Chapter 9
The Way Forward

The magnitude and the urgency of the challenge involved in development of secondary education in Sub Saharan Africa has already been highlighted several times in this report. The demands of economic and social development at the beginning of the 21st century (chapter 4) –reinforced by the pressure of social demand- make it imperative to expand access to secondary education and increase education attainment of the labor force. More of the same will not do. Changes in cost and financing (chapter 5) will be inevitable, but perhaps even more important is the need to change the mental models (Senge, 2000) of schooling and education governance that continue to dominate policy and practice in African secondary education. Often ideology rather than pragmatism dominates policy making; evidence based policy processes remain rare. Resistance to change is often deeply rooted in the education community. In many countries education policy is detached from a longer term vision for national development, and remains the concern of professionals in the Ministry of Education and captive of the pursuit of short term problem resolution. Firefighting and politics rather than development and capacity building typifies too often the practice of education policy.

Undoubtedly, the lessons of international experience (Chapter 4) are important for African policy makers, facing the often intractable challenge of secondary education development. But there is a limit to the relevance of international lessons of experience: the economic and education environment in Sub-Saharan Africa is very different than the one that prevailed in other regions when they were making the transition from a selective elite secondary education system to a mass system that aims to:

- to significantly increase the number of young people who have the opportunity to complete a basic education cycle of 9 or 10 years that incorporates all or part of junior secondary education;
- create opportunities for further formal and informal learning for all students interested in and capable of doing so; and
- prepare students for work in an economy that participates in a technology driven global economy.

The evidence presented in this report clearly shows the extent to which country situations in Sub-Saharan Africa vary dramatically. Differences in history, geography, demography and policy choices have resulted in secondary education systems that diverge a great deal with regard to structure, coverage, governance and management, and instructional objectives (see chapter 2). Yet virtually all countries are faced with the triple challenge of expanding access, improving quality and ensuring equity. Reforms in the content of the
Figure 9.1: Decision Pathways for Secondary Education

- Get more public funding for education in general
  - Shift money from other areas of education such as primary or tertiary
  - Public resources can be reduced to other subsectors by increasing user contributions in tertiary, reducing per capita allocations to those subsectors, etc.
  - Social responsibility and charity, such as Adopt-a-School
- Use public-private partnerships
  - Private investment, for example, through public-private partnerships (mostly defers costs, but may be optimal, may save money)
- Use formal or informal, cash or in-kind parental contributions or fees for recurrent costs
  - Shift public funding toward the poor, allow better-off to vote themselves fees at school level
- Use formal or informal, cash or in-kind parental contributions for capital costs
  - Encourage fee-based or mixed fee-with-subsidy private schools
- Improve financing of secondary education
- Increase efficiency and equity
  - Input policy and management
    - Reduce price of inputs through better understanding and use of input markets and policies (such as procurement policy and systems) for books, teachers, construction
    - Use better input mix such as fewer teachers and more materials by, for example, increasing class size, or requiring more teaching time in school day, less leave time
  - Internal efficiency
    - Improve internal efficiency by decreasing repetition and dropping out
  - Use different technology
    - Consider technology such as distance learning, though this may require somewhat different curriculum
    - Improve funding method to create more discretion together with more accountability, consider methods such as capitation funding, poverty-targeted funding, performance-based funding and bonuses
  - Improve management and financial mechanisms
    - Increase productivity through training and capacity building in teaching and school management based on value-added analysis and efficient-school analysis and support
  - Optimize curriculum
    - Curriculum may be heavier than necessary, or inappropriate, revision could result in shorter cycle or at least better value-for-money, more general education could be less expensive and give better labor market results

Source: World Bank, 2005
programs and in the way secondary education is organized, managed and financed are essential if this challenge is to be met. Decision trees (Figure 9.1) and lists of policy options to address the financial and management challenges have been developed by various authors (World Bank, 2005, Lewin and Caillods, 2001). Most are based on logical analysis or international experience—mainly from industrialized countries, transitional economies or developing countries in Asia and Latin America. Relatively few are based on analyses of African experience.

This chapter will pull together the main findings of the discussion in this report so far. It will argue that (i) the conditions that historically have accompanied the expansion of access to secondary education of acceptable quality are not in place today in most of Sub-Saharan Africa and (ii) national strategies must recognize the unique nature of the African context for secondary education development. The most important options for policy reform are well-known: they have been discussed in the preceding chapters and illustrated with experience from African countries. Drawing on this regional and international experience the chapter common elements of a framework for secondary education development in SSA will be explored, including some indicative benchmarks for resource mobilization and deployment. Countries may want to consider these as they plan their own national strategy. Finally the chapter discusses the nature and the pace of successful change processes.

**Initial Conditions**

Compared to the experience of many countries in other regions the pace of development of secondary education in SSA will be strongly affected by three factors. First, it will depend on continued progress towards the goal of universal primary completion and improvement in learning achievement. Second, sustained economic growth will be essential if the public and private resources required for a broad based secondary education system are to be mobilized. Finally, increases secondary enrollment ratios may be jeopardized by the high fertility rate in many countries in the region which will result a rapidly growing school age population and a high dependency ratio through at least the middle of the century (United Nations, 2006).

