's some allowance they put for me. My net pay is around 350. That's what I get after taxes.

Interviewer: How does the champion teacher system work? Are there different levels of champion teachers?

Interviewee: Yes. I was the first champion teacher of the school so he put an allowance of around 60,000. On top of my other pay of 39,000, they put that allowance. Are you asking about the roles of a champion teacher?

Interviewer: It went into something else. I'm sorry. How does the champion teacher system work?

Interviewee: He is a teacher who will assist other teachers in doing some other activities. Like if it came to schemes of work, the champion teacher is supposed to be with ready schemes of work on time. He is supposed to have lesson plans in every lesson he goes to deliver. He champions teaching; he's showing others an example.

Normally, also, I assist in lesson observations – different teachers come to observe him when he is teaching to copy some skills, also you go and observe others. We keep on monitoring each other.

Interviewer: And there is second and first?

Interviewee: We have the first and the second. I was the first, and then after a year they added the second one. Reason: Students enrollment had increased so one champion teacher could not keep on overseeing all those teachers and help students, so there was need for a second champion teacher.

When we reach another number, we shall have a third champion teacher, but we have a cluster of teachers to help.

Interviewer: But all champion teachers are equal.

Interviewee: They are equal. Normally, we work with the office of the [halls] to champion the teaching.

Interviewer: To get back to your salary and your pay, I wanted to ask you how well you're able support yourself on this.

Interviewee: We normally find it a challenge. We keep here most of our time. Being a champion teacher, you can't go and do other private businesses here and there which might not help the school.

Most of my time, I'm here trying to help learners, in consultation with teachers, and this and this. I find it little indeed. I can't hard that it is little money. When there's inflation like in our country here, that money, sincerely speaking, we can't match with the standards of other people.

Interviewer: Are there any sacrifices that you need to make because of the salary? What do you not spend your money on?

Interviewee: We have made SACCOs. The little I earn, I get some small saving, and I put it in a SACCO. So that in case I need to buy a bigger item, I can borrow some money, and then I go and buy, and then I pay in installments until I clear. That's how we can help each other.

At least I've been patient. I do buy some goats, some sheep, and cows at home so they are there. The little you earn, also, you pay some other person so that he ran all those things so that I commit most of my time at the work.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for sharing this. Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have questions for me or anything you want to add.

Interviewee: No, I don't have much. We are happy with PEAS. One, they have helped us to become better teachers. Even if I moved away from here and I went to any school, they'll appreciate.

Here in our district, they fear our school. The way we teach is quite different from other schools. We get low grades at Primary Leaving Examinations, P7. Those grades are low. As low as even for the fourth grade, we admit it here. But by the end of senior four, we are able to add value to that person – at least he gets something and when he leaves here he's somehow OK.

There is a way they fear us. They say, "Those people; you can't enter a class when you're not prepared, so I can't work with PEAS." Two, the work is so demanding. We are almost here all the time so we find it.

Actually, they pay and balancing your other work is quite challenging. We wish the pay was increased -- that's all -- and then we'll work wholeheartedly.

Interviewer: You mentioned that PEAS is feared by the other schools.

Interviewee: They do fear us so much. Even when you go to the newspapers, now we have started coming up, and moreover, we don't admit these first-class students of good grades. No we don't but, still, at UCE, we compete the same way. So they're saying, "Those people, there's something they do."

And our students who wish to change, maybe, because of one reason or the other, and go to other schools, they feel the difference and say, "Ah, us we used to be taught like this and this. Here, things are different." They come and testify; meaning there is something different here which is not happening in other schools.

Interviewer: The PEAS school here, the seminar school, does it have an impact on the local community.

Interviewee: There is a very big impact which it has created. This is a community whereby people do not educate their young ones. The people are illiterate -- most of them -- and they couldn't believe in the school when it begun.

But with the success it's getting, people have now started exclaiming, "Ah, you mean you have a giant school like that," so they are coming. Most of them now have started sending their children to come and study.

Most of them, if I've not mistaken the percentage, at least have attained some level in education – either senior two or senior three. As much as they drop out because of school fees or what, at least there is some level.

The committee works with us very when. Most of them supply the equipment which we use like the food stuff. Indeed, they're seeing it as a source of employment and they feel the school should keep running for them to also earn a living.

They are happy about the school and I don't think they wish it anything bad.

Interviewer: So you have a lot of students that drop out after senior three and senior four.

Interviewee: People drop out. I can't hide that.

Interviewer: But the presence of the school means that people want to make the attempt to…

Interviewee: To be in the school. But maybe there are other external factors that stop them.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Interviewee: You are welcome.

Interviewer: Have a good day.

Appendix 20: Teacher 6

Interviewer: Just to introduce myself, my name is Viktor as I mentioned. I'm independent from PEAS. I do research low fee private schools. What are the limits and opportunities for them in terms of the global education goals that we have.

I look at what notions of quality that you work with and how the business model impacts members of the schools, teachers, students, head teachers, and the local community. If you could just start out by briefly introducing yourself, your qualifications, what you teach, that would be very nice.

Interviewee: I'm [NAME], Diploma in education secondary, and I teach art and design.

Interviewer: When we talk about quality and education, how would you describe quality education?

Interviewee: Quality education, we look at the education that is having an impact to the learner, and improving the learner's performances, and looking at lifting the learner from one level to another.

Like if a person came from primary with a sad grade and then he joins here, at least there should be some improvement to see that that person improves at the end – at least get something better than the results he got - adding some value to that person.

Interviewer: What was the first thing? You were saying that quality is not only about improving but about…

You were saying something before that.

Interviewee: Besides improvement, there should be some skills that a person is getting.

Interviewer: What skills do you think are important?

Interviewee: In my area of fine art, we look at the skills of how a person can come up with some creative thing; do some kind of work that can enable that child to be independent even after some time, like they produce simple handwork items.

Interviewer: So independent afterwards so that they would be able to sell the craft. That's the objective.

Interviewee: Yes, they can create something better.

Interviewer: How does art and design fit in? I saw this with the subjects that they listed so there are more subjects than the subjects up there.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you teach both O-level and A-level?

Interviewee: Currently, we have only O-level.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how you teach these skills where they learn to be independent and creative?

Interviewee: For example, we look at the locally available materials and then we extract them. Then we tell them how best they can do the work. They do it practically like in producing a collage mosaics – those art pieces.

Like weaving, you find them also doing some practice in it and it is helping especially the girl-child department to have that skill. Now, it also reduces on their time wastage. Even when they are out of school, you find them engaged in doing some weaving of table clothes. You find them engaged with so much.

Actually, when we were doing marketing during the holidays, I went deep to the lake shores. I was very happy when I found that girl doing some weaving at home. I was excited. If I had a camera, I would have captured that because it was really nice.

Interviewer: How good to see that it has an impact.

Interviewee: It has an impact, because for sure it is helping them to not stay redundant there, but get engaged in some activity as they restore their minds and…

Interviewer: Is your course or subject an elective or is that something that all students have to take?

Interviewee: It is all, but when the reach the level of senior four, some select it. Those who do it up to A-level, they start selective. But from senior one, two, three, it is not optional.

Interviewer: One of the things that we were very concerned with is sustainability and intercultural dialogue, respect for human rights and equality, and so on. Do you think those are ideas that are reflected in art and design?

Interviewee: The art, yes, because we reflect on the ancient time -- what they we're doing -- and then we just bring them on the table. Now the difference comes on the materials, but the ideas, the work, everything is the same.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk a bit to you about the CPD. You have it a couple of times a year, right, like three or four times a year? How often do you have it?

Interviewee: We have it like six times a term. We do them termlly.

Interviewer: You have two terms.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Would you say that CPD is something that you've benefited for?

Interviewee: Great, for sure. When we look at CPD, it's something very interesting because they bring us some more awareness and some other new ways of handling teaching and learning and even growing professionally.

Recently we were looking at this one here. It was under behavior expectations. It was guiding us that when we are in class, learners must be aware that 'S' stands for sit up so I don't need to communicate to them, "Can you sit upright?"

I don't need to do that. The communication just comes there and the learner is in a position to understand that, "When the teacher is in class, I must look up." CPD has really improved the grade in the teacher's area of teaching and learning, and even growing professionally, it has really done well.

Interviewer: Who is it that conducts the trainings? Is that the people from PEAS in Kampala, or UK, or elsewhere?

Interviewee: We have CPDs which are conducted here at school level by our school leaders.

Interviewer: So Simon or the head teacher.

Interviewee: Yeah, the head teacher, the head of studies, and the director. Then we have the CPDs where we conduct them with the PEAS secretariat members -- they come here and then we have with them with the teachers. We have that kind of engagement, and it is really fine because we also put them on the schedules.

Interviewer: Can you give other examples of something you think you've learned from the CPD other than the staff?

Interviewee: We have looked at assessment. We have a CPD on assessment, learning how to…

[crosstalk]

Interviewer: Are you here for the interview as well?

Man: Yes.

Interviewer: You can wait outside. We'll finish up in five minutes, maybe.

Man: OK.

Interviewee: CPD on assessment, CPD on behavior management, and then there was…It was about assessment and how you could look at the ways of assessment, how do you assess, and what you specifically assess so you add some more importance in it.

Interviewer: When you do the grading for the final exam, that's done centrally, right? That's a test administered centrally and then graded centrally?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Thank you. I wanted to talk a bit about the business model. I wanted to ask you how much you earn from teaching here and well you are able to sustain yourself on that salary.

Interviewee: The salary is paid in time – that's one way of planning. However much it is, that's the best way how you can plan for it, and then I find myself doing some other kind of business.

Interviewer: So you use the money from here to do other business.

Interviewee: Yes. Like I can get some people to dig for me some gardens and I plant some plants.

Interviewer: Can I ask how much you earn?

Interviewee: Yes. 330.

Interviewer: A month?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Have you worked elsewhere before you got a job here at PEAS?

Interviewee: Yeah. I worked in…

[interruption]

Interviewer: You worked else with teaching also?

Interviewee: I was teaching some other schools in town but they were not paying in time.

Interviewer: That was a private school.

Interviewee: It was private. They were delaying in payments, they pay little money.

Interviewer: You are happy with the pay and the way that it's paid out and everything.

Interviewee: Yeah. But if there is something to do that has no problem. The nature of the things now, the cost of living is going high when things are getting expensive, so it would be better if there could be some more. But currently, we're happy with it.

Interviewer: You are a graduate, right?

Interviewee: I'm a diploma.

Interviewer: I mix the two all the time because in Denmark it would be opposite. The last question is; in your class do you see that there are also students from some of the poorest houses or families around here?

Interviewee: Yeah, they are there. You find that you have gone in a lesson where you need to have this type of shading pencils, which is around 6 B, and it is sold at 1,000 for that one pencil. You find the learner can't afford, so you find that after the friend has bought the long pencil, he cuts for the friend. That's a sign that the background is not proper.

Some may not have the books. You find they have this small book but you need a wider book for the good picture.

Interviewer: Do they manage to graduate? What is your experience?

Interviewee: Sometimes I always encourage them. I told them to encourage the parents to support them. They always at the end get the resources.

Interviewer: At the end, most of them manage to.

Interviewee: Yeah, most of them. Sometimes I give them a time limit. I say, "Please, by the end of this week, everybody should have this." I give them a time frame. Afterwards, I come and ask, "Who has totally failed?"

Sometimes I get phone numbers and I communicate to them. I say, "Please, such and such a person is lacking the materials." There are others who are serious and they give.

You may find other learners that I have given him money for the pen or for the book and he says, "Let me first use this money. When my mom gives me money for pocket money, add on and then buy the book." You engage with them and at the end of it all, you find some work coming out.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had for you. Thank you for taking your time.

Interviewee: OK, please. Thank you, Viktor.

Appendix 21: Teacher 7

Interviewer: …so it's not clear who you are.

Interviewee: No problem.

Interviewer: Let me just introduce myself. I am Victor, as I mentioned. I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools like PEAS and what the limits and the opportunities are for them in terms of the global education goals that we have.

I'm independent from PEAS is also important to mention. What I'm particularly concerned with is the education, what notions of quality that are at play, and how the business model impacts members of the school, the teachers, and how it impacts the local community.

If you could just start out briefly introducing yourself, who you are, what you teach, your qualifications; that would be very nice.

Interviewee: I am called [NAME] a chemistry and biology teacher, a diploma holder. I teach here at Green Shoots Secondary School.

Interviewer: How long have you taught? How long have you been here?

Interviewee: I'm soon making a year.

Interviewer: When we talk about quality education and quality, what do you think is important for quality? What is quality education?

Interviewee: Quality education should be realized by those students…the outcome of their coming to the school. If we have managed to get something from them, maybe good grades, that one to me I think it will be someone has accessed quality education.

Interviewer: What do you think the outcome should be?

Interviewee: The outcome should line with the discipline of the learners because now we can't just dwell on academics. We need to get good citizens. Discipline of learns, those who are talented, responsible learners, and actually those who can go for further studies.

Interviewer: When we talk about education as a means to prepare you for life, what skills do you think are important that students bring from here to succeed in life?

Interviewee: At school, learners should get the skills which can help them to sustain themselves, not necessarily waiting for the white-collar jobs.

Interviewer: They need to be prepared for work, so what do you think is important for them to learn to be able to work?

Interviewee: If we can involve them in…Here we have some study like life skills – that one is an addition on our subjects, life skill and literacy. In those areas, the learners are given those skills, the skills of making some items, even trying to look after something.

On agriculture, they can obtain those skills which they can transform to their places of work.

Interviewer: Can you tell me a little bit more about life skills. You said they were taught how to make things and so on.

Interviewee: Life skill is just like a subject which is preparing them.

Interviewer: One thing that we are concerned with is questions around sustainability, equality, intercultural dialogue and so on. Do you think those are questions that are reflected in the curriculum? If so, can you give me an example of how they are reflected?

Interviewee: How they are reflected in the curriculum?

Interviewer: The intercultural dialogue, sustainability, or equality. If it's not reflected, that's also fair to say. Is it reflected? And if so, how would you say it's reflected?

Interviewee: Of course, as we're learning, we have to put in our minds the culture. We have to have those norms and values within these learners so that they can be preserved maybe for future reference.

