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Can reforming the pre-university public educational sector in Egypt through privatization influence its quality?

Khaled Elzoughbi

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The American University in Cairo

School of Global Affairs and Public Policy

CAN REFORMING THE PRE-UNIVERSITY PUBLIC EDUCATIONAL SECTOR IN EGYPT THROUGH PRIVATIZATION INFLUENCE ITS QUALITY?

A Thesis Submitted to the
Public Policy and Administration Department
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Public Administration

By

Khaled Mohamed Abdelsalam Ibrahim Elzoughbi

under the supervision of Dr. Artan Karini

Fall 2017
Acknowledgement

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Also, I must express my very profound gratitude to my family and my line manager, Kishore Roy, and my best friend, Tamir Ismail, for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis. This accomplishment would not have been possible without them.

My gratitude is extended to everyone who participated voluntarily in this study, contributed their ideas, and those who really helped open a way through which data collection for this study was feasible.

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The American University in Cairo  
School of Global Affairs and Public Policy  
Department of Public Policy and Administration

Can Reforming The Pre-university Public Educational Sector in Egypt Through Privatization Influence Its Quality?

Khaled Mohamed Abdelsalone Ibrahim Elzoughbi

Supervised by Dr. Artan Karini

Abstract

This research investigated the possibility of privatizing pre-university or basic education in Egypt. The pre-university education consists of three levels: primary education (six years), preparatory education (three years) and high school education (three years). The researcher employed the qualitative approach using semi-structured face-to-face interviews to collect answers to the research questions. The main findings of the research suggest that there are a huge demand on private schools in Egypt specially schools that teach English-based curriculum. Privatization in education could be one of the effective solutions to raise the quality of education, expand educational services and reduce the financial burden on the government. Recommendation suggests a gradual implementation to privatization of pre-university education in Egypt using the school vouchers system with taking in consideration concerns of teachers, schools managements, parents, students, and private sector.

Keywords: pre-university education, basic education, privatization, education quality
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<thead>
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AUC</td>
<td>American University in Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAPMAS</td>
<td>Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNISE</td>
<td>Certificate of Nile International Secondary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDF</td>
<td>National Education Development Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MoE</td>
<td>Ministry of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MENA</td>
<td>Middle East and North Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NES</td>
<td>Nile Egyptian Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NVP</td>
<td>National Voucher Program</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>Private Tutoring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAT</td>
<td>Scholastic Aptitude Test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Background and context

According to Akkari (2004), the Middle East and North African countries (MENA), which extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the Arab-Persian Gulf, share many common themes. For example, the vast majority of population embraces Islam as the main religion and Arabic as the official language, which play a key factor in identity formation of the MENA region especially in Education. In addition, most of the MENA region’s counties were under European colonization during the nineteenth and the first half of twentieth centuries which created similarities of the challenges that face education at MENA region. Although colonial authorities implemented compulsory modern education systems in the MENA region; however, the access was limited because the colonial authorities did not want to provide people with the skills and knowledge that would be used to challenge their authority. So, the access to modern education was restricted to minimum of students who would support colonial administration (Akkari, 2004).

During the first half of nineteenth century, the Egyptian and Tunisian governments sent mission to Europe aiming to transfer the knowledge and learn from the European experience by translating the European knowledge to Arabic (Saïd, 1993). In fact, these missions helped in improving the outcome of the formal education and raised the awareness between population regarding global topics such as gender inequality and democracy. Although the significant improvement of formal education in MENA region during the last decades, schools and universities failed to produce marketable skills which created a gap between market needs and education that led to high unemployment rates (Fergany, 1995). Consequently, private education emerged at MENA region aiming to bridge the gap between education and market needs; however, it still targets high and middle-income students.
Lately, private education experienced high demand in some countries in MENA. For example, private schools outnumber public schools in Lebanon (World Bank, 1999).

As a matter of fact, many countries in the world such as England, Australia, New Zealand and USA have moved away from centralized education system and adopt a new schooling system that encourages parental choices and competition between schools. This new trend led to creating a “quasi-market” in education services and encouraged the marketization and privatization of education (Whitty & Power, 2000). In quasi-market systems, public services are being provided to citizens through a third party and the state pays the service providers on behalf of citizens or end users. For example, the school vouchers system where parents receive vouchers that worth a specific amount of money that parents need to pay as education fees to a particular school of their choice. Schools then use the voucher to claim the fees from the government. The Services providers could be a non-profit organization or a private profit-making organization (Le Grand, 2011).

In most African counties till end of 1980s, governments used to control education exclusively (Lange & Diarra, 1999). The post-colonial governments in Africa considered public schools as the main channels for building national unity and identity; however, the newly independent governments adopted the concept of free universal education and encouraged private education notion with a close supervision and control by local governments (Kitaev, 1999).

Regarding Egypt, according to Sobhy (2011), public education in Egypt suffers corruption and neglect from the government. As a result, private tutoring flourished in Egypt as a direct response to low quality education and overcrowded classrooms in public schools; in addition to the political and economic trend promoted by Mubarak regime that encouraged privatization to reduce public spending. Furthermore, the quality of current education services in public schools forced Egyptian families to support their children with private
tutoring based on their affordability. Therefore, low income families have to accept a low quality private tutoring that is delivered by low paid teachers; however, high income families manage to get high quality private tutoring that is delivered by highly paid teachers. That variance created a system that is inequitable and expensive (World Bank 1996).

The Egyptian government adopted the free education policy in 1950s during the era of president Gamal Abdel Nasser. In 1962 free education was extended to include universities and higher education institutes and presidents Gamal Abdelnaser guaranteed jobs for all university graduates in the public sectors (Barsoum, 2004). As a direct result of free education, the demand on education in Egypt increased dramatically to a level that exceeded the stat capacity and resources (Cochran, 1986). Consequently, the researcher claims that this rapid unexpected growth necessitated the hiring of many unqualified teachers and over consuming of schools facilities, where many schools are obligated to operate in more than one shift to accommodate students. This over-using of school facilities affected negatively on the quality of educational services in Egypt.

According to the Global Competitiveness Report 2015-2016, the Egyptian education placed to 139 out of 140 countries in terms of the overall quality of schools, universities and business-education programs. However, Switzerland ranked number one followed by Singapore and United Stated respectively. It is worth mentioning that in the Middle East, Qatar topped the region at the 14th place followed by the United Arab Emirates at 17th place. This result reflects the failure of the Egyptian government's policies in improving the quality of the education system. Consequently, private tutoring came out as a consequence of the poor quality of education in public schools in Egypt. According to the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), Egyptian families direct about 42.1 percent of the annual spending on education to private tutoring (PT) which accounts for more than 11

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1 The Global Competitiveness Report 2015–2016- Page 161
billion EGP. Accordingly, The Egyptian families are willing to pay (or obligated to pay) for private tutoring to offset the low quality teaching services at public schools due to the overcrowded classrooms (exceeds 50 at some schools) and difficult curriculum. It is worth noting that the average class size among all OECD countries is 20 students (OECD 2012). Therefore, one of the objectives of this research is to find ways to benefit from misused expenditures on unofficial private tutoring in Egypt and investigate the possibility of introducing a new model of privatization of public education that would help the Egyptian Ministry of Education gets the utmost benefits of human and financial resources spent on pre-university education.

1.2 Education system in Egypt – strategic direction.

According to a report published by UNICEF in October 2014 titled “Egypt Country Report on Out-of-School Children” The pre-university education services are provided in Egypt through three main actors, Public schools that accommodate about 80 percent of the students, El-Azhar religions education program that accommodates about 10 percent of the students, and the private sector that accommodates about 10 percent. The total number of students exceeded 20 million in 2016 and considered the largest in MENA region (UNICEF, 2014).

Figure 1: Structure of the education system in Egypt
Source: Ministry of high Education, 2007
1.2.1. Pre-school education

Pre-school education or kindergarten (KG) is a two years independent stage for children aged 4-5 years old. In the Egyptian education system, pre-school education is not part of the official education system and it cost relatively high fees (world date on Education, 2010). According to a report published by the UNESCO International Bureau of Education (IBE)\(^3\) in 2006, about 55 percent of KG is managed by NGOs, 42 percent is managed by private sector, and the remaining 3 percent is managed by local government entities. The supervision of the pre-school system is exercised by the following entities:

1- Ministry of Education (MoE)
2- Ministry of Insurance and Social Affairs (MISA)
3- Ministry of Health (MoH)
4- National Council for Childhood and Motherhood (NCCM)
5- Ministry of International Cooperation (MIC)

1.2.2. Primary, preparatory and secondary education

This stage is compulsory in Egypt and it lasts for nine years. Its include six years as primary education and three years as preparatory stage. At the end of preparatory education, students have to set for centrally-set exam and successful students can either go for vocational schools or go for secondary school (three years) based on their score on the central exam. At the end of this phase, all students are evaluated through a written end of year exam held at the governorate level and successful candidates receive a basic education completion certificate (world date on Education, 2010). The private schools’ share in preparatory education has increased from 11.5 percent to 13.4 percent by 2015. This increase came out as a result of

---

state encouragement of the private sector to invest in education. It is been recognized that private sector expansion was mainly focused on urban areas with a very weak presence in rural area. This could be attributed to the poor infrastructure and low economic level at rural areas (NCERD\textsuperscript{4}, 2015).

1.2.3. Higher education

Higher education in Egypt is provided by public universities, private universities and higher institutes. Higher education is accessible to students who successfully completed secondary schools or got a diploma from advanced technical institute. Usually higher education institutes offer four-year program that grants a bachelor degree (world date on Education, 2010).

Constitutional rights to education

As per the Egyptian former minister of education Dr.Abo-Elnasr (2015), the Egyptian government is committed to make pre-university education available and free for each student in Egypt. According to the Egyptian constitution of 2014, there are six articles associated with education (Article 19,20,21,22,23,24 and 25) and another three articles indirectly related to education (Article 80, Article 81 and Article 82).

Article 19 states that every Egyptian citizen has the right to education and the state is dedicated to provide curricula and methods in accordance with global quality standard. Also, the article highlights that education is obligatory until the end of the secondary stage or its equivalent. Moreover, the state is committed to allocate no less than 4 percent of the GDP to the education budget that will gradually increase to reach the global rate. In Article 20, the constitution states that the state is committed to encourage and develop technical education and professional training. In Article 21, the state is committed to guarantee the independence

\textsuperscript{4} NCERD (National Centre For Education Research and Development)
of universities and allocating no less than 2 percent of Gross National Product (GDP) to support universities. In Article 22, the state is committed to develop teaching staff and raise their capacities and skills, and care for their financial rights being the backbone of the educational process. In Article 23, the state is committed to guarantee the freedom of scientific research and allocate no less than 1 percent of the Gross National Product to support the research. Article 24 states that the Arabic language, religious education and national history are the core subjects of pre-university public and private education. In article 25, the state is committed to fight illiteracy and develop mechanism in cooperation with civil society to achieve that objective. These six articles summarize the strategic direction of the Egyptian government towards education (Egyptian constitution, 2014).

Although the 2014 constitution obligates the Egyptian government to spend no less than 4 percent of the GDP on education, the number (4 percent) still low comparing to other countries in MENA regions. For example, Saudi Arabia allocates about 5.6 percent of the GDP to education, Morocco allocates about 5.4 percent, and Tunisia allocates about 6.2 percent (World Bank, 2013).