**Progress towards EFA and the education MDGs**

Currently, only about one third of each age cohort in SSA can demonstrate that they have achieved a satisfactory mastery of the knowledge, skills and attitudes specified in the primary curriculum (chapter 2). This is a weak foundation for an accelerated expansion of access to secondary education. Progress towards the MDG education goals of universal enrollment, completion and acceptable quality is essential if secondary education in the region is to develop in a meaningful way. Admitting more and more students, who are poorly prepared academically, will almost inevitably result in a large scale waste of resources. Students who do not master the primary curriculum are unlikely to be successful in their secondary school especially when increasing class sizes, underqualified teachers, limited availability of instructional materials and insufficient time-on-task makes it virtually impossible to address the needs of learners with different learning requirements. Worldwide experience demonstrates that education development is a sequential process where large scale expansion of a particular level of education...
builds on the qualitative and quantitative achievements at the preceding level (see chapter 3). The expansion of access to secondary education in Sub-Saharan Africa is thus predicated upon the success—in terms of access and learning achievement—of EFA.

This does, however, not suggest a rigid “first primary and later secondary” strategy for education development. Mobilizing the resources for primary education will require human and financial resources that depend on the availability of people with higher levels of education and training. Education policy in much of SSA will need to strike a balance between expanding coverage and improving quality at primary, junior and senior secondary and at tertiary levels (De Ferranti 2003, World Bank, 2005). The experience with “big bang” EFA strategies in some countries suggests that unplanned large increases in access may have a high price in terms of quality which cannot be easily recovered from.

A successful secondary education development policy will involve trade-offs and hard choices. These can only be made within a longer term—typically 10 year—comprehensive sector framework. Many countries have made considerable progress with the development of detailed financial and action plans for primary education. Often this has been done without considering the implications for secondary education or the trade-offs in public expenditure allocations that will be necessary to reach sub-sector education development objectives in a balanced way. Funding and resource allocation issues a critical component of education policy making and it will almost always be necessary to involve the Ministry of Finance in the planning process and incorporate realistic resource allocations for the totality of the education sector in the medium term expenditure framework and in the national poverty reduction strategy plans.

Sustained economic growth and close links with economic development

The development of education has followed or accompanied economic growth in most countries (chapter 3). Unless the recent higher level of economic growth in SSA (see chapter 1) is sustained and accelerates further, the resources for the expansion of secondary education will not be available and the economy will not be able to absorb the graduates. Where economic growth has been stagnating, unemployment of secondary school level graduates often is a major social and economic problem (Chapter 4). This is in part an education problem. Countries that have responded to social demand and expanded secondary education without implementing reforms to enhance relevance and efficiency, are—with few exceptions—facing severe problems with regard to the quality of student learning achievement, as well as high drop-out and repetition. Moreover with curricula that are often poorly related to national social and economic development needs, students are inadequately prepared for entry in the labor market.

But the more important issues, perhaps, are the uneven economic growth in SSA, the small size of the modern manufacturing and service sectors and the dependence on natural resources as the main source of economic growth. Economic growth stagnated during much of the 1980s and the 1990s and real income per capita increased only by 25% between 1960 and 2005. In recent years high commodity prices have helped accelerate economic growth in several countries. Debt relief accorded to 25 countries is
helping to improve public finances. Yet, about half of sub-Saharan Africa's 750m-plus people still live on less than a dollar a day, while prospects for sustained growth remain uncertain. High oil prices are a major medium terms risk for oil importing countries in the continent. Most foreign investment in Africa still goes to oilfields or mines, rather than factories, services or farming. Mineral exploitation provides governments with cash but does not create many jobs. The business climate is often unattractive for foreign investors. Private business, especially job-creating small and medium size enterprises are developing only very slowly. Even South Africa, with its diverse economy, has failed to create jobs fast enough: at least a quarter of its people have no work. Without a robust economic growth performance the desirable investments in secondary education will for most countries be unaffordable and difficult to justify economically as a priority for public expenditure.

**Demographic transition**

In East Asia the rapid expansion of enrollments in secondary education was facilitated by declining fertility rates resulting in smaller numbers of children of primary school age. The same is true today for countries such as Vietnam for example, where the number of primary school age children is expected to decline by about 20% over the next decade; this will free up resources for quality improvement and expansion of secondary education. Sub Sahara Africa faces a very different situation. Despite a projected increase in mortality due to AIDS, its population will continue to increase, since fertility is still so high that it offsets the effect of rising mortality\(^1\). With an increase of 734 million over the next 30 years Africa's population will double. (United Nations, 2006). This will limit the opportunity to shift resources to away from primary education and increase the share of secondary education in the budget as happened in many East Asian countries (chapter 3).