I think that one is done because these learners normally go for prayers; they normally have those cultural dances when they have organized. By doing so, even it tries to exhibit some of the talents which cannot be shown in our teaching which learners have.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk about the CPDs – the Continued Professional Development. Is it something you benefit from? If so, can you give me an example of something that you've benefited from and talk a little about it?

Interviewee: Of course we benefit from them. CPD is continuous because learning as a process is continuous. At times they come with new ideas, even good approaches, for example, in our scientific areas, the way we can reach those learners. CPDs, they are very good.

Interviewer: Is there anything particular you think you've learned from the CPDs?

Interviewee: Actually, it has taught us a lot of things like the learner center approach, those things of ICT hand zone and mind zone. At least we're trying to integrate ICT with learning, which is a good idea.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk a bit more about PEAS's business. First, I wanted to ask you how much you are paid. Are you offered any other ways of remuneration?

Interviewee: Maybe you can write that figure. The net pay after removing everything is 33…

Interviewer: You can just write it here or you can show it to me.

Interviewee: It is that figure.

Interviewer: 337, OK. How well are you able to sustain yourself on that salary? It's hard or it's OK.

Interviewee: It's for a living.

Interviewer: Do you spend it on other ways of earning money?

Interviewee: According to me, I can first save and then maybe if it reaches a certain amount I invest. Also, I can invest on small scale, maybe, digging.

Interviewer: And you do that?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: What where you doing before you started teaching here? Were you a teacher elsewhere, or did you work?

Interviewee: I came out from the college and I got this job.

Interviewer: You graduated a year ago from college. Congratulations!

Interviewee: Thank you.

Interviewer: In your class, do you see students also from some of the poorest families in the community? What is your experience with that?

Interviewee: I am a born of this area. Our parents are poor. Those who have little are not willing to make these learners come to the schools. That is the problem which is within our society.

Interviewer: The problem is that they don't bring their kids to school.

Interviewee: Others are poor and they cannot afford to pay. Sometimes that's the problem.

Interviewer: Do you see students who drop out, who start S1 but…?

Interviewee: They drop out because of failure to meet the necessities.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you want to add something.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Appendix 22: Teacher 8

Interviewer: …all we say and it will be anonymized. Just to introduce myself, I'm Viktor, as I mentioned. I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools and limits and opportunities to them in terms of some of the global goals that we have on education.

What I'm concerned with is questions around quality, what is quality, and the business model PEAS has – how that impacts you as teachers, the local community, and the students.

First, I would like to start out by asking if you could introduce yourself, who you are, what your qualifications are, and what you teach.

Interviewee: I'm called [NAME].

Interviewer: How do you spell it?

Interviewee: [NAME]. I'm a diploma holder. I am a teaching of language, English. I'm responding to those ones you asked. You asked my name, what I teach, and my qualification. Those are all. I am a diploma holder.

Interviewer: When we talk about quality, how do you understand quality education? What is important?

Interviewee: To me, quality education is actually giving the basics to learners what they need to have and giving them the basic skills.

Interviewer: What are the basics that the learners need?

Interviewee: For me, here I look at the skills as per my subject. One of the skills is I have to develop their speaking skills. I have also to look into their writing skills,

listening skills, and the other one is their reading skills. I look into all those skills and make sure that they are developed.

Interviewer: Can you give me examples of how you teach them these skills?

Interviewee: It depends on which skill I want actually to develop. If I go to class -- specifically, if I want to look at the reading skills -- I get some books and then I get some passages. I distribute. I give to learners and then I request them to read.

They can read as a group or I pick one to read as the other one listens. As one is reading, then these ones are also listening so they must attentively. That day, I'll be developing two skills – the listening and then other one is the reading skills.

When it comes to writing, maybe, we have topics like composition writing where I can bring a story and I say, "Write about this and this." The learner begins to write and there I'm trying to develop the other skills.

Where they go wrong, I make sure I come in and try to support them. I tell them, "Look, here you do like this. You write it like this. You do this and do this." In speaking skills, we also look at the grammar part of it.

How to construct sentences; sometimes you request them, "Can you stand up and construct a sentence? Can you join this, do this, and this?" That one now, we're looking at the speaking skills and writing.

Interviewer: Thank you. You mentioned some of these skills that you teach the students. Talk broader about what skills you think students need to succeed in life, and how do you prepare students for this school?

Could you give me some ideas about that?

Interviewee: In the first place, maybe I may not necessarily look at the writing, the speaking, and what. First of all, they need to learn how to socialize with their friends – that is interacting with the outside environment, which is very important.

Interviewer: Can you give me more examples of that, interacting with the outside?

Interviewee: We teach them manners, how to behave when they are out. How they can treat themselves when they are outside. In other words, there we look at the discipline; how do you conduct yourself in public.

Maybe the other one is leadership. Sometimes we train them leadership because here there are many things we normally do. Sometimes we make debates. When they are debating, they are learning how to speak.

In future, these people will become maybe leaders. Others may want to contest so they should know how to speak, how to stand in front of people, and then they deliver the speech.

Interviewer: When you talk about leadership, what do you think is important to be a leader? What do you need to be a leader?

Interviewee: To be a leader, first of all, you must have confidence in you. Confidence actually comes along with speaking. You must be a fluent speaker. You have to be confident as in speaking fluently.

You also need to be social. You need to know how to deal with people from all walks of life because you're dealing with many categories out there. You need to know how to deal with people, how to cool the anger

For example, when you're outside there, some people may abuse and if you don't have that kind of skill -- how to deal with anger -- you're also reacting at it and then you find that you're trying to pull the ropes.

We try to let them know how to behave themselves outside.

Interviewer: One of things that we're very concerned with are questions around sustainability, equality, intercultural dialogue, human rights and so on. Are those questions that you think are addressed in your teaching? If so, can you give me any examples?

Interviewee: We also have what we call literacy. We also do teach literacy. In other words, after maybe my know lesson, we spare some minutes to talk to them about literacy – we talk about those ones.

Interviewer: You were talking about literacy.

Interviewee: That is just all about life skills outside school – how they can interact with the outside environment. It's actually what I was even trying to explain.

Interviewer: One thing I wanted to ask you about also is how you're remunerated, how much you're paid. Are you just paid your salary or do you also live here in the school? You live outside the school, right?

Interviewee: I don't live within the school. I live outside the school. What I get in my account is 300.000 Uganda shillings.

Interviewer: Do you know what you're paid before taxes? Not the net salary but the actual salary.

Interviewee: This is what I get after deductions. Before deductions, I think it is around 320, 000.

Interviewer: Are you a part-time or full-time?

Interviewee: Full-time.

Interviewer: How well are you able to sustain yourself on this salary?

Interviewee: Actually, this money is little. I do try to do other activities like agriculture to support me.

Interviewer: You grow maize and crops.

Interviewee: Sometimes I sell and then I add on that one. When the season is not favorable, it also becomes a problem. I normally use this money here; I invest in agriculture. Again, when the season is not OK, you find that I have invested the money, it's gone, and I have not realized anything.

Interviewer: What were you doing before you started teaching here? Were you a teacher or a student?

Interviewee: Before I started teaching here, I was teaching as well and also doing agriculture. At home, I rear animals, birds, and also rearing crops.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for sharing that.

Interviewee: You are welcome.

Interviewer: The last question is in your classroom, do you also see students from some of the poorest households around here?

Interviewee: They are there –in fact, majority.

Interviewer: How do they make their way through? Do they manage to graduate? Can they afford some of the other class things you need?

Interviewee: There are those ones that can afford. There're some that cannot afford and it is affecting them so much. There are others that miss lessons just because they have not paid school fees. You see, sometimes when the school is demanding and these ones need to go and pick money from home, sometimes they don't come immediately. They tend to take a long time, others even a week, and you'll find that it is also affecting their performance.

Interviewer: What are the items that they need to pay for other than the school fees and books?

Interviewee: What I know is the school fees and maybe uniform if at they don't have -- the newcomers. What I know, the school fees.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have something you want to add.

Interviewee: You are welcome. Maybe your contact.

Interviewer: Yeah. Of course, you can have that. Thank you very much.

Appendix 23: Teacher 9

Interviewer: Just to introduce myself, I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools and what their limits and opportunities are in terms of the global education goals that Uganda and all countries in the world have agreed to.

What I'm concerned with are questions around quality, what is quality, how do people understand quality, and the business model of PEAS and how that impacts you as a teacher, the students, the local community and so on.

First, I would just like to ask you to introduce yourself, who you are, what you teach, and your qualifications.

Interviewee: I am Jane. Subject - agriculture. I am a grade-five teacher.

Interviewer: What does a grade-five teacher mean? Is that a diploma or a graduate?

Interviewee: It is a diploma so we grade it grade-five.

Interviewer: It's good to see a female in agriculture. When we talk about quality, if you could tell me how you understand quality and what you think is important for quality?

Interviewee: When we talk about quality in a school setting, to me, I take it as providing the basic education which is necessary according to the Ugandan syllabus.

Interviewer: The Ugandan syllabus that you use here, that's the old one. It's not the one that [01:55]. Never mind that. I'll try and clarify. It was just something I heard. It was about giving them the best possible outcome. Is there anything else you think is important for quality?

Interviewee: Yeah, quality is important. It empowers somebody to overcome the challenges of the world. It also equips somebody with skills to carry out some practical work outside the school.

Interviewer: When we talk about life after school, what skills do you think are important for the students to be taught to succeed in life?

Interviewee: According to my subject, there is something which I have discovered. For us in Uganda, we normally teach theory work, and then from school, you go in offices to look for jobs, but should be taught practical agriculture.

For instance, I went in one school and I found they were training children to make tree nursery bed – they plant trees, you sell. That thing was there. Now according to our syllabus, it is there but not practical.

Interviewer: What you do is to take some of the things that you need to tell the students about?

Interviewee: Yes. You just talk it theoretically but you don't go to the ground. In fact, we would teach those practical agricultural skills like planting trees. You can teach them carpentry so that after school, somebody does not lie idle that I don't have a job, can begin with the knowledge he or she has.

Interviewer: Do you have a field around here? Do you have an income-generating activity that's part of the agricultural subject?

Interviewee: We don't have. One time, we had a goat but it was stole.

Interviewer: Do you grow anything else here on the school?

Interviewee: No, we don't grow crops. Sometimes the school grows as a school but the students are not actively involved.

Interviewer: Thank you. Some of the things that we're very concerned about is questions around sustainability, equality, human rights, intercultural dialogue and so on. Do you think those are thinks that are reflected in the curriculum or not necessarily?

Interviewee: Human rights, we do honor them. Sustainability as a school, we try to maintain the learners who we have.

Interviewer: Moving into the business model. One thing I also wanted to ask you about is the students you see in your class. Do you think that the students there also come from some of the poorest households around here?

Do you see that there're students that struggle to pay their way through class, bring the equipment they need for your class?

Interviewee: Yeah. My students at least have some equipment we need but others are still lacking.

Interviewer: What are the equipments that they need to bring for agriculture?

Interviewee: Those workshop tools.

Interviewer: So what? Shovels…I don't know. We're not taught agriculture in Denmark. What tools would they need to bring to class?

Interviewee: In fact, we don't bring them to class. We constructed a laboratory, separate, so we put those tools in the laboratory. When it comes to one of the lessons where you feel it should be done practically, you in the laboratory, you learn, you leave them there.

Interviewer: Those are the school's tools or those are the students'?

Interviewee: The school is supposed to buy. They are for the school. For us, we just use them and we leave.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you a bit about how you are remunerated and how much you're paid. You don't live here on the school, right? You live outside the school.

Interviewee: I live outside the school. I earn 320,000.

Interviewer: That's before deductions, right?

Interviewee: After.

Interviewer: How do you feel? Are you able to sustain yourself on this?

Interviewee: According to Uganda.

Interviewer: You can do it somewhat. How do you use the money? Do you invest it?

Interviewee: That money -- according to Uganda setup -- if you have a child, can only pay school fees and buy food.

Interviewer: For one child.

Interviewee: For one child and the mother or the father. It can sustain you but development may not come out.

Interviewer: I see that you have parents here who earn much less than this. Do you know how they are able to pay their kid's way through education?

Interviewee: This one is a PEAS school. For us, we're relatively cheaper than other private schools. Because says we're providing access so they reduced the school fees. In fact, we thank PEAS because what they are paying here cannot even pay for a P3 kid in other schools.

If you happen to go a distant, if you're paying fees in a primary private school, it's a lot.

Interviewer: What were you doing before you started teaching here? Were you a teacher elsewhere or a student?

Interviewee: I teach elsewhere.

Interviewer: In a public school or private?

Interviewee: Private school.

Interviewer: Here in Kigorobya.

Interviewee: Outside Kigorobya.

Interviewer: How is the pay different from here to there?

Interviewee: The advantage with here is payment is done at the end of the month – it is prompt. Now, the other side, sometimes they tell you "We don't have the money; give us a week or two."

Interviewer: The level is sort of the same, but the main difference is that it is paid on time.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Those were the questions I had for you. Maybe just a last question; when we talked about the poorer students, do you see that these students come from other schools to here or do they go directly from primary into secondary here?

Interviewee: Majority come from primary and join. A few join us around here.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were the questions. I don't know if you have something you want to add.

Interviewee: I have a question. PEAS as an NGO, do you have other benefits for teachers? For instance, there is an NGO called The John Good Hope. They visited my sister school. For them, they come and train children environmental sustainability and what.

They said they have a program. They sponsor teachers who want to go for further studies. PEAS, don't you have that benefit.

Interviewer: I don't know of it, but you have the CPDs, right.

Interviewee: We now have CPDs.

Interviewer: What's your impression of the CPDs? Do they work?

Interviewee: They really help us much towards professional development, outcome of students, and others.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of something you've learned from the CPDs?

Interviewee: Yeah. I learned how to make achievable objectives. When I'm going to teach about milestone, I normally set objectives. Maybe I want all my learners to

understand what we call manure, how will I make my learners understand that thing?

Interviewer: What you would miss from that compared to what your sister school has is the formal qualifications. You were saying that your sister school may have trainings for teachers or offer it.

Interviewee: They don't have trainings for teachers. There is an NGO which comes and helps teachers and sometimes they teach children how to maintain the environment. They said they have sponsorship for teachers who want should come and plan to go for further studies.