The researcher claims that the Egyptian government will not be able to keep its commitment and increase the spending on education- as stated in 2014 constitution- for two main reasons: first, the tourism revenue in Egypt dramatically declined from 12.50 USD billion in 2010 to reach 5.40 USD billion in 2015 (Egyptian Ministry of Tourism, 2015). This dramatic drop in tourism income affected negatively on the country foreign reserve and forced the Egyptian government to cut costs. Second, the Egyptian government started an austerity program in 2016 right after getting an extended fund from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) with the value of US$12 billion (IMF, 2017). Consequently the Egyptian government took unprecedented measurements to meet the IMF requirements such as depreciating the local currency, applying the value added tax, and gradually reducing subsidy (Euronews, 2016).
The research believes that the government started by reducing subsidy on fuel and food and it is highly expected to include education and healthcare as well. As a result, privatization of basic education could be on the top of the government's agenda in the near future. Therefore, this research could contribute in addressing the issue of decreasing the state expenditure on basic education, guarantee access to basic education to students from low income families, raise the capacity of teaching staff, and provide curricula and methods in accordance with global quality standard.

1.3. **Paid education Initiatives from the Egyptian government**

As clearly stated in Article 19 of 2014 Egyptian constitution, "The state is dedicated to provide curricula and methods in accordance with global quality standard". In this context, the Ministry of Education in Egypt approved and supported two promising models:

1.3.1 **Nile Egyptian schools**

The National Education Development Fund (EDF) was established by presidential decree number 290 of 2004 for the sake of providing financial support to initiatives that aim to develop education in Egypt. The EDF has six main priorities:

1- Support the initiatives that aim to improve the quality of education in Egypt.
2- Support the integration of technology in Education.
3- Support continues education.
4- Building human capacity and institutional efficacy.
5- Support post-graduate studies and research.
6- Establishing of educational institutes.

In this context, Nile Egyptian Schools (NES) are international schools established in 2010 by a fund from the National Education Development Fund (EDF) aiming to provide
international education services to middle income families. As per EDF website, Nile Egyptian Schools work in cooperation with International department of Cambridge Examination Services and offer an English-based curriculum. Graduates of Nile Egyptian Schools will get the “Certificate of Nile International Secondary Education (CNISE)”, which will qualify graduates to join any national or international university. By end of 2016, EDF established five schools in October city, Obour City, Portsaid, Minia and Qena. The tuition fees for NES are quite high comparing to other state schools. As highlighted in table 1 below, the fees for KG1 is EGP 12,825 and the fee for primary stage (Grade 3 to 6) is EGP 10,810 per year. The fees for preparatory (grade 7 to 9) and secondary stage (grade 10 to 12) are slightly higher and reach EGP 13,515 and EGP 15,765 respectively.

Table 1: Nile Egyptian Schools' fees
Source: Cabinet document 2016/2017 (attached)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Fees in EGP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 KG1</td>
<td>12,825</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 KG2</td>
<td>8,735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Grade 1</td>
<td>10,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Grade 2</td>
<td>10,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Grade 3</td>
<td>10,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Grade 4</td>
<td>10,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Grade 5</td>
<td>10,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Grade 6</td>
<td>10,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Grade 7</td>
<td>13,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Grade 8</td>
<td>13,515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Grade 9</td>
<td>13,515</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NESs are non-profit schools where the income is directed to the development of schools facilities and enhancing the capacity of NES schools. Regarding students who will not be able to afford the schools fees, the EDF will offer 20 percent of the places as scholarships (Education Development Fund website, 2017).

1.3.2 STEM schools:

According to the website of the Ministry of Education in Egypt (http://www.moe.gov.eg), STEM schools was established by the ministerial decree number 313 to 2015 aiming to incubate high achiever students who finished the preparatory stage (Grade 9) with a score of 98% and achieved the full marks in, at least, two subjects of the three main subjects (Science, Math or English). The maximum number of students per class is 25 students. The schools teach a special curriculum that encourages innovation and critical thinking in Science, Technology, English and Mathematics. The total number of established schools so far in Cairo and Alexandria is 14. The Ministry of Education is looking forward to establish a STEM school at each governorate in Egypt.

1.4 Current Performance of Egyptian students.

According to a report published by UNICEF and Ministry of Education in Egypt, the preschool system (kindergarten) in Egypt is underdeveloped and students enrollment rate is still low, where only 28 percent of the of students aged 4 to 5 years old are enrolled in schools (UNICEF Egypt, 2017). The overall quality of education is still poor and away
behind the global standards. For example, according to the International Knowledge Assessment Test, 53 percent of grade 8 students lack the basic mathematical knowledge and 45 percent of students failed to recognize basic facts from physical science. According to a reported published by UNDP in 2015 titled “Egypt Progress towards Millennium Development Goals”, 35 percent of preparatory schools’ students (Grade 7-9) cannot read and write\(^5\). Paradoxically, those illiterate students spend more than 6 years attending primary schools and pass all end-of-year exams and reached the preparatory stage without being able to read and write. The UNDP report also highlighted that 30 percent of teachers in pre-university education system are not qualified, which explains the reason behind having 35 percent of illiterate students in the preparatory stage (UNDP, 2015). In addition, On May 2015, Dr. Moheb Elrafaay, the former Minister of Education, announced in a TV interview that 303,000 students in grade three and four got zero in dictation test. Consequently, the study claims that the Egyptian government’s efforts do not payback so far and the education problems is keep growing in Egypt.

1.5 **Expenditures on basic education**

According to the Minister of Finance, Hany Kadry, the Egyptian government allocated the amount of EGP 94.4 billion as a budget for education in 2015. As per 2015/2016 statistics, the total number of registered students in public education is 18,608,730 students, which means that the allocated fund for each student per year is about EGP 5,073 (Table: 2). In addition, according to the income and expenditure report announced by CAPMAS on 2015, the average family spending per student on public education is EGP 1,417 per year, where about 42 percent is being spend on private tutoring (about EGP 595). Considering the fact that the number of students registered in public schools in 2015/2016 is 18,608,730 students,

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\(^5\) UNDP report 2015- Egypt Progress towards Millennium Development Goals- page# 16
the total amount that Egyptian families spend on private tutoring might exceeds EGP 11 billion/year. So, the total amount spend by the government and parents on supporting pre-university education in Egypt exceed EGP 105 billion, which the study consider a wasted money based on the fact that quality of the Egyptian education placed to 139 out of 140 countries as per the Global Competitiveness Report 2015-2016.

**Table 2: Number of registered students in public schools in Egypt.**


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number registered students in public schools</th>
<th>Number registered students in private schools</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015/2016</td>
<td>18,608,730</td>
<td>2,032,679</td>
<td>20,641,409</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1.6 Research problem and objectives

The research conducted by the Egyptian Center for Economic Studies (2002) revealed that the mismatch between education output and market need is the main cause of unemployment in Egypt. Skills shortage between university graduates hinder growth opportunities in high level economic sectors, which emerged as a direct result of poor quality of public education and the reliance on private tutoring. According to a research funded by Injaz Al Arab, a regional NGO, university graduates in Egypt takes five years after graduation to be able to get a job which might lead to economic, political and social risks (Lovelluck, 2012).

It is obvious that Private education and Private tutoring (PT) are no longer an extra privilege to rich students or kind of extra support to low performing students as it used to be twenty years ago. In fact, private tutoring is currently one of main features of the pre-university education system in Egypt especially in high schools, where students are no longer attend daily schools and depend completely on private tutoring. This could be attributed to many reasons:
**First** and foremost, focusing on learning for memorization for examination rather than engagement and reflection.

The current high school system in Egypt is a one-chance education system that allows for a one-time examination trial and based on the achieved score, students will be placed at a particular faculty regardless of their interest. So parents are obligated to invest in private tutoring for the sake of giving extra support to students in order to be able to secure a place at one of the prestigious faculties such as medicine and engineering. According to the current high school system in Egypt, second year students are classified into either science or humanities branch based on their score in the first year of high school. So, high achievers are directed by the system to study medicine and engineering while other professional and business subjects are leftover to low achievers. Again admission to faculties of medicine or engineering depends only on students’ scores in the final exams. So teachers intensively focus on examination and teach students how to memorize the information for the sake of the exams only. This kind of passive learning technique leaves students with neither academic nor physical incentive which leads to lack of engagement, participation and affects negatively on student’s attainment. Thus, the whole education process in the high school system is a kind of competition between students on memorizing information and expels it out on the exam paper. As a consequence and direct result of the passive education, Egypt faces a mismatch between education and job market. Hence, Egypt ended up with plenty of doctors and engineers while lack of senior managers for the business sector, for instance (Loveluck, 2012).

**Second**, Schools facilities and infrastructure.

Due to rapid increase in population and increasing student’s enrollment rates in the last two decades, regular school classes became overcrowded. The average class size
reached 42.7 students per class and up to 50 in some schools in Alexandria (MOE, 2007). Therefore, some schools have to operate in two shifts a day, which led to over consuming of schools resources and facilities and subsequently poor facilities. This structural constrains and poor quality of schools facilities has a negative impact on daily performance of both teachers and students (Hartmann, 2008).

In my point of view, I can conclude that the Egyptian government tries to overcome the inadequate resource challenges; however, because of the limited resources and ongoing budget deficit the government find it hard to address that issue. Therefore, encouraging privatization of education could be one of the most effective solutions to help in improving schools facilities in Egypt and raise the quality of teaching process. Therefore, there is increasing demand on private education where parents hope to find a convenient place for their children.

**Third. Poor teaching quality in public schools.**

In fact, teaching job is perceived by community in Egypt as a low social and economic status job. According to Sobhy (2012), the average salary of a school teacher in Egypt ranges between $17.4 - $60 per month. The Ministry of Education (MoE) pays a very low salary to public schools teacher. Thus, teachers find private tutoring as an important source of income that might earn them more than 10 times their regular salaries (Assaad & El-Badawy, 2006).

The Egyptian MoE prioritizes teachers training and development, however, a very little progress has been achieved in this regard. As a result, poor quality teaching in state schools led to emergence of informal sector in education, which is the private tutoring, in order to fill the gap in the formal sector. Prosperous in private tutoring market puts extra financial burden on families’ budget and raise a concern about
social inequality because students who cannot afford private tutoring feel disadvantaged and underprivileged. According to a field work research conducted by Sahar Hartman in 2012, students revealed that teachers in state schools do not bother to pay effort to explain lesson to students because teachers know that almost all students attend private tutoring. Teachers just explain lessons superficially without getting into details. As a result, the attendance rate in public schools dropped dramatically as students do not take it seriously because school days became more of fun, socializing and play (Sobhy, 2012).

**Forth:** Over-centralized control of the state on schools.

According to a report titled "Schools for Skills – A New Learning Agenda for Egypt" published by OECD in 2015, the over-centralization of the government authority on Egyptian universities and schools is one of the main obstacles to reform education in Egypt. As a result of this tight central control, teachers find it hard to go beyond the lesson plans set by the ministry of education. They do not have the freedom to structure lessons that reflect the progress of the students in the classes and government inspectors frequently attend lessons to monitor and evaluation teachers, which put extra pressure on teachers to stick hardly to the given curriculum. Moreover, the content of curriculum is heavily politicized and it’s used by the government to engrave specific political orientation in student’s minds. For example, in March 2011, the Ministry of Education announced that about 20 percent of the curriculum will be cut out because it is mainly concerned with the achievement and legacy of the National Democratic Party, the political party of the former president Hosni Mubarak (Al Masry Al Youm newspaper, 3 March 2011).

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6 Schools for Skills – A New Learning Agenda for Egypt (2015)- Page# 58
OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development)
Another case took place in the 2011 end-of-year examination where a compulsory question in the preparatory schools’ Arabic exams requested students to write a thank you letter to Supreme Council of Armed Force because of their effort in supporting the revolution of January 25th (Annex VI). This over-centralized and politicized control leaves no room for innovation and critical thinking in educational environment at public schools, which affect negatively on the output of education.