**The imperative of reform**

Providing a place in schools of acceptable quality for larger cohorts of children every year, keeping these children in school longer, in an environment where prospects of economic growth remain uncertain, while external assistance is confronted with many competing priorities, is a daunting challenge for most SSA countries. Increasing public funding for education—with an increasing share for secondary education is almost always the preferred solution of education planners and policy makers. In practice this will often be difficult to realize given competing priorities within the education system itself and in other sectors of the economy (chapter 2). In most countries, any reordering of priorities between sectors will only have a marginal effect on the availability of resources for secondary education. Therefore economic growth and increases in the share of GDP available for public expenditures will have to be the main source of additional public resources for education; most importantly policies designed to using resources more efficiently can contribute significantly to the expansion of access and the improvement of quality of secondary education. But, even large increases public spending or gains in efficiency will be inadequate to generate even moderate increases in education attainment and learning achievement.

\(^1\) The exceptions are Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, and Swaziland
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Possible Response</th>
<th>Options for specific actions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Cost poorly aligned with domestic resources                         | Reduce per student cost                                                            | • Increase teaching load to 25 hours/week  
• Adjust teachers salaries in line with national resources  
• Double shift use of infrastructure  
• Boarding only for students from remote areas  
• Improve internal efficiency, reduce repetition |
| Integrate part or all of lower secondary with primary education     |                                                                                   | • Extend duration of basic education to 8 or 9 years  
• Simplify curriculum  
• Upgrade primary teachers to subject matter specialist for upper primary/junior secondary grades |
| Curriculum not relevant to demands of labor market and modernizing society | Provide common core of general subjects in junior secondary schools                | • Simplify curricula  
• Avoid specific vocational training  
• Emphasize capacity for further learning and life skills |
| Provide broad range of opportunities for further education and training beyond junior secondary |                                                                                   | • Maintain selective access to senior secondary education  
• Provide non-formal opportunities for further education and learning  
• Establish TVET systems with a wide range of programs and providers |
| Learning achievement is unacceptably low                            | Protect basic conditions for teaching and learning                                  | • Ensure primary graduates master primary curriculum content  
• Align enrollment growth with resources and policy reforms |
| Ensure instructional effectiveness                                   |                                                                                   | • Ensure adequate supply of textbooks and other learning materials  
• Provide opportunities for in-service teacher support and development  
• Use ICT to provide teachers with additional subject matter knowledge and assist teachers with lesson preparation  
• Prepare head teachers for managerial and educational leadership responsibilities |
| Access and opportunities to learn are inequitably distributed        | Remove obstacles to girls attendance                                              | • Provide a safe environment and girl friendly school policies  
• Provide attractive role models  
• Reduce distance to school |
| Provide opportunities for poor children                             |                                                                                   | • Ensure equitable access to primary schools of acceptable quality  
• Provide means tested scholarships  
• Reduce/waive fees for poor children  
• Increase density of day school network |
| Centralized decision making adversely affects resource use and learning outcomes | Increase school level responsibility for service delivery                           | • Decentralize resources and decision making authority  
• Strengthen local institutions  
• Tap readiness of parents and communities to support local secondary school |
| Redefine role of national authorities                               |                                                                                   | • Strengthen central level capacity to set standards, monitor quality, provide core financing, support schools in difficulty and ensure equity |
| Encourage multiple delivery mechanisms                              | Vary service delivery in response to local conditions                              | • Create different organizational arrangements  
• Allow variations in curriculum choice and delivery methods  
• Encourage private training providers |
| Exploit potential of ICT and distance education                     |                                                                                   | • Establish teacher in service support and development systems  
• Provide opportunities for secondary education equivalence  
• Life long learning |
| Promote Public Private Partnerships                                  | Establish clear legal framework                                                    | • Ensure transparency in resource allocation,  
• Create explicit accountability indicators  
• Encourage demand side financing schemes |
| Set up participatory processes.                                     |                                                                                   | • Open and participatory procedures for consultation on policy and implementation |
At the same time secondary education development is seen in much of SSA as a pull factor for economic and social development whose development can not be postponed, whereas in most other parts of the world it has accompanied or followed economic growth. All of this makes it abundantly clear that, rather than adopting secondary education models from elsewhere, it will be imperative for SSA countries to develop a model of provision that recognizes the specificity of the SSa context – one that is sustainable in the constrained resource environment of most countries, but that also is equitable and delivers a service of acceptable quality. While external resources can help to some extent, it would be unwise to build a national policy on the expectation of large increases in external financing for secondary education. Mamadou Ndoye the executive secretary of the Association for the Development of Education in Africa (ADEA) put the challenge as follows:

The necessity of redefining secondary education in Africa clearly is urgent when one observes the enormous gap between the social demand and the available supply; or even more so between the challenges faced by young Africans of school age and knowledge and skills acquired at school. Promoting an African model is a priority issue. … (I)t is imperative to understand that it is not possible to develop an education system counting first and foremost on external assistance. Our education models … have to respond to our essential current and future needs and match our resources\(^2\).

This report has discussed a large array of policy options that governments may wish to consider as they define their secondary education development strategy. These are summarized in Table 9.1 Quite clearly there is no single best way for the development of secondary education and training; initial conditions in each country will determine what the priorities are and what is feasible over what time frame in different countries. Mapping the status and challenges of secondary education, identifying financial and political constraints and opportunities are essential pre-conditions for effective action. The table 9.1 should thus be considered as a checklist of choices that have produced results in other contexts which may or may not be replicable in other situations. But the key challenge will remain to design a coherent strategy that responds to the national development demands and constraints of countries in SSA.