My question was does PEAS have that provision to sponsor its teachers to go for studies?

Interviewer: Not that I know of. No. It's a relevant question to bring on. I'm very keen on the other schools. You said that people that come and teach the students sustainability.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Those are some of the things that you don't teach kids here either, right?

Interviewee: No. I don't know the criteria which they used to pick schools. They operate in some sub counties. They don't operate throughout the whole district. I think this year they're coming to Kigorobya. I don't know whether they'll pick our school or they'll pick other schools here.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had for you.

Appendix 24: Teacher 10

Interviewer: My name is Viktor. I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools like PEAS – what they do well and what they don't do less well and what that means for how they can work towards some of the global education goals that the world has agreed to.

I'm independent of PEAS. I'm not employed by PEAS. What I would first like to ask you is to just introduce yourself, who are you, what do you teach, your qualifications, and are you a part-time or a full-time teacher.

Interviewee: Thank you, sir. My names are [NAME]. I teach business subjects, majoring in entrepreneurship, commerce. I'm on part-time.

Interviewer: Are you a diploma or a graduate holder?

Interviewee: At the moment, I am a diploma. I'm finishing in June this year at Makerere University. I'm about to finish.

Interviewer: That's why you work part-time, because you study and work.

Interviewee: Yes. When I finish, that's when I'll be much free.

Interviewer: I finish a diploma in June. I graduate in June as well so we'll finish at the same time.

Interviewee: Thank you very much.

Interviewer: How does that work? Does Makerere University have a campus around here or do you go to Kampala?

Interviewee: Normally during holidays, after we have closed, I go to Kampala. We stay there for two weeks and then the third week we come back and I resume here. When we close here, I'll still go back. It is during the holidays.

Interviewer: Some of things that I'm concerned with are questions around quality, what is quality, and how is quality understood. And the business model; how does the business model influence members of the school and the local community.

First, I would just like to ask you how you understand quality and what is important. What is quality education to you?

Interviewee: When you look at the quality, it cuts across; it is in terms of what good things expected out of what you deliver to the learners. That's quality. In terms of what materials do you deliver to these learners? That output, the end result may make some of them successful in life.

When you prepare good teaching and learning raw materials and you transform these raw materials into goods into goods and services, where the quality raw materials are good the output will also be good.

When you look at the admissions -- you want quality there -- you are admitting the best students, you'll always expect the best at the end of the results. Even when you admit these ones who are maybe low in performance, you can still add value to them to improve their quality to be successful.

Interviewer: When we talk about success and we talk about what we need to add to the students, what do you think is important that the students are taught? In quality education, what do you think is important that students learn, what are the skills that they need?

Interviewee: The skills which the students could come up with…To have skills for better qualities in terms of their guidance. Some of them need guidance and counseling. When you provide guidance and counseling session to them, you find that some of them are slow learners – they cope up with time.

You need to build capacity and bring these ones who are slow learners to match with the same level so as to have quality of life. When you leave these other ones down without helping them, then the quality will not be there.

Interviewer: When the children leave school, what do you think are the skills that they need in life after school to be successful and live a good life?

Interviewee: Most of them, after here, at times others are not successful. The best is always to make them to be hands-on the skill. When you encourage them to have hands-on skills in the business areas, you find that somebody, after here, may end up creating his or her own business so as to wait for opportunity that might come to him or her in the life to come – for the employment.

When we look at the students at the moment…Business is focused on preparing these learners to become self-independent. Because the world is competitive,

you find that you might wait to be employed by the government or by other NGOs but the jobs might not be there. The only alternative is to have the students hands-on the skills, train them in the business fields that can open opportunities for them so as to be successful.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how you teach the students the business skills they need?

Interviewee: Normally we merge these students into their groups – you expose them. There's some groups where you gather them and you ask them about their careers, and what they want to be in future, and then building that in them and identifying potentials in that.

Then you guide them on those skills and the business skills which you put into them depends on the nature of the career of that person or the group has come with, so that the skills will be guiding the on that.

Like negotiation skills, skills how to negotiate for business products, skills of bargaining for products, and then skills of initiating businesses -- the steps to start a business -- those are all skills that can be impacted into them to be able to have ground for future businesses.

Interviewer: I also wanted to talk to you about Continued Professional Development program. The CPD is something you participate in as a part-time teacher also.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What are your thoughts about it and is it something you think you benefit from?

Interviewee: Continuous Development Programs help us a lot here. You find that when they are organized particular in the classrooms, you find that when these are narrowed to teachers it helps us in the classroom.

For example when we develop these charts like the star chart that will focus the attention of the learners. After lunch, at times, others doze because of weather condition, because of some stress.

When they see the star, "Sit upright, attract the attention of the teacher, respect your friends in the class, observe your friend, answers expected." These are all helping as a lot in developing these learners who are not able to observe what is supposed to be done when the class interaction is going on.

It helps both the teacher and the learner. Then time; time is money. When we don't cope up with time clearly you find a lesson halfway missed because of maybe a student's problem or your problem.

When the star chart is there, everybody is focused and time is saved in lesson delivery.

Interviewer: I want to move into the business model of PEAS. Do you see some children from the poorest households around here?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you see them in your class and how do they do in their classes? Are they able to pay for the school materials? What are the school materials that they need to pay for in your class?

Interviewee: There are economically well-to-do parents and others are poor. You find that these students are all here. Some of these learners, as you have said, they might have missed the books and materials to use in a class.

You find that somebody might not be having a calculator, a set box. Particularly for this subject, a calculator is necessary for my business subjects because we compute some things.

You find that you're on 'income statement' and we want to see how the business is progressing. The calculators will help us to arrive faster than when using ordinary. You might waste time there to calculate certain things – calculators for accuracy.

Some of these people come from lower-level families and they cannot cope up with some of these learning situations. That's why you find that at times they always have that problem. Though they are there in the classes, but they feel so inferior because of the absence of those things. It affects the learning in these learners.

If there could be support to them, the school normally tolerates them. These parents are also allowed to pay in bits so that they can remain in school.

Interviewer: Are they able to pay their way through? Do you see that they actually graduate in senior four or do they drop out in senior two or three? What is your impression?

Interviewee: Mostly, I see them going through. In terms of their performance, they might be different. For example, at times you will come with some papers from Kampala and other schools, photocopy, and then you make them also to photocopy and read.

You find that these ones who are from other low-level families, where they could not afford to photocopy those things, they end up performing poorly. That's a big challenge.

Interviewer: How much are you earning from teaching here?

Interviewee: Net is 319.

Interviewer: How are you able to sustain yourself on this salary? Do you also get money from elsewhere or do you take a loan from friends?

Interviewee: At times when I'm hard up like when I go for studies, this one might not help me so much. Because it goes through the bank, I'm able to access some loan and pay for my tuition. There's also my own child who is in senior one this year who is also here. I'm able to pay because of the loan access.

Interviewer: You qualify for a loan in the bank.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What were you doing before you started teaching here? Did you start teaching here? Did you start teaching immediately when you finished your diploma, or have you done any other work?

Interviewee: In diploma level, I was doing some teaching in another school – that's where I got my access to the government job payroll.

Interviewer: Your job here, is that government?

Interviewee: This one is private, but the other side where I rendered the same service.

Interviewer: You were in a public school?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: How were the working conditions in the public school compared to here?

Interviewee: Here it is let me say better off. The government does its things slowly, but here things are done timely. You find that the process of procurement in a government public school takes time. But with PEAS schools it is immediately – things are done timely.

That's why you find that even when we are ranked here, I think because of those timely things, the school was ranked number one in this place.

Interviewer: In this district?

Interviewee: Yes, in the district.

Interviewer: That's all the questions I had. I don't know if you want to add something or if you have any questions for me.

Interviewee: Because you are there, you might open up some windows. Now, where we finish, we need to enrich our development in studies. If there could be other windows there for us after I finish the degree, I need to enroll for Masters and PhD because life is all about having academics in ourselves so that you handle these learners.

Here we have O-level, but we expect with time, when we qualify, we want the A-level section so that we can have a hand there. There could be other opportunities there, if you could bring for us some opportunities so that we can access sponsorship.

Interviewer: You've never had A-levels here, have you?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: I don't know. It's a good question, but I think there's also lots of attention around it and that's also why I'm looking at it. There is a realization that education is the way forward and that education is not only about having enough school places, it's also about actually teaching the students something useful that they can use after.

I think those are my immediate things I can share. It raised another question. When you teach the children, some of the things that I'm concerned about are

issues around environmental sustainability, social sustainability, intercultural dialogue, equality, human rights and so on.

Do you think those are questions that are present in the curriculum and what you teach, or are those questions that are left for elsewhere? Sustainability; is it something you teach here as a school or is it something that there's another place for?

Interviewee: Sustainability for myself?

Interviewer: For the society and the student.

Interviewee: This is basing on what we teach to these learners. How they are going to sustain them in the long run?

Interviewer: Yeah. How they ensure the sustainability of Uganda.

Interviewee: In terms of what we deliver to them?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: The sustainability in the education system now…You know how the education system is preparing these youths basically for white-collar jobs?

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: But if the government could emphasis. At the moment, their emphasis is sciences to be compulsory. But these other elective subjects like entrepreneurship, fine art, agric, that could prepare these learners so as to sustain the country.

Interviewer: For blue-collar jobs.

Interviewee: Yeah. Agriculture is the backbone of our country, but if these vocational subjects could be emphasized in secondary schools they could sustain the country. You find that doctors, we have them but others leave the country for greener pasture, so sustaining is a problem.

Interviewer: Do you think most of the students here will go on to blue or white-collar jobs?

Interviewee: It will now depend on the output. If the output is good, at times you find there's also a struggle to move.

Interviewer: So most of them will go to blue-collar jobs in the end?

Interviewee: Yes. Because the conditions might not be able to sustain in the long run. A student who completes here when exposed to Kampala schools will opt to remain there than come to work in the villages.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Appendix 25: Teacher 11

Interviewer: You'll be anonymized so people don't know who you are. My name is Viktor. I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools. I look at what they

do well and what they don't do as well and what that means for their ability to work towards the global education goals that we had agreed to.

Some of things that I'm particularly concerned with are issues around quality, how is quality understood, and the business model – how it impacts you as teachers and the local community.

First, I would just like to ask you to start out and introduce yourself, what you teach, who you are, what are your qualifications.

Interviewee: Thank you. I'm [NAME]. I teach biology and chemistry. I have grade-five teacher.

Interviewer: You are two biology and chemistry teachers here.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: How long have you taught here?

Interviewee: I have taught for three years.

Interviewer: As I mentioned, some of things that I'm looking at are issues around quality. How would like you first to start out how do you understand quality? What is important for quality education according to you?

Interviewee: To me, quality education looks at how best you normally prepare as you're going to teach, how you deliver it, how you engage with the learners like giving them support and all that and attending some K programs like the CPD to ensure that you have improved the teaching and learning process.

Interviewer: For you, quality is very much about the teachers, the materials being well prepared.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: You mentioned CPD. Is that something you feel you've benefited from? Can you tell me a bit how it works and something you feel you've learned from it?

Interviewee: CPD has helped me to remind me some of the practices that I must do to ensure that I teach effectively in class and some other practices that are supposed to be done in the classroom – teaching, learning, and all that. When developing new strategies that I can use to ensure that I teach effectively.

Interviewer: Is there something you feel you're missing from CPD or you would want to see from the CPD? Do you think the CPD could improve or something you would wish you got from the CPD?

Interviewee: So far, it has been good, and to improve it, maybe if we'd get more number of times to attend like per term in a year. The other side I think there's nothing much.

Interviewer: When we talk about quality education and we talk about what skills students need in life after school to succeed, what do you think are important for the students?

Interviewee: For us in sciences, mostly, the students to apply that knowledge after class. After applying it, then they can use it to do other productive work, so they have to apply it.

Interviewer: Can you give me examples of what productive work would be?

Interviewee: After here, they can move somewhere and they can start some simple project and be able to handle it.

Interviewer: One of the things that we're also very concerned with is questions around sustainability, intercultural dialogue, equality, and so on. Is that something you think is reflected in what you teach?

Interviewee: I'll start with quality. With quality, we're trying to get but not all that. As a school, we cannot have all that may necessitate, but at least we have tried to make our work more better in quality teaching and some other thing.

When it comes to sustainability, we as teachers and the school have tried as much as possible but we still have a problem from the community. We don't retain all our learners that we admit at senior one so that's still a challenge.

Interviewer: What are some of the challenges for retaining the learners?

Interviewee: Mostly some of the may end up changing schools like if they don't have school fees and others stop school completely.

Interviewer: The fees and the educational materials are the main challenge or are there other reasons?

Interviewee: Besides that, still, the attitude of the parents and the community. That is actually the most…

Interviewer: What do you mean with that?

Interviewee: Most of them think that even if they don't move far with education they can still survive and they are able to handle the world.

Interviewer: We talked a bit about the skills they need afterwards and you mentioned what skills students need to gain from chemistry and biology. When we talk more broadly, as a student leaving school, not only needing biology and chemistry, what are the skills that I need to succeed?

Interviewee: For us, when we're teaching, we normally teach them handling skills, observation, their interpretation, application, analysis.

Interviewer: You mentioned it briefly that a parents attitude might mean that they take their kid out of school. The fact that there is a PEAS school in Kigorobya, does that have an impact on the community? Does that mean something to the community both positive and negative?

Interviewee: To the community, I think they don't mind about it much. To us, it is negative still.

Interviewer: Why is it negative?

Interviewee: We would like to retain our learners, teach them, and see them finishing.

Interviewer: I want to talk a bit about the business. I first wanted to ask how much you're paid. You are a full-time teacher, right?

Interviewee: Yeah. It is 300.

Interviewer: That's the net.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: How well are you able to sustain yourself on the 300?

Interviewee: Well, the good thing is that 300 is paid on time. I budget for it. When you get it after the end of the month, you're able to get some small 100 and plan for your meals and then you plan for other necessities. You find yourself doing like that.

Interviewer: What are other necessities? I'm just trying to understand.

Interviewee: Off course, it could be a good thing. You find you're coming from a distant area, you have to accommodate yourself. Others like airtime and some other common things like clothing and laundry.

Interviewer: Is this the income that the household has or have you also invested? Do you have a wife that works?