Consequently, the private market boomed in the last decade because of the quality and flexibility of the private system. According to the statistics announced by the Ministry of Educations, the number of private schools in Egypt increased by about 33% in the last ten years (from 2006 to 2016). Moreover, the number of students attends private schools increased by 39% in the last ten years as well. This means that there is a growing demand on private education in Egypt (Table: 3).

Obviously, the Egyptian government faces serious challenges in managing the pre-university education process and struggle to achieve acceptable level of quality in primary education.
Table 3: Number of established schools in Egypt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic year</th>
<th>No of Public schools in Egypt</th>
<th>No of Private schools in Egypt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2006 / 2007</td>
<td>36,009</td>
<td>4,859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007 / 2008</td>
<td>37,218</td>
<td>4,966</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 / 2009</td>
<td>38,305</td>
<td>5,118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009 / 2010</td>
<td>39,376</td>
<td>5,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010 / 2011</td>
<td>40,111</td>
<td>5,662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011 / 2012</td>
<td>40,809</td>
<td>5,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012 / 2013</td>
<td>41,346</td>
<td>6,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2013 / 2014</td>
<td>42,833</td>
<td>6,602</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2014 / 2015</td>
<td>43,854</td>
<td>6,899</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015 / 2016</td>
<td>44,787</td>
<td>7,235</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure: 2: Line chart based on that data stated in Table 3

1.7 Purpose and Scope of the Study

The objective of this research is to provide a detailed picture on the possibility of privatizing pre-university education in Egypt, and introduce a road map that helps the Ministry of Education improving the education system in Egypt. Furthermore, the study investigated the advantages and disadvantages of privatization of pre-university education in Egypt. The purposes of this study are:
• Exploring options that would help the Egyptian government in terms of reforming pre-university education.

• Identifying approaches that would help the Egyptian Ministry of Education (MOE) allocate the available resources efficiently.

• Identifying approaches that would help the MOE raising the quality and the outcome of pre-university education.

• Identifying the barriers and challenges that hinder the implementation of privatization in pre-university education in Egypt.

• Exploring an effective model to subsidies pre-university education.

1.8 Significance of the research

The significance of this study comes from the limited academic research about the topic on Egypt. So, this research is intended to makes a contribution to the field aiming to enhance the quality of pre-university education in Egypt by introducing a developed model of managing and controlling the pre-university education process.

Furthermore, this study will also be beneficial to Egypt strategic plan 2030 in terms of supporting the reform of public pre-university education. As a matter of fact, Egypt strategic plan 2030 highlighted three main strategic objectives regarding pre-university education, which have been addressed in this research. The first objective of Egypt strategic plan 2030 is mainly concerned with the quality of education system in Egypt with main focus on the implementation of global accreditation and quality standard on local schools to comply with global standards (Egypt’s Vision 2030). The second objective of the 2030 plan emphasizes on offering high-quality educational services to all Egyptian students from all social classes in urban and rural areas and increase the number of class rooms in order to raise the quality of education services and accommodate students with disabilities and distinguish talented
students (Egypt’s Vision 2030). The third objective is concerned with competitiveness tied to quality and availability of education in Egypt compared with other countries for the sake of enhancing the performance of Egyptian education in global reports such as global competitiveness and human development reports (Egypt’s Vision 2030).

Furthermore, the researcher is personally interested in education development in Egypt because of the fact that high quality education is the only way for Egypt to get out of the bottle neck and achieve economic progress. Moreover, it has been widely recognized that well educated Egyptian can access better jobs and achieve higher life standard than less educated people in both urban and rural areas in Egypt. Moreover, developing countries like Egypt will not be able to compete in the international market without having well educated human resources. In addition, the researcher believes that high quality education will help Egyptian people maintaining a good health and prevent chronic disease such as HIV and hepatitis C. Also, good quality education will support the political stability and democracy in Egypt by allowing people to learn about their rights and duties.

1.9 Main research question and specific research questions

Main question:

Why and to what extent can the Egyptian government privatize pre-university education in Egypt?

Specific/sub research questions:

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of privatizing public education?
- What are the challenges that the government face to privatize public education?
- What is the best suggested model to implement public schools privatization?
- How does privatizing public education affect the situation of public schools’ teachers?
The answers to those questions helped the research in examining the reasons of the low ranking of pre-university education in Egypt as presented in global competitiveness reports in the last couple of years.

1.10 Research methodology

The study is conducted using qualitative research methodology depending on primary sources from in-depth interviews with the targeted groups, and secondary data collected by desk research depending on the up-to-date international reports and recent studies.

A group of eighteen participants has been interviewed and asked open-ended questions with probe from the research- when needed- to ensure that the interviewees understand the questions. Also, both genders have been represented in the sample, and different age groups have been considered as well.

1.11 Organization of the study

This thesis is divided into five chapters:

Chapter (1) is an introduction about pre-university education system in Egypt and privatization initiative from the Egyptian government, then statement of the research problem followed by the purpose and the significance of the study. Also, the research questions are stated in this chapter as well.

Chapter (2) is about the literature review of previous studies related to the research topic.

Chapter (3) describes the research methodology used in this study with an explanation of why qualitative analysis is used to analyze data, data collection and sample design, and the ethical considerations for the study.

Chapter (4) presents the study findings and analysis of the collected data. It also includes discussion of the study findings, and answers to the research questions.

Chapter (5) explains the study conclusions and policy recommendations.
Chapter Two: Literature Review

It has been widely recognized that well educated people can access better jobs and achieve higher life standard than less educated people. Moreover, developing countries can compete in the international market by having abundance of well-educated human resources since there is a direct correlation between education and economic growth (Kwong, 2000). So, it is very obvious that education has a direct impact on countries’ economy development. The United Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and 1966 stated that pre-university education should be free and compulsory for all (Bray, 2004). Consequently, UN member countries adopted the concept of compulsory education for their citizens especially after the United Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) required member states to supply a free pre-university education for all citizens; however, many developing countries, such as Egypt, failed to achieve their education goals and keep its commitment to their citizens. That failure was obvious in 2016 global competitiveness report when Pre-university education in Egypt ranked next to last (Global Competitiveness Report 2015-2016). This failure came up as a result of the ever-increasing demand on education, limited financial and human capacity, national conflicts and natural crisis. Therefore, private sector has been invited to take part in the delivery of education in developing countries. Private sector participation takes place through for-profit providers, public-private partnership, in addition to philanthropic and religious organizations (Pedró, Leroux, et al, 2015).

The concept of privatizing of basic education has been studied by scholars in different approaches. Some scholars defined privatization as transfer of resources, roles and responsibilities, which was previously controlled or delivered by the state, to private providers such as religious organization, charities, for-profit parties or any other interested parties. This happens because either the government is no longer able to afford the cost of a service or failed to manage and control a particular task (Cooman & Hallo de Wold, 2005).
Another approach suggests that privatization of education means that parents or students pay the cost of education directly to service providers instead of paying indirectly through taxes (Blaas, 2007).

Reviewing the literature demonstrates that the literature about privatization of pre-university education could be classified into four categories: First, researches that addressed public sector reform in general from the new public management (NPM) perspective. Second, studies that shed light on the models of privatization in pre-university education. The third highlighted the views supporting and opposing the concept of privatization of pre-university education. The forth is about the experiences of privatization in different countries in the world.

2.1. Public sector reform in general.

According to Savas (2015) privatization simply means relying mainly on private sector and less dependence on government to fulfill people needs. Privatization is one of the main characteristics of the new model of public administration reform driven and labeled by the principal of the new public management (NPM). Similarly, Kaboolian (1998) highlighted that new public management adopts and encourages three main concepts. First, promotes efficiency, effectiveness and equality in delivery of public services. Second, embrace the concepts of competition, contracting out, customer satisfaction, and incentive and service delivery. Third, follow economic market models for political and administrative relationship that encourages competition and innovation.

Following the same concept, Massey (2010) claimed that new public management is inspired by global modern approaches such as technological innovations, Europeanization and globalization. This dynamic movement encourages public sector manager to develop their professional skills and change their mindsets from being totally dependent on central
governments to be productive entities that generate income and deliver high quality services for the benefit of the whole society. Pollitt (2008) went further and stressed that the future of public administration will be driven by changes and challenges arisen as a result of embracing the new public management notion; however, the implementation mechanism might be different in each country. It will depend mainly on people choices and politician decisions. In addition, Pollitt (ibid.) argued that decision makers do not always have the privilege to take decisions regarding the future because decisions taken by their ancestors are considered as major constrains such as approved laws and regulations, budgetary commitments, customs and traditions, inherited history and cognitive bias.

Looking from a different prospective, Nyong’O (2001) claimed that privatization, as an essential feature of the new public management, could lead to a good or a bad governance depending on the framework of implementation. Privatization could result good governance when there is a healthy environment where there is low or no corruption, independent civil society and independent judiciary. If not, privatization could lead to more corruption and perhaps enrich the power of elite. Moreover, States who would like to implement privatization need to consider social protection of citizens through a well-established social welfare system, political legitimacy, participation, and fair taxation system; otherwise, it will not succeed (Nyong’O et al., 2001). For instance, Russia is a famous example of unsuccessful privatization where a considerable part of civil society had been collapsed, growing of anti-democratic elites, and emerging of organized crime gangs as a result of unwise implementation of privatization. The failure of privatization in Russia could be attributed to communist economic background that does not support liberalized trade, participation, and free market policies. On contrary, privatization worked very well in Singapore, Malaysia and South Korea because they managed to
implement privatization without challenging of social, economic and political institutes (Common, 2001).

2.2. Models of Privatization:

According to Friedman (2006), there is a desperate need to reconstruct pre-university education systems because of the noticeable failure of the public education system in many countries in the world. This defeat in the current education system arises as a result of the political and technological revolutions of the last decade. Those revolutions created new marked needs, increased the living standard of people and strengthened their economic situation, which raised people’s expectations regarding all services including education (Friedman, 2006).

The analysis of literature revealed that public education failed to respond to the new market needs because of the obsolete curriculum and outdated teaching methods that focus on spoon-feeding knowledge rather than building skills. Therefore, a fundamental reconstruction of pre-university education is needed and could only be achieved by privatizing a major part of education system and allowing the for-profit sector to take part in the education market. Degafa (2011) suggested a cooperative model between private sector and the government where a government and private sector share or exchange resources and responsibilities. Degafa suggested four possible cooperative models to implement privatization in pre-university education: First, cost-sharing model that private sector and states share not only the financial costs but also responsibilities. Second, corporatization model where public educational institution is being managed as business and generates profit out of it. Third, the non-governmental education system, where the government does not fund schools or students, which is completely independent system. Fourth, applying the school voucher system, where a government funds schools that students choose (Degafa, 2011).
School voucher system is perceived as one of the most effective method to implement privatization in education. School vouchers are coupons that provided by government to parents or students to pay for schools tuition. Schools voucher is the most feasible way to achieve the smooth transfer of responsibility and accountability from a government to a private sector as it allows parents to freely choose the schools they want to send their children to (Degafa, 2011). The idea of school vouchers were first introduced by Noble laureate Milton Friedman in 1955. Friedman argued that giving parents or students the freedom to choose schools would force schools’ administration to find ways to improve the offered educational services. This is because schools would be obligated to compete with each other to attract students. Consequently, the level of productivity, proficiency and students satisfaction would increase. School vouchers could have a maximum amount of money or percentage maximum of the tuition fees. Students with special needs might receive vouchers with higher value than normal students. School vouchers system could speed up the privatization process because it will create a great demand for private schools which will encourage private enterprises to get into education market (Friedman, 1997). Similarly, Rizvi (2016) recommended that school vouchers have to be widely available to all those who intend to send their children to schools and the value of the vouchers has to be enough to cover the tuition fees of schools that offer high quality education services. The amount of the fund that a school receives from the government depends on the total values of vouchers submitted by parents to register their children at a specific school (Rizvi, 2016).