Towards an African strategy for secondary education development

Lewin (2005) suggest a typology of 5 different country situations (chapter 5), but argues that most countries are likely to face the challenge of a high (or at least rapidly increasing) coverage in their primary system and a low or at best medium coverage of secondary education. In most countries the latter will, however, be considered socially unacceptable and inconsistent with national development objectives (chapter 4). But at the same time few countries have put in place a strategy that reconciles the constraints on public funds with the resource requirements of the expansion of opportunities for quality learning opportunities beyond primary education. The lessons of experience in other regions can help with this process and inform policy formulation; but as discussed above today’s educational, economic and demographic conditions in Sub-Saharan Africa are so different that their models cannot be easily applied in SSA. Thus, the call for Africa

---

\(^2\) Remarks at the opening ceremony of the second ADEA conference, Dakar 6-9 June 2004.
specific strategies for secondary education development, including TVET. Such a model can provide guidance and policy options that countries would do well to consider as they formulate national strategies that would allow significant progress towards their medium term objectives. Clearly, each country will need to construct its own strategy taking account of national specificities, but several common elements can be identified, most importantly:

- Resource requirements consistent with the available means;
- Content relevant to national development opportunities;
- Emphasis on leaning: No quality-quantity trade-offs;
- Equitable access for the disadvantaged;
- Multiple delivery mechanisms;
- Locally managed schools;
- Broadly conceived public private partnerships.

Resource requirements consistent with national means
All projections of the cost of secondary education development make it abundantly clear: enrollments in secondary education cannot be expanded at present unit cost levels (Chapter 5). This makes it imperative to use available resources as intensively and as efficiently as possible. Teachers would be expected to teach a full load of 25 hours or more; buildings could be used in double shift, six days a week and possibly year round; curriculum options and choice in small schools may have to be limited; boarding should be the exception not the rule; public-private partnerships should operate in the most cost-effective way possible.

The cost variables that will need to be carefully managed with particular care are the deployment of teachers and the level of teacher salaries. In several countries in SSA the cost of teachers effectively precludes significant enrollment expansion (Chapter 5), either because of salaries that are a high multiple of GNI per capita. In other countries salaries are so low that teachers will only provide a minimal effort, with adverse consequences for quality. But the most critical challenge –almost everywhere- may be may be inefficiencies in teacher deployment. An efficient use of the teaching force will require understanding that each teacher will teach a full load –even if it means teaching in more than one school; that preferential increases will be granted to teacher who can teach several subjects; and that teacher who do not have a full load will be paid in proportion to the number of hours they teach. It may also mean that not all curriculum options can be offered in every school; smaller schools will often be forced to offer less choice. Efficiency gains associated with such policies should result in changes in the cost structure of secondary education with a significant increase in spending on non-salary items, especially textbooks and other instructional materials.

Bruns et al (2003) have proposed indicative benchmarks to guide the development of primary education with the support of the Fast Track Initiative (FTI). Accepting their resource mobilization parameters and assuming a share of higher education of 15-20% (chapter 5, footnote 4) would suggest a share of the budget for secondary education of 25-30% for secondary education (including TVET at the senior level). The benchmark
for the share of private financing of secondary education reflects the current reality of significant private funding of publicly and privately provided secondary education (Chapter 5, figure 5.6) as well as the fact that in countries where the share is currently very high it will be next to impossible to enroll a larger share of the age group without increasing public funding. The benchmark for the pupil teacher ratio recognizes the inevitability of large classes as in many East Asian countries-45 in junior and 40 in senior secondary education. With appropriate investments in teacher development and instructional materials (Chapter 7) this should not preclude instruction of acceptable quality and a reduction in repetition (Chapter 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9.2: Towards Indicative Benchmarks for Secondary education Development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Domestic resource mobilization</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education spending as percent of recurrent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary percent of recurrent education budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary percent of recurrent education’s budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Junior secondary of secondary budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Senior secondary of secondary budget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Share of total secondary cost privately funded (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of classrooms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Service delivery indicators**

| Average teacher salary (x average GDP) | Primary | 3.8 | Based on WEI primary/ secondary multiple and Bruns et al (2003) primary multiple. See chapter 5 |
| | Junior secondary | 4.75 |
| | Senior secondary | 6.25 |
| Pupil-teacher ratio | Junior secondary | 40 | Based on East Asian multiples and assuming efficient deployment of teachers. See chapter 5 |
| | Senior secondary | 35 |
| Non-teacher salary share of recurrent spending (%) | Junior secondary | 35 | See Lewin (2006) and the discussion on textbook provision in chapter 7 |
| | Senior secondary | 40 |
| Repeaters (%) | Junior secondary | 10 | Some decrease from current levels and assuming that senior level will remain more selective |
| | Senior secondary | 5 |

These benchmarks would result in a cost of 25% of GDP per capita for junior secondary education and 40% for senior secondary education. Assuming sustained progress towards the EFA goals and a cost of primary education of 12% of GDP the benchmarks in Table 9.2 would allow the transition rate from primary into junior secondary to increase to 80%, secondary enrollments could be targeted to increase at a rate of 5-10% (or as Lewin has suggested the rate of GDP growth plus 5%), resulting in a 60% lower secondary and a 30% senior secondary GER by 2015. Special efforts –including
equitable quality improvement policies at the primary level—would be required to ensure that 50% of the students admitted are girls and that students from the poorest 20% of the income distribution are not excluded because of inability to pay. The extent to which countries can reach these goals and move towards these service delivery conditions will of course vary considerably depending on national conditions.