Interviewee: Probably if you have other people who are depending on you.

Interviewer: What were you doing before you started teaching here? Were you a teacher elsewhere or a student?

Interviewee: Not really. I just came out of college then joined here. I was doing some other domestic work at home while I was teaching.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have something you want to add.

Interviewee: Not really.

Interviewer: Thank you very much for taking the time.

Appendix 26: Teacher 12

Interviewer: My name is Viktor. I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools like PEAS – what they do well and what they don't do as well and what it means for their ability to achieve the global education goals that the world has agreed to.

What I'm particularly concerned with is questions around quality, what is quality, and questions around the business model and how that impacts the school members and the local community.

I'm independent of PEAS, I have to say. I don't work with PEAS. I'm not paid by PEAS so I can't answer PEAS question. If you could just start out introducing yourself, you are a part-time teacher, what you teach, what your qualifications are.

Interviewee: My name is [NAME]. I teach mathematics, and I can also teach physics. Currently, I'm dealing with math. I am a grade five teacher. I attained diploma.

Interviewer: If you could tell me a little about -- when we talk about quality -- how you understand quality education. What is quality to you?

Interviewee: It is impacting quality knowledge to learners which can help them survive in the places where they live. That's what I understand by quality.

Interviewer: What are the skills that they need to live and succeed in their communities?

Interviewee: It depends per subject.

Interviewer: If we talk about secondary school, when they leave secondary school what do you think they should be able to…?

Interviewee: To do.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Interviewee: When they leave secondary, someone can start up a small business and survive. In math, we teach about business. Someone can survive there and stay in the community. Someone learns how to socialize, to stay with people in the community.

Interviewer: What skills are needed for them to socialize and stay in a community?

Interviewee: Just how they relate with their friends here – the relationship. How they should behave when they are with their friends is the same way they go and practice in the community. They behave with those people; they live with them, help them, and guide them, and so on.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how you teach that?

Interviewee: In most cases, how to share like sharing in class. When you give them that skill, they share and discuss issues amongst themselves. They acquire that skill of how to relate with people and they really can sit and solve some problems in the village or with other community members.

Interviewer: Another thing that I'm very concerned about is questions around sustainability, intercultural dialogue, and so on. Do you see that those are things that are important or are taught at PEAS? How would you understand these questions?

Interviewee: You said what?

Interviewer: Sustainability, economic sustainability, environmental sustainability, intercultural dialogue and so on.

Interviewee: Sustainability can help a learner to survive in the community by having something at least to do which can earn someone a living or get some little money to survive. Or you look the way of getting what you can eat, dress, and so on.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk to you about the Continuous Professional Development. Is that something that you feel you benefited from, and if so, how? Could you tell me a little more about it?

Interviewee: CPD is very important to a teacher. You acquire skills how you can deliver in a class, how you can give ecological. How can you motivate learners to be active in class, participate, and so on?

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of something you feel you've learned from CPD?

Interviewee: There are very many. For example, we learn how we can give learners a chance or room to speak out so that we can help them. Like when you pose a question then someone asks. Or you ask and then someone answers and then you ask a learner to explain it more – to talk about it. That is one of the things we have learned.

We have had very many CPDs. How you can motivate them to give you answers or tell you what is at their heart – what they think.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk a bit about the business model. I first wanted to ask you how much you're paid. You just get paid, right. You don't live here on the school or receive any other support from the school, right?

Interviewee: No. I stay outside. I don't stay within the school.

Interviewer: How much are you paid?

Interviewee: Around 330.

Interviewer: That's before deductions.

Interviewee: Before, it was 320.

Interviewer: And then you pay deductions or you pay taxes.

Interviewee: When taxes are removed. That is net.

Interviewer: How well are you able to sustain yourself on 330?

Interviewee: It is not the only one that can make me survive because I have to pay some fees. I get somewhere to get food. Even the food we are given there can't work out.

Interviewer: You receive things from friends and family.

Interviewee: Yeah. I get from home, and I also do some little farming. I plant some little things like maize.

Interviewer: What did you do before you started teaching here? Were you teaching elsewhere or did you study?

Interviewee: I was not teaching. I just went to college and from there, I came here.

Interviewer: Do you see students from the poorest households here in your class also? What's your experience with that? Can you see a difference between the poorest and the middle-income households for instance?

Interviewee: You want the difference between the middle…

Interviewer: Do you experience that there are students from poor household in your class?

Interviewee: They are there. Some you'll find they lack some of the requirement needed in mathematics like a set, calculator. You ask the parent and the parent says "I'll bring next week," he doesn't bring. That one shows there is a difference.

There are some who come from poor, some who have at least, and those who have can access the requirement.

Interviewer: Do they manage to complete the four years or do some of them drop out?

Interviewee: They try and complete. Most of them complete.

Interviewer: Those were the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have anything you want to add or have any questions.

Interviewee: I don't think I have. You said you are not working with PEAS. I couldn't ask you something about PEAS.

Interviewer: I won't be able to answer it. Thank you very much.

Appendix 27: Parent 1

Interviewer: My name is Viktor, and I am from Denmark, and I am independent of PEAS. I study low-fee private schools; what they do well and what they do less well. And PEAS is a case study of it. So, I am interested in quality and accessibility. It would be good, if you could just start out introducing yourself; who you are? And then I have three background questions that it would be good, if you could answer, and they are: How many years of schooling you complete? What your monthly household income is? And where you earn your money from?

Interviewee: I am called [NAME]. I am farmer. I get 100.000 a month.

Interviewer: From farming, that is?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Thank you. And how many years of schooling did you complete?

Interviewee: Up to P5.

Interviewer: Perfect. I want to ask you, how you understand quality education?

Interviewee: He thinks that his child can get quality education from a PEAS school, just like here.

Interviewer: So, what skills do you think your children need to succeed in life?

Interviewee: He thinks, that if vocational studies were involved, his children would do better, like tailoring, sewing, carpentry. If they were intertwined with the formal education, it would be better.

Interviewer: You would like to see that in secondary school, these vocational skills were also taught?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: How is it: if you would want to go to vocational school in Uganda, do you need to do primary and then secondary, or how does that work?

Translator: Sometimes, you first do secondary, like finish up to senior 4, the you decide to either tailoring or carpentry.

Interviewer: How well do you think PEAS deliver quality education to your children, now?

Interviewee: The school fees are low, it is at a subsidized cost, and he does not pay all of it at once, and the children get quality education. They have quality education.

Interviewer: So, how much do you pay in school fees combined? Not only fees, but also other costs related to the education.

Interviewee: 220.000

Interviewer: And what level of difficulty do you experience paying these fees?

Interviewee: Because his income is low, he finds it hard to pay the fees.

Interviewer: So, are there any sacrifices you need to make to be able to send your kids to school?

Interviewee: He says, somehow. Sometimes you have to forego sugar or something good, to ensure you pay the tuition.

Interviewer: What are your plans and hopes for your children's' education, when they finish O-levels?

Interviewee: He has two children who are in senior 4 currently. He thinks one of them can join primary teaching, if he succeeds at senior 4, and he thinks another one can join mechanics, motor vehicle mechanics.

Interviewer: I want to ask you about the fact that PEAS is here in Kazingo. What do you think it means to the community to have a school, a PEAS school here?

Interviewee: He is very thankful to PEAS, because, if PEAS was not here there are very many who could not afford school. Because the schools are very far away from Kazingo, and also pay high fees. So, the fact that PEAS is here, most people have been enrolled for school and can afford the fees at least.

Interviewer: So, PEAS' school fees are lower than secondary schools in other areas? Yeah? Good. That was actually all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have anything you want to add, or there is anything you want to ask me? … you don't have to ask anything. Thank you very much for coming and have a good day.

Appendix 28: Parent 2

Interviewer: My name is Victor, and I'm independent from PEAS, but I'm studying low fees private schools and PEAS is sort of a best case example. It looks at what they do well, and what they don't do as well, and what that means for low fee private schools and the global education goals.

I have a few background questions for you like how many years of schooling did you complete yourself, what is your monthly household income, and where does your income come from? I can almost guess that.

Interviewee: First and foremost, my name is Pastor Ndevika Justus and I am from the Seventh Day Adventist Church. I'm based somewhere just nearby Kazingo. My academic qualification, I studied up to grades. Actually, I am a teacher under primary sector.

Interviewer: A primary teacher?

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Did you ever teach?

Interviewee: Yes. I taught government for about eight years. Then later, I went to church ministry. That's it. Thereafter, I went ahead with a diploma in church ministries, that is, theology. Currently, of course, I'm a servant of the church.

As per the nature of our service, they move you from your home and now the church organization is looking after me. There is something like a token - I'll call it upkeep that they give us to enable you really care for the family and some other few things, needs, and demands for the family. That is about my academic.

About my income, of course that's how I earn, except there are some other little things I can do beside church ministry like maybe planting some little crops for the family to maintain the family.

Interviewer: What is your monthly household income?

Interviewee: It is about 500.

Interviewer: The church covers other expenses for you. That's the only income you have?

Interviewee: That's the only income I have. For the church, they also have some projects that they put in place to assist church ministers like banana plantations. That one helps us. I had earlier on said we also can plant some little beans for consumption.

Interviewer: How do you understand quality education?

Interviewee: As one who was a teacher, quality education is that type of education that meets the basic needs of a learner.

Interviewer: What are the basic needs of a learner?

Interviewee: That is academic excellence, capacity building, and something like the stimulation of the learner's skills.

Interviewer: What are these skills that you think the learners should acquire?

Interviewee: The school kids should have communication, talk about how a person can express herself in a community, and also to know how best that person can be useful to the community. We expect the leaner to acquire that from school.

Interviewer: Good. What skills do you think are important to succeed in life?

Interviewee: Academically, I expect a learner to be taught something apart from the school curriculum, but also to know skills like computer, other agricultural like how to plant. Learners should actually know how to look after crops, or how even to plant them, and also how to look after the health.

Interviewer: Would you say that PEAS prepares the children for this?

Interviewee: Though I seem to be new in this area, but I saw that here. Yes, it does.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk a bit about the finances. I wanted to ask you how much you pay in school fees per child.

Interviewee: Mine is a day scholar. She's not yet a boarder, but I expect by next term to bring her for boarding.

Interviewer: Because you travel as a pastor.

Interviewee: Yes. I'm still new in that place. When I settle next term, I'll bring her for boarding. Of course, it is still 125 school fees minus other necessities. There are some other demands.

Interviewer: What would the total…?

Interviewee: The total for me is 210,000 per term.

Interviewer: I want to ask you what level of difficulty you experience paying these fees.

Interviewee: Maybe since I'm still new, I may not give the appropriate. As per the community here, most of the parents are farmers, peasants. You'll find he grows crops. Until they yield, he'll not be able to raise school fees. Others, I can see they have banana plantations.

On my side, an organization has a specific time when it gives you a certain percentage that you give to your student. There the difficulty will be maybe it comes quite late and at school it is required a bit early. There it may be a challenge to me. Of course, I agreed with the administration of the institution that being an employee somewhere, they should bear with me, but it's a challenge.

Interviewer: You briefly touched on this. In your experience, how does the school influence the local community here? Does it have an impact on the local community?

Interviewee: That I may not really tell. I'm just one month and some weeks. At least, I'm told sometimes they do community activities. I'm told that here there is freedom of worship of learners. In that, especially in the area of the Seventh Adventist, I know they always go to church and they assist there is the kind of community activities I talked about. They do assist.

I also think the community supplies this institution with a lot of things, say wood, food. I know they are assisting each other. When they go to buy to them, they are impacting, according to me.

Interviewer: What do you think the presence of the school means to the community?

Interviewee: It means a lot. It must have covered the issue of early marriages in the area. [00:10] areas here, earlier marriage is actually very rampant. It being here, it assists parents. Also, the issue of travelling long distances.

From here, the nearby school should be Karago and there is a challenge of that distance when it is raining. It is very important that it is very important that it is very near and it can assist.

Interviewer: What are your plans for your children's education when they finish their O-Levels?

Interviewee: It will depend on their hobbies, whatever they like to study. As when we went to school, I do like that after their ordinary level, they go for advanced, they go to university. That is my plan.

Interviewer: Do you know of any former PEAS students and what they do today, or you don't because you're new in the community? If you know of any student who studied at a PEAS a school before?

Interviewee: Not yet.

Interviewer: Thank you. Those were actually all the questions I had for you. It was very brief, and I hope it wasn't painful. I don't know if you have anything you want to add or if you have any questions for me.

Interviewee: You said you are independent of this but you are concerned with quality education. It is very important that maybe NGOs and government that they come to our private schools because some of them are business oriented.

We do hear that some of them might pretend they're teaching well, or they are passing, they're excelling academically, and yet there are some impurities. I've not heard about that here because I'm still new.

This school still has a good name that they perform to their best and without any form of impurities. But when you come to inquire about how they perform and about how they do things, it is a very important thing. It can also task them to actually know that behind them are people assessing or knowing their performance. For me, I do appreciate that you'll continue more and more.

Interviewer: That's exactly the reason why I'm doing this research because commercial schools that are only out for the profit and not for the quality. Thank you very much for taking your time and for coming here.

Interviewee: You're welcome.

Appendix 29: Parent 3

Interviewer: My name is Victor. I'm a researcher and I'm independent from PEAS. I study what PEAS does well, what it does less well, and what that means for how it can achieve the global education goals. Is that clear?

Interviewee: She's getting.

Interviewer: I would just first like to ask some background questions for you. I wanted to ask you how many years of schooling you completed yourself, what is your monthly household income, and where you earn your money from. These are the three background questions.

Interviewee: I am [name] a parent of this school. I also work. I'm working from here. My firstborn or my child, she's in senior three and she's the assistant head girl of this school. I studied from primary one, then I completed senior two, and I left the school because of money and some circumstances.

I lost my parent and that's the end of my education. I'm a married women, but of sad stories. I lost my husband, now it is five months. He died in a motor accident. He was a driver.

Now, I'm a widow. I am left with five children, two boys and three girls. All of them are still schooling. I work from here as a cook – it is where I earn my money. I create my small thing. I always cook some samosa and selling them from here and then I get the money to look for my children.

Interviewer: How much money do you earn on average a month?

Interviewee: It is 120, 000.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you what skills you think are important to succeed in life. What is quality education?