On the contrary, D'Entremont & Huerta (2007) criticized the school vouchers system arguing that some private schools might use formal and informal policies to avoid less performing students. Some schools might be selective and shift away from publicly established goals to more market-oriented model. This could be avoided if schools are
committed not put any conditions to accept students and allow access to the services for any student who has a voucher. Consequently, all the stakeholders will be satisfied.

Following the same approach, Behrman (2013) argued that school vouchers system might create inefficiency in teacher’s labor market, where highly qualified teachers might move to highly paid schools that manage to attract more students and consequently received more fund. Whereas, schools with low number of students would hire less qualified teachers who might accept low salaries, which will have a negative impact on students level and the quality of education (Behrman et al, 2013).

From a different standpoint, Degafa’s approach has been looked at as a bit limited because it only considered the funding part of privatization of education, and did not pay attention to other factors. For example, Tilak (2009) stated that the nature of goods and services, legal requirements, and political condition should be taken in consideration when we consider privatization in education, which Degafa failed to ruminate in his models.

A different approach adopted by Stephen Ball and Deborah Youdall (2007) where they argued that privatization in public education could be either exogenous or endogenous. Exogenous privatization means that inviting the private sector to take part in the management of public education services for the sake of generating profit. However, endogenous privatization is based on getting ideas and techniques from the private sector to be applied on public education institutes (Ball & Youdall, 2007).

Another model suggested by Savas (2000) who classified privatization on education based on functions and responsibilities into three models that are built on the idea of displacement, divestment and delegation. Displacement means that a government gradually transfers its responsibility to private sector either through selling or given away
public assets. The sale could be achieved by selling to a private company or distributing shares between employees, managers or parents. Divestment means that state gives away public assets free of charge to private sector, which mostly takes place with poor performing public institutes. Delegation or contracting out means that the government will be still responsible for the main functions such as policies and regulation but delegates or contract out the production activities, such as teaching and daily management of schools, to private sector or independent boards (Savas, 2000).

2.3. Views supporting and opposing Privatization in education.

According to the literature, proponents of the concept of privatization in education highlighted many major motives that forced the privatization movement in education. For example, Savas (2000) stated that pragmatic forces are the first and most important reasons that drive privatization in education. Pragmatic forces came out as a result of increasing demand on education and increase cost at the same time. Continuous increasing in cost forces governments to impose more taxes, which public always resist. Hence, governments look at privatization as a way to mitigate the fiscal stress on Government and tax payers. Moreover, privatization would inevitably upsurge the productivity and improve the quality of education services as a result of market pressure and competition. Second, the economics concepts that suggest that when people become more educated, they tend to manage their own resources more effectively and yet take better decision (Glazer, 1988). In other words, individuals are better than governments in choosing the products and services they need. So, privatization in education will give people options and empower them to choose educational services that suit the future needs of their children. Third, the ideological belief that government decisions are led by government self-interest and political benefits rather than people welfare and public
interest. So, there is public suspicious in governments’ intension towards critical decisions. Therefore, privatization could be seen as a safe choice that stopover criticism that is directed to governments because there will be a direct correlation between all stakeholders, and service receivers will be able to hold service provider accountable without government interference. **Fourth**, the belief that outsourcing services to private sector will enhance the economic growth and create more jobs opportunities in the market. Also, privatization will allow more rooms for innovation and creativity. **Fifth**, unlike public sector, privatization will allow individuals to identify their own needs and allow the marketplace to response to that needs considering cost, time and quality. Accordingly, the government will not carry the whole burden of funding and delivering the educational services (Rizvi, 2016).

Another approach believe that privatization helps government to increase the reach out of education and expands the educational services and meet the growing demand on education because of the continues growth of population. For example, in some developing countries such as India and sub-Saharan Africa, non-profit private schools that are established by international and national non-governmental organization were able to deliver better educational services to people in rural areas and marginalized groups in deprived zones. This non-commercial kind of private schools depend mainly on donations to cover schools operational cost (Caddell & Ashely, 2006). Another approach perceived privatization in education, especially for-profit private school, as a market response of elite and middle-high class demand for high quality education, which is a natural movement in the education market (Davidson-Harden and Majhanovich, 2006).

In addition, it has been highlighted that entering the for-profit providers to education market create a healthy atmosphere of competition in education sector. This point of view has been support by Friedman (1962) who argued that private provider in a free market
will face a competition that will lead to increasing the quality standard of education. Moreover, parents will have the privilege to choose between different service providers this means that schools that will not be able to meet parents expectation will be driven out of the market. Hence, service providers are obligated to offer high quality services to be able to survive in competitive markets. Following the same concept, Chubb and Moe (1988) claimed that private schools always demonstrate a better performance than public schools because of the clear goals they set, teaching-oriented relationship between schools’ management and teachers, and focusing on academic excellence. Also, Benveiste (2002) emphasized that privatization of public education will improve the quality of information delivered to students and will enhance the quality of assessment in general. Tan (1985) agreed that privatization of education not only raises the quality of education but also reduces the burden on the national budget.

On the other hand there are opinions that look at privatization as unfavorable way to go. For instance, Henry M. Levin (2001) argued that the privatization of education may lead to increasing inequality between community members because only advantaged people will be able to afford high-quality educational services. Tilak (2009) highlighted the vagueness of the term "privatization of education" that education either to be seen as an “extreme business” or “pseudo privatization”. In the extreme business model, the priority of private schools and institutions focuses on making profit rather than providing a value added services. In pseudo privatization, schools and institutions are managed completely by private management but funded by the government.

Regarding concerns about standardization, monitoring and regulation, some scholars argued that lack of monitoring over private schools by the state is one of most significant failures that threaten the success of privatization in education. Lack of monitoring by the state leads to illegal practices by some schools such as operating without registration or
licenses. According to a survey of 151 schools that was conducted in 2012 by Jamil et al in India, 89% of private schools were unlicensed. Therefore, the state cannot ensure that these unregistered schools offer high-quality educational services. Another study conducted in 2012 in Nepal by Subedi et al revealed that only 5% of private schools’ teachers included in the sample have the needed teaching licenses. Therefore, States need to have a system that ensures all private schools are being monitored; otherwise, privatization will have a negative impact on education.

Another approach highlighted concerns about quality of teaching & teachers’ salaries and teachers’ qualifications. Many studies showed that private school in some countries tend to hire under-qualified teachers and pay them a low salaries comparing to public schools’ teachers. For example, In Subedi at al.’s study on Nepal, he found that 80% of private schools teachers do not receive the standard salaries announced by the government. Another study conducted in Ghana in 2004 by Right Education Project revealed that the monthly salaries of private schools teachers in Ghana is about 47 USD; while the salaries of public school teachers is about 120-350 USD. In Bangladesh, the average salary of private school teachers is about 20 USD per month while a peer in a public school makes about 60-140 USD. Consequently, it is obvious that private schools that hire underpaid teachers without the required teaching licenses are highly expected to deliver low quality services. Therefore, without a rigid monitoring system, private providers might ruin the education process by turning education to absolute business without any consideration to values and morals.

2.4. Best practices in privatization in education on global level.

According to the definition of business dictionary, best practice means “a method or technique that has consistently shown results superior to those achieved with other means,
and that is used as a benchmark”. Therefore, the study claims that it is useful to highlight experiences from different parts of the world, includes experiences from developed and developing countries, to help us learning from others, avoid their mistakes, and start where another left off. Moreover, the study claims that learning lessons from others experiences could work as a base that helps researchers generating ideas, enable practitioners in avoiding mistakes, and trigger innovation. In addition, according to Creswell (1994), using case studies that reflects experience from different countries could support the external validity and generalizability of research findings in case the collected data is limited and sample size is not big.

Besides, Straman (2013) highlighted that case studies are valuable in practice-oriented fields such as education. Also, In the context of highlighting the school voucher system's experiences, cases that have similar setting are highly expected to achieve similar results such as Chile which is a developing country with limited resources and faces political and economic challenges like Egypt. On the other hand, cases that have different setting, especially those that are well-developed and perfectly managed, could be looked at as role model that guide budding countries and help in drawing a road map and well-built strategy such as cases of USA, England and Netherlands.

The selected case studies have achieved a remarkable economic progress in the last decade by paying special attention to their educational systems, and are often referred to as leaders in their regions. According to the Global Competitiveness Report 2015-2016 that is published by The World Economic Forum in September 2015, Chile topped the ranking of the 10 most competitive Latin American economies followed by Panama, Costa Rica, Mexico, Colombia, Peru, Uruguay, Brazil, Ecuador, and Guatemala. Netherlands jumped from 8th to 5th place.

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in the in The Global Competitiveness Report 2015 – 2016. Furthermore, United States and England showed up in the 3rd and 10th place respectively in the same report.

Case of the United States

According to a research conducted by Noguera (1993), many national reports in the USA during 1980s highlighted that there is a remarkable decline in the standard and quality of education in the USA. Public schools became the last choice for majority of high and mid-income families because many public schools face financial challenges, which led to unstable teaching staff and limited facilities that no longer meet the daily educational needs. This decline in the quality of education has been recognized and measured by the low performance of students on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), which led to poor performance of the United States economy in the international market. As a result, large segment of the American society called for a radical change in the education system. One of the most successful initiative was begun in 1990 in Milwaukee, USA that adopted the idea of a small-scale voucher program where student from low-income families could use vouchers, that worth $5,783 to apply for any private school in Milwaukee. By 2002, the program expanded to included 103 private schools with total of 11,624 beneficiaries. This program helped to reduce the inequality of education between students who lives in urban and rural areas and raised the quality of education because of the competition between schools on attracting students (Belfield& Levin, 2002).

Case of England

In 1979, The UK Conservative administration headed by Margaret Thatcher decided to shut down all unprofitable public industries and launched a major social and economic reform. In 1980s, Margaret Thatcher started the public education reform in the UK with two main objectives. First, to transform the national school system from being a public service into a
market competitive service. Second, transfer power from local authorities to central government (Gillard, 2011).

Accordingly, the actual education reform started in England in 1988 where the government gave students in England and Wales the freedom to join any private or independent school they wish even if the school was located outside their community or district. The government afterwards pays the school fees directly to schools based on the number of registered students, which ties school budgets to enrollment decisions taken by parents (Belfield & Levin, 2002). As a result, schools management liked the self-government and independency they got over their resources (Bullok and Thomas, 1997). Furthermore, schools showed a high quality services because of the pressure from other competitor schools in other districts (Bradley and et al, 2001).

**Case of Netherlands**

One of the remarkable features of Netherland education system is the independency and autonomy of education in a sense of schools are free to decide their policies and regulations, establish classroom teaching structure, and expand business all over. Although schools in the Netherlands have the freedom to set their own enrollment criteria, however, most of them follow an open-enrolment policy. In addition, Netherlands has one of the oldest national systems that allow school choice. As a matter of fact, schools in the Netherlands are government funded but managed and administered by private boards (Patrinos, 2009).