The cost of construction classrooms and specialized facilities is another important cost item that needs careful consideration. New schools are often 4 times more expensive as additional classrooms. This is unnecessary with better low cost design of basic secondary schools. Old style secondary schools will be prohibitively expensive to build on scale. Procurement systems are generally used to levels of construction that are only 10% or so of what may be needed in low enrolment countries.

At the junior secondary level facilities can resemble primary school facilities, which can often be constructed at reasonable cost by communities without expensive specialized rooms (as is the case for example in Kenya where the government has only constructed classrooms in the most disadvantaged areas). School infrastructure often stands unused for long periods of time. Double-shift use of facilities—even in rural areas—is often an attractive option for generating cost savings. Singapore only discontinued it in 2000. Year round use—implying fewer hours of instruction each day, but more school days combined with double shift instruction or staggering of holidays is an option that has been used in some school districts in the US that face severe shortages of classrooms.

Expansion of secondary education will have to take place largely through day schooling, in many cases by extending the duration of basic education and adding classes to existing primary schools. This will result in a network of small schools (chapter 7). Boarding facilities are expensive to build and operate. Access should be sharply limited to students who do not have access to day schools within a reasonable distance from their home. Scholarships should be available for poor, academically qualified students who live too far from a day school.

None of the above options are easy to implement. They deviate from the way things have always been done and they require different ways of thinking about schooling is organized and how the available infrastructure is used; they also require different ways of employing and deploying teachers and structuring their contracts. Innovations in the way schooling is delivered that target resources on those inputs that most cost-effectively produce student learning and use them intensively, can result in reductions in the cost per student while improving achievement.

**Relevant to African development opportunities**

Education development will need to be part and parcel of national development strategies. Where it develops on a separate path it will become very rapidly become irrelevant and be considered an item of privately or publicly funded consumption, rather than an essential investment in economic and social progress. The experience of East

---

3 There even is a National Association for Year Round Learning (NAYRL) with a website that provides many past and present examples: http://www.nayre.org/
Asian countries (chapter 3) suggest the importance of an education development strategy that evolves with the national economy and helps young people adopt values and attitudes that help them function as responsible citizens and productive workers. But changes in economy and society can take place rapidly – as was the case in East Asia. This implies that changes in education policy priorities and curricula in response to evolving national development priorities will have to take place regularly.

Investments in secondary education are particularly important in African countries, many of which are starting the transition from factor driven economies\(^4\) to investment driven economies\(^5\) (World Bank 2005; Chapter 4). But this transition will only be successful where it is supported by a well-organized infrastructure, a welcoming government administration, a stable political environment and an appropriately educated labor force. Investments in secondary education by itself do not create jobs but they will often enhance the results of good economic policies. Absent such policies, investment in secondary education will be wasted.

Vocational training is often considered as trigger for economic growth and a way to reduce youth unemployment. In fact there is scant evidence that it has done so. But in countries with strong economic growth it has played an important role in preparing a workforce that has supported a rapidly growing modern industrial sector. And where it has done so, students had strong basic education skills (at least 9 years). The development of vocational training should thus accompany rather than precede the development of a modern industrial sector and take place through mainly through flexible training programs at following junior secondary education or more formal schooling at the tertiary level for advanced technical and engineering training. In most African countries at this point the demand for personnel with this kind of training is limited; and predicting specific skill requirements a long time in the future is very hazardous, especially when done by government agencies.

On the other hand preparing junior secondary students for further learning and technical training is important. It implies that curriculum change is an essential element of the transition from an elite system to a system that is inclusive and provides broad access. It will involve adaptation of content to the requirements of further education and training, work and society in the 21\(^{st}\) century. Communication skills in one or two international languages, problem solving skills, experience with teamwork and basic competence in math, science and ICT are at a premium in the labor markets of growing economies in SSA (Chapter 4) as is the case in the OECD economies (Chapter 3, Box 3.2).

Education logic and the demands of economic development impose a sequence that can be observed in the experience of most economically successful countries (Chapter 3) in East Asia (for example in Thailand, see Box 9.1) and the in the industrialized world and that would apply today to most countries in SSA:

- Establishing a primary education system of wide coverage and acceptable quality;

---

4 Economies that derive their competitive advantage from low cost labor or access to national resources
5 Economies where efficiency in the production of standards products and services is the source of competitive advantage
• Broadening access to junior secondary education –as an extension of basic education- as the foundation for further education and training for a rapidly increasing proportion of the age group as part of the drive towards the an investment driven economy;
• Providing selective access to senior secondary for advanced skills training in preparation for labor market entry and further learning for a select group of students.