Interviewee: In my mind, I'd like to educate my children if I got money. And God will be my helper because now I'm a single mother.

Interviewer: What skills are important in life? What skills do your kids need to succeed in life?

Interviewee: Education and many others.

Interviewer: What should education teach them? Just read and do math or are there other things that education needs to teach them?

Interviewee: Like skills, there is handcraft making. My girl, she's in girls club making some…To thread…

Interviewer: They are like this stitched…

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: I actually talked to your daughter just before. She's very nice.

Interviewee: Do you know her?

Interviewer: No, I don't know her beyond. How well or how good do you think PEAS prepares your child for life?

Interviewee: PEAS is good. It always cares for us parents. They keep encouraging us to educate our students. They also give some bursaries. For example, my daughter, last term, got a bursary in academic.

Interviewer: I wanted to talk to you a bit about how much you pay in school fees for your children.

Interviewee: It is a lot because some of them study from different schools and you may find that each school has its own school fees.

Interviewer: How much do you pay for one child here in PEAS?

Interviewee: It is now 130,000.

Interviewer: 130,000 a year.

Interviewee: Per term.

Interviewer: She's a non boarder.

Interviewee: Yes, she's a day scholar.

Interviewer: What level of difficulty do you experience paying these fees?

Interviewee: Lots of money. We don't have enough income where we earn money such that we can pay school fees on time. You might find that it is difficult somehow.

Interviewer: The schools are very substantial.

Interviewee: The school fee is affordable according to our income. You might find it becomes difficult on behalf of you as a parent, but the school fee is affordable.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you if you think the school influences the local community around the school, Kasanga. If people know about the school, what they think. Do they like or they dislike the school?

Interviewee: For this school, we always like it because it has got services nearer to our students. For example, long ago they were moving from this place to other places like town, walking. But now the school is near. The child can afford to reach school in time and undertake their studies.

Interviewer: What are your plans for your children's future education? Is it O-Levels?

Interviewee: If God wishes, I could wish all of them to finish university. But God knows. My wish at least for them, I could like for them to finish university so that they can get employed, which is white-collar jobs.

Interviewer: I understand. I wanted to ask if you know of any former students here, what they do today -- if they continued or if they work or what they are employed with.

Interviewee: Some of them branched, others have finished some courses. Like the first ones who sat in the first year, who I know, now he's working with an NGO.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were the questions I had for you. I don't know if you want to add anything or if you have any questions for me.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Interviewee: You are welcome.

Interviewer: Thank you for taking the time.

Appendix 30: Parent 4

Interviewer: Thank you very much for participating. So, just to introduce myself: I am Viktor, I am from Denmark, and I am doing research on PEAS. But I am independent from PEAS. So, I don't work for PEAS. And what I am concerned with, is the quality of the education. Not so much whether it is good or bad. Because I think it is good, but more in terms of what sorts of quality that is emphasised in the education. So, the quality, and how the business model PEAS has impacts members of the school and local community. So, I would ask you to just briefly introduce yourself; who you are, and a few background questions; how many years of schooling did you complete yourself? What is your monthly household income? And where does your income come from?

Translator: She is [NAME] by name. 35 years old. She is a peasant farmer. She cultivates some crops, like maize and cassava. Then after she sells and get some income.

Interviewer: And what is her approximate household income then?

Translator: She is saying, it depends. If she has not harvested, and sold the harvest, she does not earn. It is not until she sells her crops. That's when she earns. However, she can just maybe on average in a month get like 10-20 or 15,000. She was taught to primary 2.

Interviewer: Then I want to ask you, when you think of quality of education, what is important to you? Do you have any opinions about quality?

Translator: With quality education. She really likes quality in education, and now for her, since she did not go for an education, but God has given her some children, she is now working very hard, striving to see that her children get this quality education. And that's why, she has been in the village selling some of her crops, to bring her child here at PEAS.

Interviewer: And so, what skills do you think are important for your children to succeed in life?

Translator: The skills she would so much rely on [to her children, are] maybe the science skills. Her intention is to see the daughter become a nurse.

Interviewer: Then I want to talk a bit about PEAS' school model. And I want to ask you what level of difficulty you are experiencing paying the fees, and how you pay the fees? Is it just by selling the crops, or do you also take part in a loan group for instance, or are there other ways in which you get the money to pay the fees?

Translator: At the moment, the village groups'. She has not yet joined them, because they save weekly, and sometimes she is struggling to gain the weekly saving. So, she has not joined. But what she does is, providing labour for other people. If somebody calls her, that they have this work here; you come and cultivate for me

or you come and work for me here. She goes, and she works, then they pay her, and then she pays her fees. As she is waiting for her crops also.

Interviewer: So, she does it through working extra hours and cutting costs on other things like health and food?

Translator: No, for food she depends on her own produced food.

Interviewer: What impact would you say that PEAS has had on the community? The fact that there is a PEAS school in Kigorobya. What does that mean to you, your children, and your community and family?

Translator: This school. Before she joined here, she was told that the administrators are here with fees payment, and another thing, they accept instalments in the fees payment. So, even other people, who had children here, they are very proud of the school as they can allow instalment and they're patient.

Interviewer: So that is also the reason why you choose to put your child in PEAS and not in one of the other secondary schools?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: Then I wanted to ask, that you mentioned that your child would become a nurse. Could you tell me a bit about why you hope your girl becomes a nurse?

Translator: The reason why she wants her daughter to be a nurse, is because currently jobs are not available. But at least in that department, when she has become a nurse, there are very many clinics around, where she can get some work in a private clinic, and she begins working there, so she can begin earning some mutual money to help them out.

Interviewer: Then I wanted to ask. You mentioned you had heard very positive of PEAS from your friends and families and that's why you put your girl here. Was your decision to put your girl in PEAS, was that also based on knowing that other students that finished PEAS, that they could continue the education for instance towards a diploma or have they gone into other work or jobs that they could not get without PEAS education?

Translator: From her village, where she comes from, the students who are from that village, they have not yet completed senior 4. The one in the highest class is senior 3, but at least the parents in the village are happy that we [PEAS] are patient and can pay in instalments, since they joined this school in senior 1. The way they are treated is good, and they are expecting them to do well.

Interviewer: Perfect. Thank you very much. Those were the questions I had. I don't know if you have anything to add, or if you want to ask me any questions?

Translator: Since her income is very small, and she does not have any work apart from providing local labour, how can she be helped to see that this girl to become a nurse. How can you help?

Interviewer: I can't help much. I can help understand how we improve the schools, and we get more schools where families can actually send their children no matter their income. So this is her oldest daughter, and she is in senior 1 now?

Translator: She the second.

Interviewer: Second. And what about your oldest? Is he or she in school also?

Translator: The oldest is in senior 3.

Interviewer: Okay. Here at PEAS also or in another school?

Translator: In Hoima.

Interviewer: In Hoima? Okay. Thank you very much.

Appendix 31: Parent 5

Interviewer: My name is Viktor, and I come from Denmark, and I do research on low-fee private schools like PEAS; what they do well and what they don't do as well, and what that means for their ability to implement the education goals that we have. I am independent from PEAS, and what I am concerned with is quality; how quality is understood, and how the business model of PEAS affects the school members and local community. If you could just briefly introduce yourself, who you and, and some background questions, which are: how many years of schooling did you complete? What is your average monthly household income? And where you earn your money from?

Translator: She is [NAME]. She is 53 years old. She is married. She earns income from preparing porridge on market days, which she then sells on the market, and then sometimes she is a peasant farmer. She studied up until primary 6. She is not really sure of the monthly income in her house, because they do not calculate. But whatever she earns, she pays school fees with, but what she is very sure of; her capital is always there.

Interviewer: So, you always have a saving?

Translator: Yes, that is the capital that she saves and that is always there.

Interviewer: Do you have an estimate of how much the monthly income is? Is it like 50-100-150-200.000?

Translator: She is also in a women's group. They keep on saving money, and at the end of the year, that is when they share their money. And the celebrate the savings. But at her home, whatever she saves, she uses, and just remains with the facto.

Interviewer: Then I wanted to ask you, how you as a parent, understand quality education? Or understand quality? What is important for quality?

Translator: The way understands quality, according to her, when she has cleared school fees, how much the child in there [school]. She wants to see that child learns English, and then she will say there is quality. There is something they have added on my child. The way the child behaves around. She will say they have added something. And that is how she understands quality. And maybe the person can be the person in the community who they can call, and maybe he is a position to write for people in the community. If they ask him to write, and he can write. She will value that the quality has been achieved.

Interviewer: So, what skills do you think that your child needs after school? What are the skills your child needs to be successful in life?

Translator: For her the skills she wants after senior 4, she will be taking the boy to study mechanics, so he can gain those skills can begin working.

Interviewer: Do you have one boy in school? Or do you have more children in school?

Translator: Only one in senior 4. There is another one, but it is a grandchild, that stays with her. She is also here in senior 3. But she only has one biological child, the other one is a grandchild.

Interviewer: Why is it important to you that your son continues as a mechanic?

Translator: After going for mechanics and completing the course, she expects him to begin earning. And then he will be looking after himself and the parents.

Interviewer: When you decided to put your child here in this school, was there any particular reasons why you decided to go to a PEAS school and not some of the other schools around here?

Translator: For her, in this community, naturally she likes the school.

Interviewer: What does the school do different to other schools that make her like it?

Translator: The systems that are within the school. How the school is managed. So, she was impressed by the management, and she decided to place her child here. She feels comfortable with the system in here and sure that, even though it is a private school, there is sustainability. She is not worried that at a certain point the school will not be there. Because this is not the first child to go through this school. There is another child, called [NAME], he also completed senior 4 from here, and he went for further studies as a mechanic and he is doing very well.

Interviewer: In relation to that: So, PEAS here in the community makes a difference because it is a private school, which she takes as a proxy for sustainability and stability? And so, the community knows that the school will be around?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: Does the school engage with the community in any other way, or the parents in another way that other schools would around here?

Translator: There were other private schools that were here, but not currently, because they collapsed. Another difference is that we [the school] engages the school so much. Our learners do community work and sometimes we call parents, and they come, and we have a function and engage them. So, we make them be part of the school, and they feel the school is theirs.

Interviewer: But I am very intrigued, when you say, that for you it was a sign for quality that it is a private school, but you also say that there are other private schools that have shut down. So, it's because you know the management in PEAS is good?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: Then I wanted to ask you what the combined level of fees you pay to have your child in PEAS are? School fees, school materials, and everything she pays to have her child here.

Translator: For her, with the business she is doing, when she earns her money, she keeps on keeping a little, and when the term begins, she pays at the start of the term, all the fees.

Interviewer: Okay. But how much does she pay in combined fees? What is the combined level of fees? One thing is the school fees.

Translator: She has already said, that in combined fees she pays 100.000 UGX.

Interviewer: And that is for the school materials and everything per term?

Translator: Per term, yes.

Interviewer: She is able to pay that through her savings? Only her own savings or also using the women's group savings?

Translator: Not from the group, but from her own savings.

Interviewer: Okay. Thank you very much, that were all the questions I had. I don't know if you have anything to add or any questions for me?

Translator: She does not have any question. But she realised her child is in senior 4. She would so much like the child to be in boarding, but according to her income, she cannot manage boarding. That is why she has accepted for the boy to be in day school.

Interviewer: Why would she prefer to have the child in boarding?

Translator: The reason why she would have preferred the child to be in boarding, is because she thinks that when they are in boarding, they have more time to concentrate on their books.

Interviewer: And does she live far from here, or does she live in the town?

Translator: She lives within the town.

Interviewer: Thank you very much, that's all.

Appendix 32: Parent 6

Interviewer: Thank you very much for coming. My name is Viktor, and I am a researcher, and I do research on low-fee private schools. What they do well, and what they don't do as well. And I am particularly concerned with how quality is understood, and how the business model influences members of the school. And I am independent from PEAS, I don't work with PEAS. First, I would just like to ask if you could introduce yourself: Who you are? And some background questions as well: How many years of schooling did you complete? What is your monthly household income? And where does your income come from?

Translator: He is called [NAME]. He was born in 1965, so he is 53. He is an Alur by tribe. He is a peasant farmer, and he gets money after selling his crops of the season. So, he earns seasonally, when he has sold his crops like beans, peanuts, like what.

Interviewer: So, how much does that earn your per season or every half year?

Translator: In a season, when he has sold different crops, he can earn around 600,000 seasonally.

Interviewer: And that's twice a year?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. Then I wanted to ask. You talked about quality. How do you understand quality education? What is important?

Translator: For him, when we talk about quality, one, is a school that brings up a child, who can sustain and live well in the community. One time he had a child who studied at this school from senior 1 to senior 4, he is now living in Maseri district, but he is a very good child and is going for further studies. So that is what encouraged him to bring another child here.

Interviewer: So, you have one child who has been through PEAS, and now you have another one?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: Your other child is living, but working and not studying at the moment? And in another district?

Translator: Working, not studying, yes.

Interviewer: Okay. You mention that children have to be able to live and sustain themselves in their communities, that that is the objective of quality education. What skills do you think students need to live and sustain themselves?

Translator: The skills he would wish to see after, is one that person gets a job.

Interviewer: What skills do the child need to get a job?

Translator: He would like to see her become a nurse or doctor.

Interviewer: So, they need to receive the grades to be able to continue onto university to become a doctor?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: How well do you think PEAS prepares the students for this?

Translator: The school will help her to study, or to get the necessary knowledge that will equip her to achieve the profession of a nurse or a doctor. Studying and passing the science subjects that could qualify her to go for that profession.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you, how much do you pay in combined school fees? All the costs you have to send your child to school.

Translator: Are you only talking about school fees? Because he brought in her boarding. Or are you even inquiring about the money that go to things like soap or those personal things?

Interviewer: No, my question is about the things directly related to education. So, the school fees, but also materials, pencils and so on. Not soap and so on. Just the direct costs.

Translator: 311,000

Interviewer: 311,000. And that's per term and for boarding?

Translator: No, for term one for new students. But next term it will reduce. This time he has paid 311,000, because of uniform, but in term two he will not pay for the uniform. So, term to is reduced to 231,000.

Interviewer: 231,000. Okay. What level of difficulty are you experiencing paying these fees?