The system in the Netherlands has a private provision but public funding where the state covers the capital costs and the local municipality covers the operation cost. Consequently, most of students attend private schools and parents can choose the school they like. In fact, about 70 percent of students in the Netherlands attend private schools and most of these schools are managed by religious foundations. As a result, the Netherlands schools showed a
high performance in international test score comparisons especially the Catholic schools that add more educational values to their students than other kind of schools (Levin, J.D, 2002).

**Case of Chile**

In 1980, Chile decided to start a national voucher program (NVP) along with decentralization of education responsibilities to local municipalities (McEwan, 2001). The government decided massively reform education and transfers the responsibility for public schools from the Ministry of Education to local municipalities. As result of the massive reform, teachers lost their status as civil servants, and schools properties’ ownership transferred to municipal custody. Before the education reform, the government in Chile used to allocate budget to education based on the number of teachers and schools facilities; however, after the reform, budget is allocated based on the number of enrolled students. In other words, the Ministry of Education do monthly payments to municipalities based on the number of vouchers collected which means private schools receive equivalent per-student payments (Plank, & Sykes, 2003).

The uniqueness about Chile experience is that the national voucher program helped to increase the enrollment in the private schools from 15 percent to 33 percent between 1981 and 1996, which boosted the competition in education market in Chile. This upsurge increase in enrollment in private school reflected positively on the overall primary school net attendance rate in Chile that reached 96 percent in the mid-1980s (Belfield & Levin, 2002).

**2.5. Summary of literature review**

Instead of using an actual framework, the research draws on views of education privatization, and steered by foregoing related experiences. In this regard, a significant effort has been
spent on exploring the related research which allowed the researcher to make up his mind and touch base on relevant concepts. Besides, actual framework might lead to rigidity and make it difficult to bring forward new ideas as it could influences the flexibility of researcher’s thinking. Furthermore, the researcher found it easy to define, track, and make sense of that data that generated from answering the research questions. Hence, no actual framework was needed. In addition, guided by the notion of the Grounded theory, which was originally developed by two sociologists, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967, and was designed to open up a space for the development of new contextualized approach, the researcher chose voluntary to start the research without setting any theoretical concepts in advance. This perception helped the researcher avoid holding paramount position and bias that might affect the data analysis. In other words, the flow of the collected data was the main guidance to this research finding.

The literature about privatization of pre-university education has been classified into four categories in this research: researches that addressed public sector reform in general from the new public management (NPM) perspective, studies that shed light on the models of privatization in pre-university education, views supporting and opposing the concept of privatization of pre-university education, and experiences of privatization in different countries around the world. Privatization as feature of the new public management could be the right choice for states that embrace transparency, democracy and equality. Technological innovations, Europeanization and globalization are considered the motive and the fuel of the NPM that is adopted by many developing countries worldwide and inspired their public services reform. Privatization is one of the main characteristics of the new model of public administration reform driven and labeled by the principal of the new public management.

The urgent need for privatization of pre-university education arises from the fast political and technological revolutions around the world which public institutes find it hard to keep pace
with. The literature about models of privatization of pre-university education suggests four main models. First, cost-sharing model between private sector and state. Second, corporatization model by managing public education as a business. Third, outsourcing and/or delegation of the educational services. Forth, school vouchers which is proved to be the most successful model among others.

Supporter of privatization of pre-university education argue that there is an increasing demand on education and increase cost at the same time. Governments in developing countries find it hard to meet the demand on education, and privatization came out as a fast and efficient solution for such dilemma. Moreover, privatization helps governments expand education services and increase the reach out especially in remote areas. In addition, privatization helps in mitigating the fiscal stress on governments and tax payers, increases productivity and improves the quality of education services as a direct result of market pressure and competition. Also, Privatization allows individuals to identify their own needs and allow market to response to that needs considering cost, time and quality.

On the other hand, opponent to privatization see it as extreme business that focus on profit making rather than adding values. Private schools are seen as more business oriented where they tend to hire underpaid teachers without the required teaching qualifications to save cost and increase profit margin. Those unqualified teachers are highly expected to deliver low quality education services. In this context, four case studies (USA, England, Netherlands, and Chile), represent successful models of privatization of pre-university education, have been highlighted because they have achieved a remarkable progress in the last decade, and are often referred to as leaders in their regions.
Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This section will describe the research methodology used by the researcher to answer the questions of this study and how it guided data collection, analysis and development of findings.

The study is conducted using qualitative research methodology depending on primary sources from semi-structure interviews with the targeted groups, and secondary data collected by desk research depending on the up-to-date international reports and recent studies.

The primary data has been collected from in-depth interviews with stakeholders (government officials at Ministry of Education, schools' principals, teachers and parents) is recorded properly and analyzed professionally following the academic standard of the American university in Cairo (AUC). Other secondary data obtained from documents and reports is critically analyzed. All information collected from direct interviews with stakeholders and data extracted from case studies and reports are then weaved together in a way that shows similarities and discrepancies. As a result, the researcher was able to show a comprehensive representation regarding privatization of pre-university education in Egypt.

3.1. Qualitative research methodology:

According to Kuhn (1962) many of the famous and important scientific inventions and discoveries came out by chance rather than by implementing a rigid scientific methodology. Limitations of a qualitative study could be a result of limited technicalities or cognitive nature, which means that researchers may not recognize a clear fact just because they do not believe it could exist (Kuhn, 1962).

Because of the nature of this study, the study employed qualitative research method that helps in studying things in their natural environment and interpret phenomena based on facts and
meanings as research participants see them. Moreover, unlike other research methods, qualitative method takes inconsideration the point of view of the researcher as person and does not see the researcher as an independent observer (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Furthermore, qualitative research method is approved to be an effective method for identifying intangible factors. One the main advantages of using qualitative research method in this study is that the researcher used open-end questions and probing, which enabled participants to response in their own way rather than choosing between fixed answers. These kinds of open-end questions allow the researcher to get responses that are meaningful, rich and explanatory in nature (Mack, Woodsong, and et al, 2005). Consequently, qualitative research has been chosen for this study because privatization of pre-university education is a debatable issue and the variance of participant's opinions is high which needs a lot of props and intervention from the research in order to reach to the root causes.

Qualitative research is referred to as any kind of research that does not generate findings based on statistical calculation or other quantification processes. Quantitative research is useful when doing research about people’s lives, behaviors, feelings and emotions. It is also effective when examining organizational functioning, cultural phenomena, social movement and interaction (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Qualitative research aims to either acquire a new understanding of a scientific field or discover a new field with little knowledge about it. It has three major components: first, data which gained various sources such as interviews and annotations. Second, the processes the researcher can use to shape the data and interpret them, which is usually done via “date coding” which includes hypothesizing data, reducing them, elaborating categories according to properties of the data, and finally relating the collected data to each other. Third, producing a written report to be published (Strauss & Corbin).
According to Punch (2000) Collecting data for qualitative research has been through qualitative instrument such as qualitative questionnaire with open-ended question or semi-structure interviews that enable the researcher to open points for discussion and probe when needed.

One of the main advantages of the qualitative analysis is that it enables the researcher to start a study without having to test a hypothesis. However, it gives the researcher the chance to develop a hypothesis by listening to and/or observing research participants. So, Qualitative research method is called hypothesis-generating study (Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003).

As per Strauss and Corbin (1990) the qualitative researcher should be equipped with the six characteristics of a grounded theorist:

1- Be able to critically analyze solutions
2- Be able to recognize the tendency towards bias
3- Able to think abstractly
4- Flexible and open to constructive criticism
5- Sensitive to words and actions of respondents
6- Should have a sense of absorption and devotion to the work process

Those traits are proved to help the researcher avoiding bias when conducting interviews and increasing the possibility of getting high quality data and deep insights (Strauss and Corbin, 1990).

3.2 Data Analysis

The study used Triangulation technique to collect and analyses data. Triangulation means “the use of various methods or data sources in qualitative research to develop a comprehensive understanding of phenomena” (Patton, 1999). Moreover, triangulation could be used as a qualitative research strategy to test the validity of a research by collecting
information from different sources. Denzin (1978) and Patton (1999) highlighted four types of triangulation:

1- Method triangulation: this type involves the use of various data collection tools about the same phenomenon such as interviews, observation and field notes (Polit & Beck, 2012). This technique was the main tool for data collection in this research.

2- Investigator triangulation. This technique encompasses the participation of two or more researchers in the same study for the sake of getting various observation and conclusion (Patton 1999).

3- Theory triangulation: it is about using different theory or hypothesis to interpret the same data set. This technique helps researchers in refuting or supporting findings (Patton 1999).

4- Data source triangulation: this technique is about collecting data from different types of participants, groups, families and communities in order to gain various prospective and validation of data (Patton 1999).

Method triangulation and Data source triangulation have been used widely in this research; however, investigator triangulation and theory triangulation have not been tests in this study because of the nature of the study and time limitation.

3.3 Data Collection and Sample Design:

Qualitative data is different from quantitative data in its form because the collected data is influenced by a researcher’s theoretical orientation, the motivation for choosing a subject, and the data analysis. The common qualitative data collection methods for qualitative research include interviews, focus group, sociometry, ethnography, historiography and case studies (Berg, 2007).
Regarding this research, the primary data is collected through conducting a number of in-depth interviews with potential stakeholders such as teachers, school's principals, and parents. In depth interviews gave the researcher the chance to clarify questions to interviewee and provided flexibility in terms of identifying the reason behind a certain answer. Moreover, it enabled the researcher to ask probing questions for the sake of deeply exploring ideas and thoughts of participants. Desk research is gathered from reviewing case studies, national and international reports, which helped in getting rigid ideas from national and international sources.

Because of the nature of the research topic the study used purposive (non-probability) sampling method. The research participants have been identified from stakeholders that that the researcher has access to; such as schools' principals, schools teachers and decision makers at the Ministry of Education. The size of the sample was not fixed prior to data collection where it is decided on the basis of theoretical saturation when new data no longer bring values to the research questions.

Another sampling method called “Snowball sampling” has been used as well, where participants meeting the study requirements recommended others with the same characteristics especially in the Ministry of Education. This methods also is known as chain referral sampling where participants used their own connection and networks to refer other targeted participants to the researcher (Mack, Woodsong et.al, 2005). The snowball sampling is proved to be effective when it is hard to recruit appropriate participants because they are often hidden and the accessibility of the researchers is limited specially with governmental official in the Ministry of Education.

After participants have been selected, primary data is collected from in-depth interviews with participants through a face to face interviews and phone interviews.
3.4 Interviewees profile

Table 4 Participants’ age groups and category.
Source: by the author

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Schools’ Principal</th>
<th>Officials from the Ministry of education</th>
<th>Parents</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20-30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As stated in Table 4, 18 participants represent the main stakeholder of the educational process have been interviewed; including seven teachers (4 males & 3 females), three schools’ principals (2 males & 1 female), two officials from the Ministry of Education (1 male & 1 female), and six parents (4 males & 2 females). In total, the 18 interviewees included 11 males and 6 females. Age groups interviewed were as follow: two participants in the age between 20-30, five participants in the age between 30-40, eight participants in the age between 40-50, and three participants in the age between 50-60.

Data presented in table 4 shows that 44.4 percent of the interviewees were from the age group of 40-50 because they are senior people at their workplaces, and junior and midlevel staff highly recommended them for taking part in this research. Moreover, the researcher was interested to interview the most experienced participants as possible.