Managing this sequence implies policy decisions about transition processes and the rate of expansion of junior and secondary education that is financially and educationally feasible, that will critically determine the nature of secondary education development and its contribution to social progress and economic development.

Emphasis on learning: No quality-quantity trade-offs
Without ensuring the quality of opportunities for learning, expansion of access to secondary education is a meaningless waste of resources. This makes it imperative to invest scarce resources in those inputs that most cost-effectively affect student learning achievement. This means:
• **Capable and motivated teachers**, i.e. teachers with the necessary subject matter knowledge expertise in teaching and classroom management skills; they should be paid reasonable salaries, work under conditions where effective instruction can take place; conversely they will have to accept take on a full teaching load and teach large classes (Chapter 7).
• **Curricula** that reflect the changing composition of the student body as well as the demands of African development (Chapter 6)
• **Instructional materials** in particular textbooks, basic equipment and supplies in particular for teaching math, science and ICT (Chapter 7), For textbooks in particular, this will require reforms in the way curricula are designed, requirements are determined, production and presentation standards are set and books are published, procured and distributed.
• **School leaders** who create an environment focused on learning, where all school personal accept accountability for results, i.e. student learning (Chapter 7).
• **Instructional time** that is optimally used to promote learning, implying a well organized schools where little time is wasted, and where staff and students are present when they are supposed (Chapter 5; Chapter 7).
• **District and central services** that monitor school’s progress in improving student learning and provide support as and when needed (Chapter 8).
• **Communities** that provide a supportive home environment to students and assist schools to carry out their mission (Chapter 8).

In the resource constrained environment of education in SSA protecting quality will mean resource allocation policies driven more by evidence and pragmatism and less by beliefs, ideology or group interest. It may mean slowing down expansion to defend learning. Ultimately it is the “quality imperative” that must determine the pace of development of secondary education. Teacher development is particularly critical in this regard. Practice oriented training and ample opportunities for professional development and certification
for teaching at higher levels –often using distance education and vacation classes – are essential for developing a cadre of teachers that can look forward to meaningful career development opportunities (Chapter 7).

**Equitable access for the disadvantaged**

Inequity in the opportunity to learn and complete primary education remains a major obstacle for disadvantaged students that aspire to enter secondary school (Chapter 2). Poor parents often cannot afford the direct and indirect cost of secondary education. In addition, distance and socio-cultural traditions make rural parents reluctant to enroll their children, especially their daughters – in secondary schools located so far away that boarding is inevitable. Making secondary education accessible to more African adolescents will inevitably mean increasing the density of network of day-schooling opportunities beginning at the junior secondary level. A system of local junior secondary schools would meet the needs of the local communities who often cannot afford boarding fees and expanding equitable access. Such schools could be associated with nearby basic schools, possibly in the form of upper primary classes and rural secondary schools as was done for example in Thailand (Box 9.1) and Zimbabwe (Box 4.4) immediately after independence. This was in fact also the model adopted at the beginning of the 20th century in the industrialized countries (Chapter 3). But equity cannot be limited to access. It also needs to apply to the quality of the opportunity to learn that is provided in

**Box 9.1: Thailand: Expanding Secondary Education**

Until 1970 secondary schools mainly prepared for employment as civil servants, professionals and teachers. Enrollments in secondary education were only 14 percent of the youths aged 13-18, although primary education reached over 83 percent of children aged 7-12. The continued lack of investment in secondary education led to an undereducated workforce: by 1990 83% of the workers had finished only primary education. With a rapidly growing economy the need to modernize the workforce created a sense of urgency for rapid expansion of secondary education.

Such expansion was brought about first and foremost by the revised conceptualization of secondary education as basic education for the general public and the workforce as well as preparation for the professionals. Compulsory education was expanded from 6 to 9 years. A multipronged strategy for secondary education development included:

- Expansion of more than 4000 primary schools to teach lower secondary, and conversion of primary facilities that were underutilized because of a declining birthrate;
- Establishment of over 500 new secondary schools in rural areas where no secondary or extended primary schools existed.
- Revision of the highly competitive admission policy of the exclusive secondary schools to provide opportunities for students from differing backgrounds to enroll.
- Gradual abolition of tuition fees starting with the extended primary schools and rural secondary schools.
- Recognition of alternative forms of education including recognition of graduates from non-formal education and establishing special schools for disabled children and welfare schools for marginalized children, especially HIV/AIDS orphans and street children

By 2005, the secondary enrollment ratio exceeded 70% while lower secondary education had become almost universal enrolling 90% of the age group.

*Source:* Kasama Varavarn presentation to East Asia Study tour; World Bank, 1996

these smaller schools. A reformed curriculum would be closely linked to the primary curriculum to encourage progression to further education and training and minimize dropout.
Perhaps most important will be to target public expenditures to ensure that qualified poor students are not excluded from pursuing secondary education because of inability to pay. A private share in secondary education expenditures of 35% and a significant increase in secondary enrollments (Table 9.1) will only be feasible if public expenditures are explicitly allocated to promote equity in access and opportunity to learn. Targeted bursaries and scholarships, incentives for private schools to admit poor students and government funding to establishing secondary education opportunities in disadvantaged areas are key instruments that can be considered for this purpose.