Translator: It is really not easy for him to get the money to pay fees, especially when it is not season. So, what he does, is he does other casual work like quarrying, he sells the grabbles to people who are constructing their houses, then he gets some little money and pays. But he says it is not easy, it needs hard work.

Interviewer: Okay. And so, are there any things that you save on? Do you save on healthcare for instance? Do you save on food? Or transport? Or does he make any sacrifices financially to be able to pay the school fees?

Translator: No, he does not save. But what happens is, whenever he sells the quarry or the grabbles, if he gets like a trip, he sells a trip at like 80. Now, he has very many children, he begins dividing the 80. Gives 20 to the other one, that one, the other one, like that. So he does not keep money.

Interviewer: Are the other children in school, or what do they do?

Translator: Yes, they are in school.

Interviewer: But in primary then?

Translator: They are all in primary.

Interviewer: And does he think he will be able to pay their way through secondary as well, for all of them?

Translator: If God gives him life, he is sure he will be paying.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Oh yeah, there were one last question: Do you think the fact that PEAS is here in [CITY], does that bring something to the community? Does that mean something to the local community?

Translator: The school is really good, and it benefits the community. One, according to the little income we get in this community, they are in position to pay for the fees for their children in instalments.

Interviewer: So, you also make use of the instalment scheme?

Translator: That he is.

Interviewer: Do you feel it works well with the instalment scheme that you pay [in smaller bits]?

Translator: Yes, it is okay for him.

Interviewer: And one thing we forgot was: how many years of schooling did you complete yourself?

Translator: Primary 5.

Interviewer: Primary 5. Thank you very much. Those were all the questions. Thank you for taking the time. I do not know if you have anything you want to add or have any questions? But thank you very much.

Appendix 33: Parent 7

Interviewer: My name is Viktor. I am from Denmark. And I do research on low-fee private schools, and what they do well, and what they don't do as well. I am particularly interested in how quality is understood, and how the business model affects members of the school and the local community. And I am independent from PEAS. If you could just briefly introduce yourself first, and then answer three background questions: How many years of schooling did you complete? What is your monthly household income? And where does your income come from?

Translator: He is called [NAME]. He is a farmer. He has just joined this school for the first year, as a parent. He stopped in primary 5.

Interviewer: And what is his average monthly household income?

Translator: Around 200.000.

Interviewer: Then I did like to ask you to talk a little about quality education. How do you understand quality? What is important for quality education?

Translator: In terms of quality education, he looks at the environment in the school, he looks at the structures, he also looks at the performance after senior 4; how they perform. The general overview of the school.

Interviewer: So, you look at the grade average that students from the school gets after senior 4, to determine the quality of the school?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: What skills do you think, it is important that children acquire or are taught in school to succeed in life afterwards?

Translator: He looks at if the child is given the skills for handcraft kind of work, or if they even make printing, so that even after school, they can go and do that, it will be better.

Interviewer: So, you have one child in senior 1 now?

Translator: No, he has one in senior 2.

Interviewer: And so, is that a day student or a boarding student?

Translator: He is in boarding.

Interviewer: Can I ask why you chose boarding and not day student?

Translator: The distance where he is coming from is a bit far and leaving the child all the time to go to work is not good, so he put the child here.

Interviewer: Why did you choose the PEAS school and not other O-level schools around here?

Translator: He looked at the security of the learner; he looked at the school, the fence to the school is very good; and even the school fees are a bit low. So according to his income, he thought that he could manage to pay the fees that are charged in this school

Interviewer: So, what level of difficulty are you experiencing paying the fees?

Translator: He has not yet gotten much challenges, because he is given the leeway of even paying in instalments. And the school gives him time, like saying you need the instalment at such, and such time, and then he fulfils. He is helped much.

Interviewer: So, he can pay his way through using instalments? And using his own income? No loan groups, extra work or stuff he needs to make an extra investment in to cover the school fees?

Translator: He does not go for loan, but the little income he told you about, the one he is getting, approximately 200 per month, is the one he divides and pays his way through with.

Interviewer: And what are the combined school fees you pay, when you pay the fees for the dormitories, the schooling, educational materials, and so on? What is the combined level of fees?

Translator: It goes to 300 something, around 330+.

Interviewer: Okay. What are your plans for your child's education, when they finish senior 4 here?

Translator: After senior 4, where the child will go, depends on the grading, how well the child has passed. If he passes very well, with some good grades, then he takes the child to A-level. If the child does not do well, he even has an option of taking the child to the vocational school.

Interviewer: Do you know of people in your village, community or family that have gone to PEAS and then continued education, or are they in work now? What are students, that he knows of, doing from PEAS?

Translator: He does not know anyone.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you want to add anything, or if you have any questions?

Translator: In your introduction, you told you were not part of PEAS, but again, if you are part of PEAS, he would suggest that a school fees structure is introduced. There are some people who are in the villages, who cannot even afford the current prices, as much as it is low, but still cannot afford it.

Interviewer: So, the fees still are a challenge to some people?

Translator: Yes, according to him.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Appendix 34: Parent 8

Interviewer: My name is Viktor, I am from Denmark, and I do research on low-fee private schools like PEAS; what they do well, and what they don't do as well. What I am interested in, is to learn more about how quality education is understood, and how the business model impacts the local community and the members of the school. So, first I would just like you to brief introduce yourself and who you are, and answer three background questions, which are: how many years of schooling did you complete yourself? What is your monthly household income? And where your income comes from?

Translator: He is called [NAME], citizen of [SCHOOL CITY], a farmer, and that is why I struggle to get money from agriculture.

Interviewer: And how many years of schooling did you complete yourself?

Translator: He stopped in primary 6.

Interviewer: And what is your approximate monthly household income?

Translator: As a farmer, it is hard to determine exactly how much he gets per month, because he depends on the season, and the season is for six months. For example, just now this season, he will harvest around June or July, that is the time of harvesting, and after harvesting he just looks at any other kind of things he could do with that money, and he forgets to calculate how much it could be per month.

Interviewer: Then I would like to ask you, how you describe or understand quality education? What is important for it?

Translator: Discipline is the key role in determining quality education. Because, if the child is disciplined, it will listen to the teachers, the instructions the teacher is giving, and will then eventual do hard work. Start working hard towards achieving something. As a counter bit, who will stay at home after a certain level of education and says this is what I will be doing at school. That is how he explains quality education.

Interviewer: When we talk about school and life after school, what do you think is important for your children to learn in school, to be successful after school?

Translator: The most important thing is to have a profession that the child is agitating for. For example, the boy wants to be a doctor, he has completed senior 4 here, but he did not do well in mathematics, and he is going to make him resit, because it is not the aim that he wants. He wants him to pass sciences and then get a certain profession, where he can take the child. He wants a child to have a certain profession, either doctor, or any other kind of profession.

Interviewer: Are there any particular skills that you think are important that children learn while in school?

Translator: There should be some skills of carpentry, planting methods of application, those kinds of courses, where, if a child gets access to such skills, even after school, they can live a reliable life.

Interviewer: So, you think it is important that the school provides skills that can make an income?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: Okay. How well do you think that PEAS achieve or caters for the ambitions that you described in terms of quality, and skills, and life afterwards?

Translator: PEAS as an organisation is doing well, but he thinks the organisation needs support. Both from the parents, and the teachers, and other charitable organisations, so that it can lift it up and put in something that is missing within the organisation.

Interviewer: Can you give an example of what you think is missing?

Translator: One, PEAS should put more effort in supporting the teachers, learners. Maybe, money. There must be some motivating factor to pull that kind of strong and hardworking teachers. Adding more money to motivate the teachers. Supporting leaners in feeding.

Interviewer: Why did you choose to put your child in PEAS and not in one of the other O-level schools around here?

Translator: At first, he got trust in the school. Performance wise, PEAS was a little bit higher than the others. And even the care that the school gives to the learners. They don't just move around, but they are controlled.

Interviewer: Is your child in boarding or in day?

Translator: He is in day. He is coming from close to here, so he can reach here in time for class.

Interviewer: Can I ask you what the combined level of school fees is? So again, not only the fees, but also the costs related to.

Translator: The total expenditure, which he thinks the child detects at the end of the term, is around 300,000 students, but when he is in day.

Interviewer: And what level of difficulty are you experiencing paying these fees? You were saying, as a farmer, your income could vary a lot.

Translator: He has got challenges with paying fees, especially because he is a farmer; he has to wait until the season for harvesting, and then he sells the items after the harvest, and pays fees. So you will find out that for term one, he may clear the fees to zero balance in term two, and then he finds that school fees for term two are cleared in term three. And like now, for term three, it was cleared in early February. It was cleared for previous term.

Interviewer: How do you manage to pay the fees? Do you utilise the instalment scheme, do you use loan groups, or are you able to pay your way through from your own earning; do you make sacrifices on food or something to be able to afford it?

Translator: Most things he foregoes. He foregoes some other items, like balanced diets etc., he foregoes them, because he is saving money for the child. He says he does not go for loan, because one time he tried to go for a loan, but they almost took all the security he had to put down to get the loan.

Interviewer: My last question is, if you have heard of anyone else in your village or community, where the children have gone to PEAS before, and what are the students that graduated from PEAS now doing?

Translator: There is one who has finished from here, and he is now doing a training course. Others are from villages far away.

Interviewer: Those were all my questions. Thank you very much for coming. I don't know if you want to add anything, or if you have any questions?

Translator: He has a suggestion that will help other students who are needy, who are totally needy, and cannot manage the school requirements. If this could come up, and then support them, like offering them bursaries, and then they study. Those who cannot support themselves. Because there are very many in the villages, and when they hear of PEAS they think there is some organisation who is also giving support to the learners, but yet in the other sense, it is not apart from providing low fees. So, if it could come up, and they have that support, which is formal.

Interviewer: So, in your village there are still a lot of people who would qualify for lower secondary but cannot access it because of the fee levels.

Translator: Yes, and he suggests this solution. Now that you are from Denmark, he is saying that – the school organises study tours and takes the students to Murchison Falls and such – and he is saying, as PEAS, if we could have some kind of tour; we say we are now going to take our students in senior 4 to Denmark, they also have that one sight. And then they also get exposed.

Interviewer: But you organise tours to Murchison Falls already?

Translator: Yes, we organise at school level, and we take them to various sceneries and they see.

Interviewer: And how is that funded? From the school fees, or do they pay extra, or charity?

Translator: The parents pay extra.

Interviewer: So, it is only for the people who sign up for the trip and pay the fees?

Translator: Yes.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. That is a good idea.

Appendix 35: Student 1

Interviewer: …will be anonymized so people don't know who you are. If you could just start out introducing yourself and who you are.

Interviewee: My name is [NAME]. I am a [TRIBE] by nature. Native to this area. I am in senior-three north.

Interviewer: Are you a boarder or non-boarder?

Interviewee: I am a boarder.

Interviewer: How far is your town from here?

Interviewee: I came in senior one, so now it's three years.

Interviewer: I'm looking at PEAS to see what it does well and what it does less well. I'm also talking to teachers, the head teacher, and some parents. I would just like to ask you what you think is important. What skills are important to succeed in life?

Interviewee: According to my understanding, I think that if here at our good school, Samling PEAS, I think when we get a very good laboratory for science…This one is also good. It can accommodate but there are some things which can lack.

You find that one specimen is being used by four people and some people don't understand what it is explaining. I think that will work if the laboratory is widened a bit and some equipments are brought.

Interviewer: What skills do you think you need to have to succeed in life after school?

Interviewee: According to my nature and talent, know the skills of music. According to this school, I think its education first and then the skills come after. The skill I need to succeed in life is that when I complete my studies, do well. I pass highly.

First, I'll look after myself and then other things will come after my development, growth, and everything.

Interviewer: What's the difference between the music that you want and the education that PEAS want to give you? What do you think PEAS wants to give you in terms of education?

Interviewee: PEAS needs to give me education so that I can succeed and become an important person in life. It's what I'm also running after. I put the music aside and I concentrate on education.

Interviewer: What makes you succeed in life is that being able to play music, or being able to have your own farm, or being able to do politics?

Interviewee: According to me, it's what I want. I first put my education first and then other things will come after because if you chase two things at ago one may defeat another, and the music may not be more important than education.

Interviewer: Do you think that PEAS helps you or the school helps you have a good future afterwards or prepares you for a good future afterwards?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Could you just describe a normal class for me?

Interviewee: According to the classes we have been having, a normal class is seriously taking place each and every day. Teachers come and put lesson objectives. He or she makes sure that everyone understands what he or she is explaining on the blackboard so that everyone can understand and when an exam comes, they are able to fill in what is expected.

Interviewer: What do you plan on doing after you finish your O-level? Do you want to go to music or A-level? What are your plans?

Interviewee: After finishing my O-level and I pass highly, my desire is to complete A-level because my background is not all that making me excited that I should stop on O-level.

Interviewer: Your parents want you to continue.

Interviewee: They need me to continue, finish, and become an important person.

Interviewer: Your parents have high education as well.

Interviewee: Yes. According to our background at home, all people have an education. It looks funny that you as a relative to stop at O-level. It does not make you fit in society.

Interviewer: Finish A-level and then music or you also want to have a diploma and degree.

Interviewee: Yeah. First, I'll complete education and then that stuff will come after. What I see, that music stuff won't make me succeed as education.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. I don't know if you have any questions for me or anything you want to add.

Interviewee: I have a question. I want you to introduce yourself to me.

Interviewer: My name is Viktor. I'm from Denmark in Europe. I study international business and politics. I like to play football. I am married, and I have a kid of one and a half year.

Interviewee: Nice to meet you.

Interviewer: Nice to meet you.

Appendix 36: Student 2

Interviewer: My name is Viktor. I'm from Denmark in Europe. I'm doing research on low fee private schools. So looking at what PEAS does well and what it does less well and what that means for how these schools can help achieve the global education goals.

If you could just start out introducing yourself and who you are, that would be very nice.

Interviewee: My name is [NAME]. I am in S4.

Interviewer: When do you have the final exams?

Interviewee: I'm going to have them this year.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you what skill you think are important to succeed in life.

Interviewee: Education.

Interviewer: What skills should education give you?

Interviewee: Taught me and give me how to live in this community.

Interviewer: I don't understand. What does it mean to live in a community?