Setting up the in-depth interviews:

In-depth interviews means conducting concentrated individual interviews with a number of participants for the sake of exploring their point of views to a particular idea (Mack,
Woodsong et al., 2005). Accordingly, in-depth interview technique has been used by the researcher to give the participant the freedom to express their opinion on the research topic so the research can probe and get much more details. Participants have been classified into four groups as following: governmental officials from the Ministry of Education, schools' principals, teachers, and parents. Separate dates and times have been agreed in advance with each participant, and as possible, a multiple interviews have been conducted in the same day or location. For example, in some cases, a school's principal and teachers from the same school have been interviewed in the same day and location.

3.5 Advantages and Limitations of In-Depth Interviews.

One of the main advantages of the in-depth interview that it allows a relaxed atmosphere for participants to reveal information and express their point of view in more detailed way. However, in some interviews the researcher noted that the participant’s responses to interview questions were a quite biased, especially the aged teachers who resist changes and feel comfortable with the current educational system; however, the researcher made all efforts to through different point of views throughout the discussion to allow for minimal bias. Also, in some interviews, participants were a quite busy, especially the governmental officials, so face-to-face interviews were time-intense; however, participants showed a flexibility by accepting to receive phone calls from the researchers after working hours to clarify some answers.

3.6 Establishing trust and rapport with participants

For the sake of breaking ice with participants, the researcher created a friendly environment that allows the flow of information. The researcher started each interview by identifying himself and his background. Then the researcher explained the research topic briefly and answered all participants’ questions beforehand to ensure that they understand the topic. The
researcher highlighted that participation in this study was voluntary and there will not be any risks or discomforts associated with this research. Also, the researcher clarified that there will not be a direct benefits to participant from this research. The benefit will be for the good of the whole community. Voice recording has been avoided as it is been refused by some participants because it makes participants feel nervous and unsure about the confidentiality of the research. Also, some participants refused to sign the consent form, especially the ministry officials; however, they gave their consent verbally.

3.7 Ethical Issues

A major part of the study was based on interviewing teachers and school's principals, government officials who, in some occasions, criticized the current educational system in Egypt, which some participants found inconvenient. Therefore, the collected data is displayed anonymously.

To ensure respect for persons during the research:

1- A written informed consent has been shared with all participants to ensure that they clearly understand the nature of the research. Some of the participants refused to sign the consent from but agreed to participate.

2- The consent form has been introduced to participants in both languages, in English and Arabic. Although all participants were Arabic speaker, the researcher presented the consent form in English and Arabic for the sake of credibility especially to participants who can read English; noting that the study is written and presented in English.

3- The purpose of their participation, risks and benefits have been highlighted before starting the research questions. Accordingly, participants took the decision about their participation in a free and deliberate way.
4- The recommendations of the AUC Institutional Review Board (IRB) have been followed (copy attached) with special attention to confidentiality and data anonymity to avoid any harm to participants.

The first part in the interview aimed to get general information about the participants where all the eighteen participants have been asked to answer questions regarding their age, current job, current title, place of work, and academic background. The main objective of this section was to break the ice with participants and get some simple data that could be used in the research such as age group.

In the second part of the interview, the participants have been asked the sub-research questions highlighted upfront. In most cases, the research had to rephrases the questions to be sure that participants fully understand the probe. Some participants, especially parents, gave off-topic answers or deviated to side topics such as fuel prices and currency devaluation; however, the researcher used to interfere to get things back on track.

At the end of each interview, the research summarizes what a participant have said and read it out load that participants can comment, add or delete any information.
Chapter Four: Findings and discussion

The objective of this chapter is to answer the research questions based on the outcome of the interviews with the research participants. In-depth interviews helped the researcher in getting a deep perspective directly from the stakeholders. Parents, teachers, school's principal and officials from Ministry of Education have been interviewed by the researcher and the findings have been characterized in themes as below:

4.1. Concerns about the quality of public education and curriculum

Interviews with officials from the Ministry of Education revealed that the governmental schools in Egypt face serious challenges in terms of the quality of education services. Discussions showed that many parents are no longer having the privilege to choose to send their children to private schools - if they would like to guarantee high-quality educational services. One of the main reasons behind choosing private education by many parents is the bad reputation of public schools and the peer pressure in the community. One of the interviewed officials emphasized that:

"Some people look at state schools’ students as low social class students”.

This negative community perspective forces many parents in some social classes to enroll their children at private schools, although they might not be able to afford it, to avoid the social embarrassment.

Furthermore, the majority of interviewed parents highlighted that there is growing demand on schools that teach English-based curriculum because graduates with good English skills many find jobs easier and faster than graduates with limited English abilities. In addition, the capacity of state schools still cannot meet the demand on schools that offer English–based curriculum. Hence, privatization of state schools or increasing the number of private schools
will definitely help in responding to the market needs. This because privatization will give schools’ management the flexibility to take initiatives and take effective decisions based on the market needs.

4.2. Paid not-for-profit high quality education services managed by the Egyptian Ministry of education.

The outcome of the Interviews with officials from Ministry of Education and schools’ principals highlighted successful initiative by The Ministry of Education to meet the growing demand on high quality education. The Ministry of Education has a successful paid model that called Experimental Schools or “Tagreebi Schools”. Experimental schools are almost like any public schools however they teach an English-based curriculum. Experimental schools’ teacher get paid a bit higher than public schools’ teacher because the tuition fees of the Experimental schools are quite higher than the tuition of general public schools. See the below table5.

**Table 5: Tagribee schools’ fees**
Source: Interview with an official from the Ministry of education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>General Public Schools fees 2016/2017</th>
<th>Experimental (Tagribee) Schools fees 2016/2017</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nursery schools or KG</td>
<td>EGP 45</td>
<td>EGP 1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary schools</td>
<td>EGP 60</td>
<td>EGP 1,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preparatory schools</td>
<td>EGP 85</td>
<td>EGP 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondary schools (high school)</td>
<td>EGP 85</td>
<td>EGP 2,300</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The number of experimental schools in Cairo only is more than 150 schools and the density of the classes is about 29-35 students. Comparing to general public schools, the quality of education in experimental Schools is much better where students are actually learning something. There is a kind of agreement between participants that experimental Schools experience is a good model for semi-privatization of pre-university education in Egypt, where parents have to pay extra fees to get a better quality of educational services. “You get what you pay for”, said one parent. Experimental schools teach the national curriculum in English, and students have to take a second foreign language either French or German. In addition, experimental schools teach an advanced English language curriculum in all stages. The model of experimental schools could be generalized in Egypt as an affordable semi-private education model that guarantees access to a high-quality education for low and middle income families since private for-profit schools charge sky-rocking tuition fees that exceed EGP 50,000 per year.

There is a consensus between participants that education is like any other services in the market where there is demand and supply. Unfortunately, the current public schools’ system fails to meet the high demand on high quality English-based pre-university education market in Egypt. Therefore, if the Egyptian government is not willing to offer education models that respond to the educational market demand, private providers should be entirely allowed to step in and take over. Importantly, current policies and regulation should be reformed in a way that creates a safe and fair environment to investors in education sector in order to encourage the inflow of capital.

The government tries to increase the education budget every year however without any noticeable impact on the quality of education because about 70% of the fund goes to employees’ salaries and leave a very little amount to be spent on developing schools’ infrastructure and teachers’ training.
4.3. Advantages of privatizing pre-university education in Egypt.

The analysis of participants’ answers revealed that privatization of education will not lead to discrimination between students as long as the government will be able to support the low and middle income families and give them access to high-quality educational services. This support could be through cash subsidy or school vouchers that students could use to join any school of their preference. The main benefit of privatization of pre-university education would be the efficient usage of financial resources, where private sector is much keener to cut cost and increase profitability. Moreover, the privatization will promote competition not only in terms of the quality but also in terms of the tuition fees. In other words, schools might decrease their fees to attract more students and keep a good services level as well.

“Managements of public schools are thoughtless and less concerned regarding the quality of the offered service because they will receive their salaries from the government whatsoever. On contrary, managements of private schools make every effort to attract students and expand their business otherwise they will not get paid. For example, Most of private schools offer up to 50 percent discount for parents who have more than one child at the same school”. Said one parent at the time of interview.

Also, parents highlighted that one of the main advantages of privatization is that parents will not be obligated to pay for private tutoring which costs families a fortune, and public schools are going to operate as it should be. This notion has been supported in the literature by Sobhi (2012) how highlighted that because of the domination of PT on education market in Egypt, general public schools have been eliminated as a site of learning, as they become detached by private tutoring centers and home tutoring (Sobhi, 2012).
It is worth mentioning that there is disagreement between participants on the monthly cost of private tutoring per student in a middle income family. In general, the majority of participants believe that the average cost of private tutoring per students in primary stage might reach EGP 400 per month, which is about EGP 4,000 per academic year.

The analysis of the collected data from official reports revealed that a student’s share in the budget of the Egyptian Ministry of Education is about EGP 5,073 per year (The minister of finance, Hany Kadry, 2015). Adding the EGP 4000 spent by a family on private tutoring per year, so the overall expenditure on education per student per year is EGP 9,073. The number is promoted to be doubled regarding the annual cost of education of a secondary schools student because of the high cost of private tutoring especially in urban areas.

Therefore, giving a student a school voucher with the value of EGP 5,000 (from the government budget) in addition to the EP 4,000 (the amount the family pays for PT) will enable the student to join a private school of his choice, and if parents are able to invest a little bit more, students will be able to join a well-managed private school of their choice and get a high-quality education.

4.4. **Challenges of implementing privatization of pre-university education in Egypt.**

Regarding challenges that hinder the implementation of privatization in education, the analysis of the collected data showed that:

1- The Egyptian Government finds it hard to precisely identify the targeted beneficiaries.

   Indeed, not all students should be included in the subsidy program because the government should offer support to those in need only (low and middle income families). Till the moment, the Egyptian government cannot manage to solve the leakage problem of the food and energy subsidy, where non-eligible groups still can
receive subsidy, because of the lack of reliable database that shows accurately the right income and the socioeconomic status of all households in Egypt. Therefore, building a reliable database would be the first step that the Egyptian government should take before starting the privatization program in education; otherwise, it will fail to achieve its objectives.

2- Political will.

The Egyptian governments keep talking about educational reform and modifications of the current system however nothing has been achieved so far because there is a resistance from key decision takers in the system because the reform will not serve their best interest. This point of view is supported in the literature where Sullivan (1990) stated that policies and regulation in non-democratic systems is made to promote stability and the status quo. Downs (1957) argued that democratic systems are vote-maximize; however, in authoritarian system such as Egypt, politicians are not vote-maximize and they do not care that much regarding voters opinions. According to Harik (1994), the vast majority of elite in Arab political regimes resist democratization and resist reform. So, reform initiatives that support decentralization of education and development of curricula that promote critical thinking and innovation are faced by opposition from the elite in Egypt in spite of the evidence that decentralization is useful in improving education outcome (Zaalouk, 2004).

There is consensus between participants that privatization in pre-university education will definitely decrease the number of the staff because the system is already overstaffed. According to a report published in 2015 by the Central Agency for Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS), the total number of public servant in the Egyptian government is 6.3 million with total salaries of EGP 207 billion per year which represent 26 percent of the total government expenditure. This means that
percentage of public servant to citizens in Egypt is one public servant to each 14 citizen; however, in Morocco it is one to 88, and in France it is one to 140- for instance (ILO, 2013).