It is unlikely that it will be possible to establish a dense network of senior secondary schools or technical/vocational training institutions in the immediate future. This means that many students that come from far away will have to board. Targeted scholarship will often be a necessary policy instrument to ensure equitable access for the most disadvantaged students.

These strategies will need to pay particular to the specific needs of girls who attend secondary school at a time when they have reached sexual maturity, when parental safety concerns are extreme and where opportunity cost are often high. Several countries are implementing programs that not only reduce the direct cost of schooling but also help cover the indirect and opportunity costs incurred when parents let children go to school.

**Box 9.2: Conditional cash transfers in Bangladesh and Mexico**

Bangladesh’s national program for stipends for girls in secondary school in rural areas began in 1982. The stipends cover full tuition and exam costs, textbooks, school supplies, uniforms, transport, and kerosene for lamps. Any girl in grades 6–10 is eligible for the stipends in all 460 rural counties (thanas) across Bangladesh as long as she meets three basic criteria: (1) she attends school regularly, (2) she achieves certain minimum grades, and (3) she does not marry while she is in school. She receives the stipend through a bank account in her name. During the first five years that the program ran in pilot areas, girls’ enrollments rose from 27 percent to 44 percent, almost double the national average. Under popular pressure, in 1992 the Bangladesh government eliminated girls’ tuition and extended the stipend program to all rural areas. Girls’ and boys’ enrollments climbed to 55–60 percent, but girls’ enrollment climbed faster than boys’. The program also encouraged more girls to sit for exams and go to intermediate colleges. The stipend program’s costs are substantial, but the government has found the impact on girls’ enrollment and attainment (as well as delayed marriage) impressive enough to continue it on a national scale.”

The Mexican PROGRESA scholarship program increased across-the-board enrollment and has been successfully scaled up and replicated. Families receive monthly payments for each child in school, which increase with the age of the child, from about $7 through the third year of primary school to about $25 through the third year of secondary school—contingent on children maintaining 85 percent attendance. Participants also received free health-care services, contingent on regular attendance at clinics and educational sessions. A rigorous randomized evaluation found that nearly all eligible families took advantage of the program, increasing average enrollment by 3.4 percent for all students in grades 1–8. Girls’ enrollments improved, especially for children finishing primary school and entering secondary school. The most significant increase (15 percent) was for girls completing grade 6. In part because randomized evaluation of the PROGRESA program allowed for such clear documentation of the program’s positive impacts, the program was expanded within Mexico and by 2000 reached 2.6 million families, or 10 percent of the families in Mexico. (The program’s budget was also substantial, at $800 million, or 0.2 percent of gross domestic product). The program has now expanded to urban areas and is called Oportunidades.

Source: Herz and Sperling (2004)
through conditional cash transfers. These have proved particularly important for girls in such varied settings as Bangladesh and Mexico (Box 9.2). Several rigorous studies, including a large controlled experiment in Mexico, have confirmed the strong impact of scholarships on girls’ enrollments. Research also suggests that programs that reduce the cost of schooling by providing supplies such as textbooks and uniforms or programs that offer meals or school-based health care can have significant impacts, especially for girls.

**Multiple delivery mechanisms**

Secondary education provision often takes place in several different ways: upper primary classes covering a few or all years of the secondary curriculum, separate middle schools and combined junior secondary and upper secondary schools of academic (e.g. gymnasium and prep schools) and a wide range of formal and informal vocationally programs (see Box 9.1 for the different secondary education delivery mechanisms in Thailand). Secondary education policy in Sub Saharan Africa will need to be pragmatic and flexible to allow different ways of providing secondary education to respond to the very different conditions in different parts of the country and the very demands for education and training of students especially beyond the junior secondary level.

A similar flexibility will need to apply to the curriculum, especially at the senior level where options and choice become increasingly important. Not all schools will be able to

---

**Box 9.3 Technology provides new ways to deliver secondary education**

Under the right conditions technology can help remove the constraints of distance, time and underqualified teachers on education delivery mechanisms. While many of the new computer based technologies are inaccessible for African schools for cost and infrastructure reasons these technologies have such great potential and so important to the students future that cost effective ways for introducing them especially at the upper secondary level must be explored.

**Secondary education.** Distance education can be a cost-effective alternative for students who fail to gain admission to traditional secondary school. Traditionally these courses have been delivered through printed self-instructional materials supported by radio broadcasts and study centers. The Malawi College of Distance Education provided a good model of this strategy for many years. Unfortunately, funding constraints forced the college to discontinue radio broadcasts and limited its ability to provide materials. Television can also expand access to secondary education and improve its quality. Telesecundaria is a television based rural system in Mexico that offers secondary education as part of the national system. Several other countries in Latin America have adopted the system and some are making it available to secondary schools in remote rural areas on DVD to enrich and improve instruction, especially in math and science. In SSA regional collaboration would be necessary to capture economies of scale and drive down cost per student. The internet also offers many resources to support teachers with lesson planning and help students with self study.