Interviewee: Education gives me skills to cooperate with people, to guide people in the wrong, and lead them to a right path.

Interviewer: Do you think PEAS gives you these skills that you talk about?

Interviewee: Of course, I go to PEAS for education.

Interviewer: The education here, does that help you understand your fellow community members and engage with your fellow community members?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how the school teaches you these skills?

Interviewee: We have some subjects like life skills and literacy where we always study much on those subjects.

Interviewer: If you could just describe a normal class for me?

Interviewee: I've not got you.

Interviewer: When you go to class, how would it usually look like? What would the teacher do? What would students do?

Interviewee: When the time for class has reached, we move to class. When the teacher is present, he comes and he starts teaching us.

Interviewer: How does he teach you? Is there any particular thing? Is it by the blackboard?

Interviewee: In other subjects, they normally dictate for us and after dictating for us they explain. Even sciences, some of them like biology, they normally dictate, but the diagrams are always drawn on the blackboard.

In case of math, that one is done on the blackboard because there's no way you can dictate calculations. That's how it's done.

Interviewer: What are your plans after you've finished your O-levels? Do you plan on continuing A-level or go back to your community?

Interviewee: I have two options. When I pursue my combination that I'm planning for, I will continue with A-level. When some things go like anyhow, I'll join in the course of teaching.

Interviewer: That's nice. You want to become a teacher yourself.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Are you a boarding or a non boarding student?

Interviewee: I am in boarding.

Interviewer: How far is your town from here? Your home town, how far is that from here?

Interviewee: It is very near at [04:00].

Interviewer: Thank you very much. That was all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you want to add something or if you want to ask me anything.

Interviewee: No, sir. You are coming from PEAS Company.

Interviewer: No, I'm independent from PEAS.

Interviewee: I thought you have come to pick some information from us.

Interviewer: I'm writing my Master's thesis. I wanted to talk to PEAS. I wrote to them and I said, "Hey, can I come visit your schools?" They agreed to allow me to come here.

Interviewee: Thank you very much, sir.

Interviewer: Thank you too. Have a nice day.

Interviewee: Likewise.

Appendix 37: Student 3

Interviewer: My name is Viktor. I'm from in Europe. I'm independent from PEAS. I'm doing research on what PEAS does well and what it does less well and what it means for the sort of schools that PEAS is to achieve the global education goals.

If you could just start out by introducing yourself and who you are, that would be very nice.

Interviewee: My name is [NAME]. Here I work as the head prefect, I think. I am in senior four.

Interviewer: Are you a boarding or a non boarding student?

Interviewee: Boarding.

Interviewer: Are most students boarding students here?

Interviewee: I like sports.

Interviewer: How many students are non boarding students?

Interviewee: Boarders are many than the day scholars.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you what skills you think are important to succeed in life.

Interviewee: Education is the key to success.

Interviewer: What should education teach you?

Interviewee: Education helps us to get employed. The rate of poverty is too high in Uganda. For example, I'll give you a scenario. At our home, very many people are uneducated. They don't have jobs because the jobs which are there need some people who are educated. That forces me to read harder to get employed and not be like those people in the village.

Interviewer: The skills that are important are that you're able to really run your business and get a job.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Do you think that PEAS or the school prepares you for this?

Interviewee: Yes it does. That's why I selected it as my choice.

Interviewer: Can you give an example of how they teach it?

Interviewee: We conduct practicals. We have books in the library, even if they are not enough. We have that challenge. Students need some books but they are not enough in the library. The laboratory lacks some things. For example, students complain that they lack some tools in the agricultural laboratory.

When we study about mechanization, we lack tools --those ones of the engines. Some books, biology, in the library are lacking. We do face some challenges here.

Interviewer: Could you explain how a normal class is run?

Interviewee: We normally have remedial starting at exactly 7:00 up to 2:00. Then normal classes run from 8:00 to 10:40. Then we have a little break of 20 minutes. Then we run our classes from 11:00 up to 5:40 PM.

The studies are running smoothly. The teachers are trying to teach without any failure.

Interviewer: How is the teaching done in class? What happens when a teacher comes in?

Interviewee: The teachers encourage us to sit in groups especially in those science subjects. When a teacher gives a number, for example in mathematics, he says that let's do it as a group so that we help each other.

To help those students who can't manage themselves in calculating the numbers, we sit in groups, we form discussion groups. You find this group is for mathematics and physics and we try to interact with each other.

Interviewer: What are your plans when you finish O-level?

Interviewee: To join A-level.

Interviewer: After A-level, do you have any plans there?

Interviewee: Yeah. I have a plan of becoming a professional doctor.

Interviewer: So you'll have to do you're A-level and go to university.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Where is the closest place you can study to become a doctor around here?

Interviewee: That means I need science subjects. PEAS need to provide us more tools to use especially books of sciences. To also appreciate them, we saw new books that were from UK. That was physics and chemistry, but we're lacking biology.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. These were the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have any questions for me or you have something you want to add.

Interviewee: I just appreciate you to come and visit us. The school is running smoothly –it has no problem.

Interviewer: And you are very happy with the education.

Interviewee: I'm very happy. I would also request at least to have A-level here because they way the teachers run the school is the best.

Interviewer: I'm sure they will be happy to know that.

Appendix 38: Student 4

Interviewer: My name is Viktor. I'm from Denmark. I do research on PEAS, what it does well and what it does less well and what that means for how it can achieve the global education goals.

Interviewee: I am [NAME].

Interviewer: What year are you in? Can you tell me a little more about yourself?

Interviewee: Here I act as the assistance head girl of the school.

Interviewer: What does that mean, that you are assistant head girl? What do you have to do as an assistant head girl?

Interviewee: I deal with girls. I help them where they have a problem. For example, we girls have different problems you never know. If a girl has a problem, then she comes and consults me, and I go and share with the senior or my teacher.

Interviewer: You are a boarding student.

Interviewee: No, I am a day student.

Interviewer: You are a non boarding student.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Fantastic. What year are you in class, senior one, two, three, or four? What senior year are you?

Interviewee: I'm in senior three.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you what skills you think, what education you think is important to succeed in life.

Interviewee: Education is very important. For me, I see those people who are educated, even I admire them because they have good jobs and they are able to provide each and everything to themselves.

Now I also admire being like them. In fact, when you come at school you get very many skills. Like here at school, maybe I came here without knowing weaving baskets. Now here, we have a girls club where we gain skills of handcrafts.

Interviewer: What is important to succeed in life? What does education need to teach you to succeed? Education in itself is success but what is quality education, what is good education that makes you succeed?

Interviewee: I beg your pardon.

Interviewer: What specific skills do you need to be able to run your business, have your own poultry or farm or sewing? Is there just math and be able to read? What are the skills that you think are important?

Interviewee: Having a skill of self-confidence reading books in order to pass exams and even succeed. For example, here you cannot achieve what you want without reading books.

Interviewer: Can you describe how a normal class would look like? When a teacher comes in, what happens, and how is the class run?

Interviewee: Students should be able to ask questions, and the teacher should also be able to answer the questions that the students have asked. The teacher should explain very well so that the students may understand.

Interviewer: Is it done that way? Are you able to ask questions in class?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What are your plans after you finish your O-level?

Interviewee: My plan is that I should at least join A-level if possible.

Interviewer: What do you want to do if you can't join and what do you want to do after A-level?

Interviewee: If it happens that I don't continue in A-level, I want at least to join the course of nursing. If not, I want to continue and at least complete university.

Interviewer: What do you want to do in university? Do you know?

Interviewee: I want to pick the course of being a doctor.

Interviewer: What is the biggest obstacle for you to get you're A-level, or the biggest challenge? What's preventing you?

Interviewee: I am an orphan. I lost my father. Now mom is the one who is giving me school fees.

Interviewer: I'm sorry to hear.

Interviewee: I may not be having the hope to continue in A-level, but you never know. Maybe when I finish O-level I may get a sponsor. That is the hope which I have.

Interviewer: Samling is a good [05:46]. I really hope you will succeed. Thanks you for sharing it. Those were the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have any questions for me or if you want to add anything.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Interviewee: There is something. You have told me that you work with PEAS, and I see her there are some other things which we still need.

Interviewer: I'm independent from PEAS. I don't actually have anything to do with PEAS.

Interviewee: If I ask you, can't you…

Interviewer: Pass it on. What is it you need?

Interviewee: I wanted to tell you some of the things that we still need.

Interviewer: I don't have anything to do with PEAS. You're welcome to tell me then if I run into someone from PEAS, I can tell them. What do you need?

Interviewee: We do not have the dining room. Even we have the challenge of the library. We have the books but they are still few – we need more. The ones we have are still a few.

Interviewer: How is dining done now, in your classrooms?

Interviewee: We use the ones which are available but they are not enough for all of us.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. If I meet anyone, I'll make sure to…

Appendix 39: Student 5

Interviewer: You'll be anonymized so don't worry about it. My name is Victor and I'm from Denmark in Europe. I'm independent from PEAS, but I do research on PEAS – what it does well and what it does less well and what that means for how the school can achieve the global education goals.

If you could start out introducing yourself and who you are, that would be very nice.

Interviewee: I am [NAME] -- senior 3, west.

Interviewer: Are you a boarding or non-boarding?

Interviewee: I'm a boarding.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you what skills you think are important to succeed in life? What should school prepare you for?

Interviewee: I think studying is one of them because it has helped me to achieve my goals which I've planned. Skills sports students need are so much here in school. School may feel and you go and train sports and help you.

When you see this school, we are missing a playground which can facilitate our sports. We have the laboratory which is not well equipped, other elements are not there. Still [01:26] it is growing. It needs to be improved. We have only the science but we don't have the agriculture laboratory.

Interviewer: What skills should the school help you get to succeed in life?

Interviewee: Doing manual work can also help you and doing art and craft. I'm in a girls club. When we were competing this year, I tried to obtain some skills which can still go and help me. When I'm not in school, I still go and generate money.

Interviewer: That would be agriculture and handcrafting you mentioned. Are there any other skills?

Interviewee: I've talked of sports, manual work. I think if the school can accommodate to teach us practical like making liquid soap and those practical things which can still generate money.

Interviewer: Do you think school helps you prepare for that? Is it good?

Interviewee: I think if I'm somewhere [2:54] PEAS, I can achieve that because this one is for introducing us this system of school that we pay little school fees until we get what we want from school. Meaning a white man is the best man.

Interviewer: I wanted to ask you if you could briefly tell me how a normal class would look like. When a teacher comes in, what happens?

Interviewee: Our teachers, when they come to class some come with tools. In case he is teaching a topic which needs practical, he can carry those things, go to class, and try to say "This one is used like this and it is made like this."

Even our teachers are always punctual -- they come on time; they do not delay. They teach us well. Even if the teacher has explained 10 times and you still have not understood, he still has chance to repeat.

However much in primary we were told that in secondary there is no explanation, but here…

Interviewer: That's good.

Interviewee: That's very nice.

Interviewer: What do you plan on doing when you finish your O-level?

Interviewee: After A-level, I would like to join a campus, if at all I get money, to go on course of being a doctor.

Interviewer: It seems to be popular. A lot of you want to become a doctor.

Interviewee: I would like to be a doctor because in our area doctors are lacking and people are dying.

Interviewer: Maybe just one question. You said that you chose to come here because you knew PEAS was good quality. Do you know of any former PEAS students that continued education? Where did you hear of PEAS from?

Interviewee: I've not understood your question.

Interviewer: You said that you knew PEAS was good and that's why you chose to come here. Do you know any former students from here and what do they do today?

Interviewee: My colleague from here joined. Because here we don't have A-level, he went and joined from Port [05:22] and he's generating his own money. There is also one who went for entrepreneur and set up a small business on the skills he learned from here. Meaning this school is the best.

Interviewer: He didn't continue because there were no A-levels, yeah?

Interviewee: My request is, if it is possible, give us help so that I should not take my…PEAS should not say that this boy got these skills from a certain schools, when I came from here. This is my junior school.

Interviewer: Perfect. Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have anything you want to add or if you have any questions for me.

Interviewee: What I would like you emphasis on promoting talent about sports. We are really bad off. We reached an extent of going begging the other primary kids to give us space we play, if they don't want we come back.

We still lack that and we still lack expansion in the dormitory. We are big now. People are many; people are still loving the school but the school is full. It cannot accommodate that so we need expansion.

Interviewer: That's a good thing. Thank you very much.

Interviewee: One thing I would like to talk with you is our library. We have a library but not well-equipped with all books. We are still under developed. You check a book; you find there are two books, so you wait for another one to bring and then you go and borrow. That point needs to be developed.

Appendix 40: Student 6

Interviewer: My name is Victor, and I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools like PEAS – what they do well and what they don't do as well. I'm particularly concerned with quality, how it's understood, what is quality, and with the business model.

First, I would just like you to briefly introduce yourself, who you are, and where you are from.

Interviewee: I am called [NAME]. I am in senior 4B.

Interviewer: You are a day student or a boarding student?

Interviewee: A boarding student.

Interviewer: Have you only been enrolled in secondary in PEAS or have you been in other schools also?

Interviewee: No. Since senior one, I am ever in this school PEAS.

Interviewer: I would like to ask you what skills you think are important to succeed in life. What do you need to learn in school?

Interviewee: It's to work hard and perform better so that PEAS official would see when they can remove me in that poverty cycle.

Interviewer: What do you need to be taught to be able to go out of the poverty? What skills do you need? What do you need to know to be able to succeed?

Interviewee: Attaining knowledge in those subjects like in business subject, even though you don't exceed with studies, you can at least take a college for business. When you are offered entrepreneur and commerce, you can go and develop a self-business.

Interviewer: Would you say that the school helps you? Is the school good?

Interviewee: The school is good.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how it helps prepare you for life after school?

Interviewee: These days, PEAS official brought for us trusted books which equips learners with necessary skills in everything business education, dangers of early marriages. Then you leave this place here when you are aware of everything; what is going to happen there where you're going, how you can control yourself, and how to overcome there.

Interviewer: What do you hope to do when you finish secondary?

Interviewee: In my holidays, maybe in [02:51], I'll need to be learning computer since they offer some here. When my result comes, I hope to join A-Level.

Interviewer: Can you do A-Level here in Kigorobya or would you need to go elsewhere?