Table 6: Number of teaching and non-teaching staff member in the Egyptian education system


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Private schools</th>
<th>State schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Academic year 2016/2017</td>
<td>Academic year 2016/2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of permanent teachers</td>
<td>74,581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of contracted teachers</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of schools management</td>
<td>2,046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of specialist</td>
<td>6,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of administrators</td>
<td>18,696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractor’s administration</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works at schools</td>
<td>11,157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Works at head offices</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total number of teaching staff: 998,483
Total number of non-teaching staff: 737,318
According to the analysis of the above table 6, in state schools in Egypt, the percentage of non-teaching staff is 42.4 percent of the total number of employees at the ministry of education. This means that there is one non-teaching staff member to every 25 students and one teaching staff member to every 18.6 student. However, in private schools in Egypt, the percentage of non-teaching staff is 33.8 of the total number of employees, which means that there is one non-teaching staff member to every 53.3 student and one teaching staff member for every 27.2 student. Consequently, if the Egyptian government decided to implement privatization of pre-university education, about 30 percent of the current staff at the Ministry of Education (teaching and non-teaching) might lose their jobs. Hence, the government prefers to keep the status quo and pay employees undervalued salaries rather than going for a reform program, where many employees will lose their jobs, and face protests from employees. One of the most concerned teachers mentioned an interesting example that some state schools has a designated employee who is in charge of books delivery to students. His main job is to bring books from the head office and distribute it to students. This action takes place once a year during the first two weeks of the school, which means that this particular employee works for a maximum of one month per year only and get paid as a full time employee, which is inefficient use of resources.

### 4.5. Teacher’s turnover, salaries and compensations.

The research participants agreed that most teachers working at private schools not only receive better salaries than public schools teachers but also teach at a better
environment. In addition, according to the interviews with teachers, private schools teachers have access to better schools facilities and infrastructure. For example, most of private schools have well developed computer labs, science labs and sports facilities. According to the last teacher’s salary scale proposed by the Ministry of Education in Egypt, teachers’ salaries will reach EGP10,000, which participants think that it is a dream they hope to see soon. The proposed scheme, as announced by the teachers syndicate, is as below table 7:

**Table 7: Proposed salary scheme for teachers.**
Source: http://www.donitna.com/?p=1517

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Basic salary</th>
<th>Yearly increment</th>
<th>Total Incentives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Three</td>
<td>1000 EGP</td>
<td>50 EGP</td>
<td>300%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First teacher</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>1350 EGP</td>
<td>50 EGP</td>
<td>300%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First teacher A</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>1600 EGP</td>
<td>50 EGP</td>
<td>300%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expert teacher</td>
<td>General manager</td>
<td>1850 EGP</td>
<td>50 EGP</td>
<td>300%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senior teacher</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>2100 EGP</td>
<td>50 EGP</td>
<td>300%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although participant teachers complain about their salaries and compensation, they see privatization in education as a risk to their career. Teachers in the currents education system feels quite relaxed because they guarantee a life-long job unlike their peers at private schools, who hold fixed term contracts that is renewed on yearly basis according their performance. One of the most concerned teachers mentioned that:
“Unlike teachers at public schools, private schools teachers have to invest in their own development; otherwise, they will lose their jobs”.

Consequently, only highly qualified teachers can survive in high-quality private schools environment. Thus, parents, who can afford high-quality private schools, will not consider public schools for their children because distinguished private schools keep qualified teachers only. There is a consensus between participants that privatization of education will force teachers, who are looking forward to teach at high level schools, to seek development in their careers which will be reflected positively on students’ performance. This point of view has been supported with the interviews with two senior teachers at a primary school in Egypt.

“Many private schools’ teachers seek international certificates as required qualification for teachers to be hired as a subject teacher. For example, Cambridge Teaching Knowledge Test (TKT), Certificate in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (CELTA), International English Language Testing System (IELTS). Some private schools go further and require a master degree or equivalent”. (A senior teacher at a primary school)

Interviews with a preparatory school's principal revealed that career development is essential for schools teachers, and teachers should be encouraged to take initiatives in this regards. Schools’ management or the Ministry of Education should compensate teachers financially or offer development opportunities as a kind of scholarship for interested teachers. Discussions with teachers and schools’ principal revealed that privatization of pre-university education could be faced by resistance from teachers and schools' principals unless the government promised that no changes will take
place in the current recruitment terms and conditions. In other words, fixed terms contracts with renewable options will not be accepted by teachers.

Nevertheless, the majority of schools’ principals think that privatization will have a positive impact on teacher’s adherence and performance. One of the school’s principals highlighted that:

“Experiences proved that many uncommitted teachers in Egyptian public schools when get a job at Gulf countries on a fixed term contract, they tend to be ideal teachers and behave in a highly committed way”.

This change in teachers’ behavior arises from two reasons. First: if they did not show a good performance and commitment, their contracts will not be renewed next year. Second: they receive competent salaries that exceed their basic needs and takes out any financial stress, which enable them to pay a full attention to their work.

4.6. Moral and values of education

There is a consensus between the research participants that education should not be treated like any other services or commodity in the market that is affected by market fluctuation and serve the for-profit goals of private sector. However, Education is more about values and morals and privatization might force schools management to squeeze resources to decrease cost; including salaries. This behavior might lead to frustration and deceases job satisfaction that is going to force teachers to leave the teaching careers. One of the most concerned parents mentioned that’

“Values and morals could not be guided and controlled by laws of supply and demand”.
This could be taken as a considerable concern. However, as per the data collected from the interviews with the ministry officials, The Ministry of Education in Egypt obligates private schools in general and international schools in particular to include some subjects that promote the oriental values and morals. For instance, IGCSE students in Egypt, in addition to the main subjects, have to study and pass Arabic, Religious Studies and Social Studies in order to be qualified. These three subjects (Arabic, Religious studies and Social studies) contains the same exact content that is taught at all schools in Egypt, which could guarantee a standard outcome to all Egyptian students.

4.7. Student’s identity and citizenship

The analysis of the answer collected from parents and schools' principal disclosed that privatization in education might have negative impact on citizenship and students identity in Egypt. This because private schools might open doors to qualified teachers from foreign countries to join the system along with imported international curriculum from western counties, which would bring norms and values that contradict with the values of the Egyptian society. Although the Ministry of Education is going to monitor the education process in all private schools, it will have a little influence on private schools’ teachers and schools management, especially in bureaucratic systems like Egypt where accountability is diluted.

The ministry officials agreed that if the Egyptian government would like to implement privatization in basic education, the program should be first applied on small scale until all gaps are addressed properly. Quick major scale implementation of privatization might end up with a crisis.
4.8. Variance in the quality of education between private schools

The analysis of participant’s answers revealed that there might be a variance in quality of education between schools because of the difference in tuition fees. Undoubtedly, rich schools that impose high tuition fees will be able to offer high quality services and vice versa. This because rich schools will be able to attract highly qualified teachers since they will be able to offer highly competitive salaries. Therefore, students from low and middle income families will not get the same quality of education like their rich peers, which raises a concern about social inequality. Furthermore, privatization might threat the future of teaching job in Egypt because many for-profit schools might cut cost by decreasing teacher’s salary to increase profit in order to satisfy the stockholder and investors. Additionally, rich schools might hire foreign teachers for the sake of not only raising the quality of education but also for publicity and branding purposes, which will decrease the recruitment chances of local teachers.

4.9. Transparency of testing mechanisms in public schools

This theme has been identified mainly through interviewees with parents. Parents have been reached out through the researcher’s network and referral from other interviewees relying on convenience sampling and snowball technique. The outcome of the interviews showed that the quality of education in Egypt started to drop since former president Mubarak took over in 1981. One of the most concerned parents highlighted that:

“It is common to find these days that public school students in grade 6 (end of primary stage) or even above who cannot read and write; not to mention the superficial knowledge of basic mathematics and science.”
There is consensus between parents, teachers and schools' principal that the poor outcome of education could be attributed to cheating phenomena in public school exams, which become one of the main features of public education in Egypt lately. One of the concerned teacher stated that it is very sad to find -in some cheating cases- that teachers and a school's principal were involved in facilitating the cheating process. In some cases, invigilators and supervisors allow students to talk to each other and share information during exams' time. In other cheating cases, the subject’s teachers answer the exams questions and distribute the answers between students.

Lately, cheating in public high schools exams became more systematic and well organized using the advanced technology such as mobile phones and social media channels. Although mobile phones are not allowed inside the exams rooms, many students managed to use Bluetooth headphones or hidden earphones to contact somebody outside the exam venue and get the exams answers on spot.

Interestingly, a national scandal has been reported in high school exams in 2016 where a Facebook page called “Chao Ming Helps High Schools Cheat” (https://www.facebook.com/4awM8/) presented a sample of the national high school exams before exams start. This kind of leakage of high school exams started in 2012 when a number of students started a Facebook page to post a leaked sample of exams questions in order to embarrass the Ministry of Education for the sake of expressing their frustration regarding the corruption in current public education system in Egypt. In 2016, the page moved a step further and posted the official answer sheets of high school exams 30 minutes after tests began. This crisis forced the Ministry of Education to reschedule some exams as kid of precautions procedures. The Ministry of Education announced that the leakage originated from inside of the Ministry of Education and accused the Muslim Brotherhood for being in charge of the leakage,
which parents find it sarcastic and seen as a lack of accountability from the ministry of education.

In her report published on Al-Monitor website in June 2016, the Egyptian journalist Sarah El Shalakany reported that on early June 2016 during the public high school exams, the ministry of interior and public prosecutor’s office announced the arrest of the administrator of Chao Ming’s Facebook page. However, on June 7, 2016, the administrator of Chao Ming’s Facebook page announced that English exam will be posted on the page 40 minutes before its starting time and it has happed. The research participants believe that, because of the high scale cheating phenomena in high school exams, many unqualified students managed to achieve high scores and secure places in the competitive faculties such as faculty of medicine and engineering, while students who refused to cheat failed to join the faculties of their dreams because of the inequality of exams conditions. This is very disappointing to upcoming generations since students no longer have reasons to study hard and attend classes because they know that cheating will help them go through. Till the moment, nobody knows who was responsible for that high scale cheating accident in 2016 high school exams because the responsibility and accountability is diluted in governmental organizations.

Consequently, privatization of education could be a solution to stop the growing corruption in the education system because it is highly expected that privatization would guarantee equal opportunities for all students especially regarding national competitive exams. Privatization would guarantee a permanent solution to lack of transparency and corruption at schools simply because schools with bad reputation will not receive enough students.
“Many parents and students are highly connected through social medial and new advanced communication channels such as Facebook pages and Whatsapp groups. Therefore, every private school will be keen to keep a good reputation; otherwise, it will be kicked out of the market”. Said a Ministry official.

The study showed that parents invest a lot in private tutoring because they do not trust public schools anymore, and if the government is willing to share cost, parent would choose the send their children to private schools.

4.10. Lack of teacher’s accountability at public schools

Private schools’ managements find ways to hold teachers accountable on students’ performance since teachers do not have life-long contracts like their peers in public schools. One of the interviewed teachers stated that:

“Teacher’s evaluation in private school is based on performance rather than “Wasta” (personal connections)’’.

Teachers who do not take it seriously in classes will find themselves without a job next year. Furthermore, parents and students at many private schools do evaluate teachers at the end of each semester. This kind of direct evaluation allows parents and students to share responsibility with schools management on teacher’s performance. In addition, private schools are very keen to attract highly qualified teachers for the sake of building a good reputation in the market, which helps in expanding the business and attract more students every year. On the other hand, teacher’s evaluation at public schools is completely different. For example, promotions are mainly based on number of working years rather than qualifications and performance. This kind of
promotion system leads to having unqualified employees in high sensitive positions within the Ministry of Education and schools management.

4.11. Student’s attendance and private tutoring

The analysis of the collected data revealed that student’s attendance is a major issue that should be highlighted as well. The Ministry of Education officials and media in Egypt keep talking about the phenomena of low attendance rate in public schools; however, so far, no official numbers have been announced and no practical action has been taken to address this challenge. This has been supported by interviews with officials from the Ministry of Education and teachers who highlighted that, In October 2015, the minister of education, Dr. Helali Elsherby, announced that 10 extra marks will be given to high schools’ students who will show a high attendance rate and good behavior in classes. The minister stated that students with attendance rate from 85 to 90 percent will receive five extra marks. Also, students with attendance rate of 90+ to 95 percent will receive six extra marks, and students with attendance rate of 95+ to 100 percent will receive seven extra marks. In addition, three extra marks will be given to students who will show a good behavior in classes.

This decision has been faced with opposition and demonstrations from both students and parents because students and parents see school time as a wasted time of students’ day. This because students attend classes for five hours a day and get nothing out of it. This because the quality of teaching is very low and the quality of schools facilities does not meet the minimum standards. Furthermore, Schools activities is not well maintained and not supported by schools management. Hence, students prefer to spend the school time either in attending private tutoring or study at home. Consequently, the prime minister, Sherif Ismail, cancelled the 10 marks decision and asked the minister of education to hold
until they come up with a comprehensive system that meet parents and students expectation.

“We will not reinvent the wheel”, said one teacher. Privatization of education could be implemented in Egypt guided by lessons learnt from other experiences in the world.
Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Conclusion

The pre-university education services are provided in Egypt through three main actors, Public schools that accommodate about 80 percent of the students, El-Azhar religions education program that accommodates about 10 percent of the students, and the private sector that accommodates about 10 percent as well. The total number of students exceeded 20 million in 2016 and considered the largest in MENA region. As per the reported published by UNDP in 2015 titled “Egypt Progress towards Millennium Development Goals The overall quality of education is poor and away behind the global standards where about 35 percent of preparatory schools’ students (Grade 7-9) cannot read and write. Consequently, according to the Global Competitiveness Report 2015-2016, the Egyptian education placed to 139 out of 140 countries in terms of the overall quality of schools, universities and business-education programs.

Therefore, this study aimed to investigate the possibility of privatization of the public pre-university education in Egypt -as an instant solution to low quality education- by answering the question “Why and to what extent should the Egyptian government privatize pre-university education?”. To answer the research questions, 18 participants represent the main stakeholder of the educational process have been interviewed; including seven teachers, three schools' principal, two officials from the Ministry of Education, and six parents.

Following a qualitative research method, all research participants have been asked to answer four sub-questions through a face-to-face or phone interviews. The first question was more about pros and cons of the privatization in education.
In the context of this question, the study revealed that privatization of pre-university education will have a positive impact on the quality of education, teacher’s performance, and student’s attainment. Private schools fees will be reasonable because of the competition between schools in attracting students. Also, privatization would guarantee a permanent solution to lack of transparency of end-of-year exams because schools with bad reputation will not receive students. Furthermore, privatization of pre-university education would encourage the efficient usage of financial resources, where private sector is much keener to cut cost and increase productivity. However, although the governmental support to students through school vouchers, social discrimination might be an issue because the free market in education will create different levels of the quality which will be linked to parent’s affordability. Also, a valid concern has been highlighted in terms of the negative impact of privatization on citizenship and students identity in Egypt. This because private schools might open doors to qualified teachers from foreign countries to join the system along with imported international curriculum from western counties, which would bring norms and values that contradict with the values of the Egyptian society.

The second question was about challenges that might face the Egyptian Ministry of Education in case privatization will be considered as reform option. The answer to the second question aimed to present precautions and analyses to the risk and consequences that could emerge as a result of the implementation of privatization in education in Egypt. In the context of this question, the study revealed that implementation of privatization needs a precise data base with families’ income and social status in Egypt; otherwise, the government will not be able to identify students who need financial support through schools vouchers. Also, privatization might lead to decreasing the number of
employees at the Ministry of Education that might lead to demonstration and direct confrontation between the government and employees, which the government wants to avoid by keeping the status quo.

The third question was about finding a model that could be implemented to privatize education. The researcher aimed to draw a road map and present practical implementation process depending on answers and suggestions from stakeholders.

In the context of this question, the study revealed that school vouchers system is the most effective system based on experiences in other counties in the world. School vouchers will enable parents to choose the school they prefer for their children and schools budgets will depend on the number of registered students. A voucher with a fixed amount should be available to each student who would like to join a private school, and students who would like to attend schools with fees that are more than the voucher’s value should cover the difference from their own resources. This system is highly expected to create competition between schools to attract students, which will raise the quality of teaching and decrease the school fees.

The fourth question aimed to analyze the impact of privatization on current schools teachers; being the main pillar of education process.

In the context of this question, the study revealed that teacher’s turnover will be high as a result of fierce competition between schools on keeping high qualified teachers only. Teacher’s training and development will be on the personal responsibility of teachers. Privatization of education will force teachers to seek development in their careers as teacher’s salary will be linked to performance and qualification, which will be reflected positively on students’ performance. Consequently, only highly qualified teachers can survive in private schools environment.
The reform of the current education system in Egypt is inevitable and privatization of pre-university education is seen as instant solution to get out of the bottleneck and improve the quality of education in Egypt. Privatization will help putting the right people and resources in the right place but it needs to be implemented gradually to mitigate the negative consequences.

5.2. Policy Recommendations

Based on the conclusion of the study and analyzing the collected data, the following modest of policy recommendation could be suggested:

5.2.1 Current teachers

Before starting the privatization process, it is very important to have the buy-in of the teachers and offer options to those who disagree with the concept of privatization. Therefore, the study recommends:

1- Offering two options to current teachers. First: teachers who are not willing to accept changes can keep the current contracts’ terms and conditions and enjoy the life-long job; However, the current salaries and compensation will not be changed as well. Second: contracts will be changed and teachers will be offered fixed terms contracts for two years with a renewable option; beside highly competitive salaries and compensations. Therefore, teachers will have the option to choose to work in highly competitive teaching environment and receive better salaries or keep the status quo without complaining.

2- A well-developed performance evaluation system should be employed to guarantee a fair recognition to highly performing teachers. Teachers with
a weak performance evaluation for more than two years should be excluded or assigned to non-teaching job.

3- Laws that criminalize private tutoring to full time teachers should be activated and taken seriously by the government to avoid conflict of interest. Meaning that full time contracted teachers who will provide private tutoring should be dismissed immediate from the service. Thus, a teacher has to choose either to work as full time school teacher who will not be able to do any private tutoring or work as independent teacher who can teach privately but not at any school.

5.2.2 New hired teachers.

The Egyptian government should make teaching job attractive to those who are considering a teaching career.

1- Teacher's salaries and compensation should be competitive and exceed their basic needs.

2- Promotion should not be based on the number of working years, as it is the case now; rather, promotion should be based on skills and performance. Highly qualified teachers should find their way up easily to top the positions.

3- There should be a clear recruitment and selection criteria based on both academic achievements and personal skills.

4- All teachers should possess a teaching license on a subject of their interest to be able to teach at any school. Teaching career should be available to those who can pass a competitive exam and hold a teaching license regardless of the academic background.
This will help in attracting talented people to the teaching career. Besides, highly qualified teachers will be able to accept changes easily and adapt with fast changes.

5.2.3. **School management.**

1- Schools management should be independent and free to take decision regarding hiring or firing a staff.

2- School's principals should have the authority to manage the budget of their schools.

3- School boards should elect schools' principal and evaluate their performance at the end of each academic year.

5.2.4. **Curriculum.**

As the outcome of education is to have graduate who will be able to compete globally in the job market, insisting on teaching a local curriculum will not help in this regard. Privatization encourages autonomy and independence in decision making at schools which will empower schools management to adopt international curriculum such as International General Certificate of Secondary Education (IGCSE), American Diploma or International Baccalaureate. In other words, if we would like to have international graduates, we should teach international curriculum especially in Mathematics, Science and English.

5.2.5. **Students and parents.**

1- School vouchers should not be addressed to specific school. However, students should have the freedom to choose the school they would like to attend.
2- The school vouchers system should be considered as a way to support low and middle income families. A voucher with a fixed amount should be available to each student who would like to join a private school.

3- Students who would like to attend schools with fees that are more than the voucher’s value should cover the difference from their own resources.

5.2.6. Private sector

The Egyptian government should set policies that encourage investment in education. Allocation of lands and availability of utilities with reasonable prices should be available for investors who would like to establish schools. Banks and creditor should offer financial support with minimal interest rates and convenient instalment schedules.

5.2.7. The role of Ministry of Education

Governments in general and Ministry of Education in this context should be steering rather than rowing (Osborne & Gaebler, 1992). In other words, the ministry should monitor and evaluate schools performance and guarantees equal opportunity and diversity to students and teachers. Curriculum development should be outsourced to reputable specialized organization. Building new schools or renovation and maintenance of current schools should be either left to private sector or contracted out to specialized service providers.

5.2.8. Areas for future research

In the course of this research, the researcher identified two areas where further research is needed. First, there is an urgent need to generate research
regarding teacher's training and development; being the backbone of the education process. This because it is hard to find robust and reliable date that highlights the actual development needs of teachers in Egypt. Second, there is a gap in research that cover topic related to students with special needs especially those with mental disabilities. Therefore, I highly recommend future researchers to give priorities to these two topics, and urge donors and funding agencies to allocate the required financial resources in order to attract researchers and interested academics.
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Annex I: Interview questions:

1- Why do you think some people attend private schools? Is it out of choice, or because of the poor quality of public education?

2- Do you think privatization in education will lead to furthering and entrenching of discrimination? How? Why?

3- The development of private education might lead to a ‘commodification’ of education- Do you agree or disagree and why?

4- What do you think are the advantage (benefits)?

5- What do you think are the disadvantages of privatization of pre-university education?

6- How privatization of education could be implemented in Egypt?

7- What are the challenges that might face the Egyptian government if decided to adopt the privatization in pre-university education?

8- What do you think are the social and political consequences of implementing privatization in pre-university education?
## Annex II: Fees of Nile International School

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The fees are subject to change according to the school's policy and the cost of living. Any disputes should be addressed to the school's administration.
Annex III: Ministerial Decree No 2012 of 2015
Annex IV: Arabic exam of a secondary school in Mansoura
Annex V: IRB approval letter for data collection

CASE #2016-2017-107

To: Khaled Elzoughbi
Cc: Mariez Wafii
From: Atta Gebri, Chair of the IRB
Date: April 17, 2017
Re: Approval of study

This is to inform you that I reviewed your revised research proposal entitled “Why and to what extent should the Egyptian government privatize primary education in Egypt?” and determined that it required consultation with the IRB under the “expedited” heading. As you are aware, the members of the IRB suggested certain revisions to the original proposal, but your new version addresses these concerns successfully. The revised proposal used appropriate procedures to minimize risks to human subjects and that adequate provision was made for confidentiality and data anonymity of participants in any published record. I believe you will also make adequate provision for obtaining informed consent of the participants.

This approval letter was issued under the assumption that you have not started data collection for your research project. Any data collected before receiving this letter could not be used since this is a violation of the IRB policy.

Please note that IRB approval does not automatically ensure approval by CAPMAS, an Egyptian government agency responsible for approving some types of off-campus research. CAPMAS issues are handled at AUC by the office of the University Counsellor, Dr. Amr Salama. The IRB is not in a position to offer any opinion on CAPMAS issues, and takes no responsibility for obtaining CAPMAS approval.

This approval is valid for only one year. In case you have not finished data collection within a year, you need to apply for an extension.

Thank you and good luck.

Atta Gebri
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