Interviewee: If I pass well, I cannot do it in Kigorobya.

Interviewer: You need to go to [Haoma].

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you have any other hopes. After A-levels, what do you want to do?

Interviewee: I want to go in accountancy because, the way you see me, I have business skills.

Interviewer: You are good at math.

Interviewee: Mathematic; I'm a good entrepreneur.

Interviewer: Fantastic! Can you describe what a normal class would look like to me? If I get in the class when it starts, what happens?

Interviewee: A normal class should be clean. Students should be able to raise answers for a teacher inside. A teacher should be in a position to give explanation for

everyone to understand. Students should be able to work out the exercises given by the teacher and hand them over for marking.

Interviewer: How does the teacher help the students do this, or do they?

Interviewee: It is because of his or her explanation given to you and your understand capacity. We students even contribute to our fellow students.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were the questions I had for you. I don't know if you have anything you want to add or if you have any other questions.

Interviewee: I don't have, sir.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Appendix 41: Student 7

Interviewer: My name is Victor, and I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools; what they do well and what they don't do as well. I'm independent from PEAS, and so of the things I look at are how good the school is with quality and to prepare students.

If you could just start out introducing yourself, who you are, are you a day or a boarding student, what class do you go in?

Interviewee: I am [NAME] – senior three. I'm in boarding.

Interviewer: Have you been enrolled in another secondary school before you started here or did you go straight to PEAS?

Interviewee: I was in another secondary school in senior one.

Interviewer: Here in Kigorobya or?

Interviewee: In Bliss.

Interviewer: Why did you transfer?

Interviewee: Just somebody who was sponsoring me from that side, she died.

Interviewer: I'm sorry to hear that. When you talk school and when you talk about life about after school, what skills should school prepare you for life afterwards? What do you need in life afterwards to succeed?

Interviewee: The school there should do handworks like knitting, making these crafts, so at least that can make us not fail after our school life. Maybe if we fail to get more about life, you can go in the village and be doing that.

Interviewer: For you, it's important that you're able to earn money yourself if you fail secondary.

Interviewee: I can knit.

Interviewer: Do you think the school helps you with this?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Can you give me an example of how?

Interviewee: Last term, we started knitting. They brought for us those wools for knitting so we begun practicing. I knew from her. I didn't knit.

Interviewer: You have used that home afterwards.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What do you hope to do when you finish your O-Levels?

Interviewee: If the results are back, when they are good, I'll have to continue up to A-Level. But if I feel that my parents are poor, because they are not all that well, if I see the level of their money is small, I can branch.

Interviewer: Branch means start your own business or?

Interviewee: No. I can go to another course.

Interviewer: Do your parents live far from here?

Interviewee: Somewhere in [3:38].

Interviewer: Could you describe what a normal class looks like? When you get in, how does the teacher act, what do you do as students, and so on?

Interviewee: In our class, you should have students who are responding to teachers, who are smart and listening to the teacher's advice. Parents should provide enough scholastic materials to students because sometimes you find that a student, maybe we're going for mathematic holiday, doesn't have a mathematical set, a calc, and he or she becomes disorganized. So at learning, he will not understand than those who are having those scholastic materials.

Interviewer: Do a lot of students experience problems with having the materials?

Interviewee: Those ones who are not having, so you have to share.

Interviewer: How many would you say is that, 10 in each class that has a problem or is it 20? How many in each class are missing these things?

Interviewee: You find that like five are missing calculators. They miss different things is what that I can say. One is missing a [5:05]; the other one is missing a pencil.

Interviewer: But then you share among the students and make it work.

Interviewee: Yeah.

Interviewer: Good idea. Thank you very much. Those were the questions I had for you I don't know if you want to add something or if you have any questions.

Interviewee: No, I don't have.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Interviewee: You have said you're independent from PEAS. How can you help such students who have no scholastic materials?

Appendix 42: Student 8

Interviewer: As I said, my name is Victor and I'm from Denmark. I do research on low fee private schools like PEAS – what they do well and what they don't do as well. I'm independent off PEAS. I don't work with PEAS or anything.

If you could just start out introducing yourself, who you are, what class you go to, and where you're from.

Interviewee: By name, I'm called [name]. I'm in senior 2B. I come from the district know as Buliisa and the place Wanseko.

Interviewer: Is that a long way from here?

Interviewee: It is a long way.

Interviewer: So you are a boarding student.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Were you enrolled in another school before you started here?

Interviewee: No. I started from here since senior one.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. When we talk about school and we talk about life after school, what skills do you think are important that you learn in school to succeed afterwards?

Interviewee: The school academics are better.

Interviewer: What skills do you need to succeed in life?

Interviewee: The skills of acquiring better knowledge to good activities like those in businesses.

Interviewer: For you, it's important that you are able to acquire more knowledge yourself?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Do you say school helps you build these skills?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: How so? Can you give me an example?

Interviewee: Because of the good subject they are teaching us like entrepreneur which gives us creativity in some of the activities that we want to do in the future.

Interviewer: Why is that important?

Interviewee: Because it gives us better knowledge about the activities we want and we know more about it.

Interviewer: And creativity is important afterwards also.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What do you hope to do when you finish your O-levels?

Interviewee: I want to continue with my studies up to A-level.

Interviewer: Do you have any hopes after A-levels?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What?

Interviewee: I want to become a doctor.

Interviewer: And doctor, you need to go to Kampala.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Why do you want to become a doctor?

Interviewee: Because I've liked it so much, and I'm seeing that the work of a doctor is not too tiresome as other jobs.

Interviewer: Thank you. Can you describe what a normal class would look like? What do you do in a class?

Interviewee: Sometimes we learn. When the teacher is not there, we start reading. Sometimes we go in the library and we read text books.

Interviewer: You said when the teacher is not there. A teacher is missing from the class sometimes or is that when you have time off?

Interviewee: Sometimes the teacher…when he's missing from the class, that's when we go in the library and we start [03:18] and reading our books in the library.

Interviewer: Do you do that by yourself or do the teachers come in and tell you to go to the library?

Interviewee: We do that by ourselves.

Interviewer: Oh, good kids. Thank you very much. Those were the few questions I had for you.

Interviewee: You're welcome.

Interviewer: I don't know if you have anything you want to add or you have any questions for me.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Appendix 43: Student 9

Interviewer: My name is Victor, and I'm from Denmark. I do research on what low fee private schools do well and what they don't do as well. I'm particularly interested in quality, how that's understood and how it works.

I'm independent from PEAS so I'm not employed by PEAS. I would like you to just introduce yourself, who you are, where you're from, what class you go to.

Interviewee: I am Tracy. I'm in senior two. I come from Hoima.

Interviewer: You are a boarding student.

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: Have you been enrolled in another school before you became enrolled here in PEAS?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. When we talk about school and life after school, how do you think school should prepare you for life after school?

Interviewee: It should prepare us for life after school through when we do some works which may promote our talents like music, dance and drama, football, netball, debating clubs, patriotic clubs, and scripture union clubs, plus weaving.

Interviewer: So you have a lot of clubs here in the school outside the subjects?

Interviewee: We only have the debate club and also the scripture union club.

Interviewer: What skills do you think you need to succeed in life afterwards?

Interviewee: I want to be an air hostess. If good wishes, I will.

Interviewer: I love flying as well. How does school prepare you to become an air hostess?

Interviewee: Through training, I will be prepared because I'm very skilled in talking. I cannot fear people so I can do.

Interviewer: Would you say that the school helps you at the moment?

Interviewee: Yes.

Interviewer: What do you hope to do after your O-levels? Do you just hope to go directly to air hostess or do you need to do something before?

Interviewee: I will need to do something. I will first work because my mother is the one who only takes care and she cannot offer the money. I must first work and get some money and she adds on.

Interviewer: What were you saying? Who adds on?

Interviewee: For me, only my mother.

Interviewer: Could you describe what a normal class looks like to me?

Interviewee: Pardon.

Interviewer: What happens in a normal class?

Interviewee: We do discussions with the teachers that promote us to improve on our performance, and also group work.

Interviewer: Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you want to add something or if you have any questions.

Interviewee: Yes. I have one add-on.

Interviewer: OK.

Interviewee: What I wanted to add-on; here, our clubs are declining and some teachers do not put more effort on our clubs. Like the scripture union club -- it is like praying -- we are the ones who organize our church there in class.

When we collect some little money, we buy some things in the church, so those people do not [04:12 give] a person some things.

Interviewer: That's a good idea to do it. Thank you very much.

Appendix 44: Student 10

Interviewer: My name is Viktor. I do research on low fee private schools like PEAS – what they do well and what they don't do as well. I'm particularly interested in how quality is understood and what quality is.

I should say that I am independent from PEAS, so I don't work with PEAS and I'm not affiliated with PEAS. If you could just start out introducing yourself, who you are, where you're from, and what class you go to.

Interviewee: My name is [NAME]. My former school was [Iguruani] Primary School. I come from Kigorobya. I'm in senior one.

Interviewer: The town you come from, is that far away from here?

Interviewee: It is very long.

Interviewer: So you are in boarding. Were you in another secondary school before PEAS, or is this your first secondary school?

Interviewee: I beg your pardon.

Interviewer: Did you go to another school before PEAS – only primary and then PEAS?

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: When we talk about school and we talk about life after school, what do you think is important that you learn in school to be successful in life afterwards?

Interviewee: I really don't know.

Interviewer: What skills do you think are important for you?

Interviewee: I would like to school because I will be good in the future. I want to be a good citizen in my future.

Interviewer: What does it take for you to be a good citizen? What do you need? What do you need to learn?

Interviewee: I need to be a nurse.

Interviewer: Why would you want to be a nurse?

Interviewee: Because I want to be good in my future.

Interviewer: Why is it good to be a nurse? Is it interesting? Does it pay well? You don't know. There are no correct answers. I just want to talk to you. Would you say that school helps you to be a good citizen?

Interviewee: Yes, the school makes me a good citizen.

Interviewer: How does it make you a good citizen?

Interviewee: They are teaching us.

Interviewer: The last thing I want to ask you is if you can describe a normal class to me. What happens in a normal class? The teacher comes in; the students are ready, what else happens?

Interviewee: I beg your pardon.

Interviewer: In a normal class, the class you're going to now, what happens in that class?

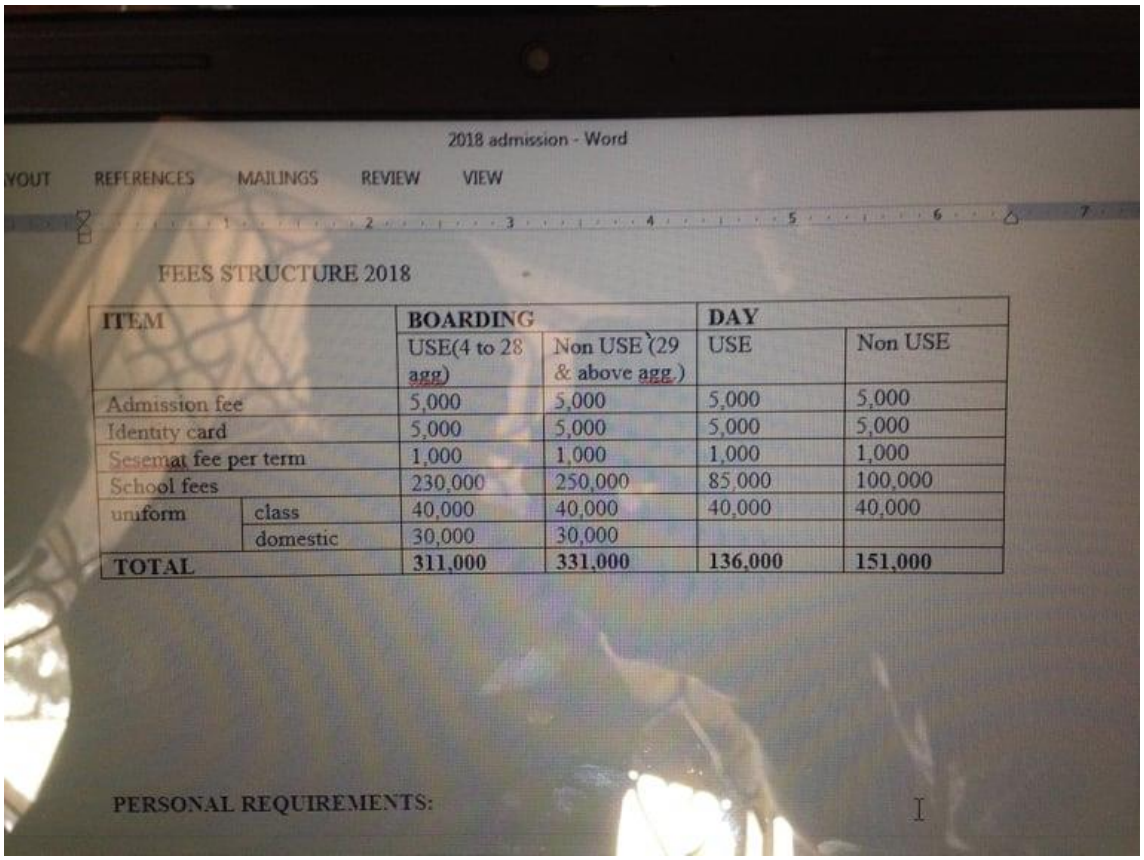
Interviewee: They are teaching us well. The classroom is bad, but the [04:55] are good.

Interviewer: Thank you very much. Those were all the questions I had for you. I don't know if you want to add something or if you have any questions for me.

Interviewee: No.

Interviewer: Thank you very much.

Appendix 45: Fee structure



2018 admission - Word

YOUT REFERENCES MAILINGS REVIEW VIEW

FEES STRUCTURE 2018

ITEM		BOARDING		DAY	
		USE(4 to 28 agg)	Non USE (29 & above agg.)	USE	Non USE
Admission fee		5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
Identity card		5,000	5,000	5,000	5,000
Sesemat fee per term		1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
School fees		230,000	250,000	85,000	100,000
uniform	class	40,000	40,000	40,000	40,000
	domestic	30,000	30,000		
TOTAL		**311,000**	**331,000**	**136,000**	**151,000**

PERSONAL REQUIREMENTS:

Fee structure from PEAS GS as observed during visit.