**Teacher education.** The bulk of distance education activity in SSA has focused so far on teacher training using a combination of printed materials, radio, audio and video cassettes and increasingly the internet. Teacher resource and study centers, which often serve as venues for face-to-face training, increasingly offer internet access to training resources and materials. The African Network for Distance Learning (RESAFAD) uses the internet for distance training of school principals.

**Lifelong Learning.** In African urban areas many private institutes provide training in the application of computer technologies. Several African countries are developing community information and learning centers that offer internet access for a small fee. These centers may be able to provide learning opportunities to people in remote areas.

Source: World Bank, 2001
offer all options. Especially smaller schools will be able to offer only a core curriculum with a limited choice. Even in larger schools offering a large number of options chosen by only a few students can be very costly and often offers little value-added to the education experience. Multi-grade teaching offers opportunities for quality learning in small schools at reasonable cost. Vocational training can often be offered part time. The duration of technical training will vary depending on specialization. Private providers offering training are ubiquitous in many African cities. Distance education and open learning programs\(^6\) are increasingly important delivery mechanisms, which provide alternative pathways to learning and certification for students and teachers. When combined with ICT they provide increasingly effective mechanisms to overcome the constraints of traditional schooling (Box 9.3).

Encouraging this diversity and providing a qualification framework that establishes equivalence and ensures portability are important elements of post primary education policy that countries are beginning to tackle. Southern African countries have made considerable progress in this regard.

**Locally managed schools**

An essential feature of African secondary education strategies will have to be the strengthening of the local autonomy for the operation of schools (chapter 8). This will allow local administrators and schools to choose the most appropriate way to provide secondary education given the opportunities and constraints in their local environment. It will also allow them to take responsibility for the development and improvement of secondary schools. It can provide incentives for the efficient use of resources and the reduction of unit cost.

Decentralization of resources and decision making to districts and schools is happening in almost every country in SSA. So far results have been mixed and progress hampered by weak institutions and local level capacity constraints. But there is considerable evidence (Chapter 8) that local autonomy in the management of schools can have positive effect on school performance. Within a framework of national core instructional objectives, supervised and supported by central and district authorities with money and technical assistance, schools can be asked to take responsibilities for student learning.

In most African countries there is a considerable excess demand for secondary school places, providing an incentive for local authorities, communities and parents to support the development of locally accessible opportunities for further learning. In fact, local initiative played an important role in the development of secondary education not only in the USA in the beginning of the 20\(^{th}\) century (Chapter 3) but also in Kenya’s Harambee movement in the 1970s (Box 9.4). Tapping into the readiness of communities and parents to support the development of secondary schools in their community by providing

\(^6\) Distance education is the delivery of learning or training to learners who are separated, mostly by time and space, from those who are teaching and training. Open learning programs are usually based on independent or part time study, which permits entry without formal entry requirements and with minimal barriers of age or time while recognizing prior learning. The two come together in the concept of Open and Distance Learning (ODL).
Box 9.4: Harambee Schools in Kenya

Harambee Schools originated in a grassroots community movement after independence in 1963 to develop greater access to secondary education than provided by the Government. Harambee schools were planned as four-year schools, but funding difficulties often caused them to start as two-year schools. At various times the Government provided financial support to select Harambee schools. In the early 1990s, the government took responsibility for all Harambee schools and no longer distinguishes them from government schools.

The students were often less academically qualified because most had not been able to qualify for government schools or afford the expense of studying far from their homes. Subject offering were often limited because of the lack of resources to teach e.g. science. Facilities are almost entirely built through community efforts. The proportion of qualified teachers was lower and class sizes higher. Communities that constructed good housing provided a high level of support and respect for their teachers were better at attracting and retaining teachers. Students could take an exam at the end of the second year and if they do well, can transfer to the third year in a government school.

The Harambee model was highly successful in expanding secondary opportunities in rural areas. In 1969 there were 244 government secondary schools, 19 government assisted Harambee schools and 244 unassisted schools; by 1987, there were 709 government schools, 1,142 assisted and 741 unassisted Harambee schools. But the quantitative expansion has not been matched by the needed quality improvements in many Harambee schools, particularly in unassisted schools.


resources to complement those that can be locally generated and strengthening the capacity of local stakeholders -school personnel, community leaders, members of SMCs and BOGs- can be a cornerstone of secondary education development in SSA.

In such a system the principal role of central government agencies will no longer be to deliver secondary schooling but rather to monitor quality, make available core financing, provide support to schools in difficulty and ensure equity in access and opportunity to learn. Such a strategy will require intensifying and accelerating the ongoing decentralization processes, rethinking the responsibilities of staff and administrators at different levels of the system and rebalancing central management and local management responsibilities. The result would be a system that within a centrally defined framework is managed at the service delivery level by service providers -school administrators and staff- with meaningful involvement of the front line beneficiaries – students, parents and communities. But this can only happen in an environment where there exist competent local administrations. They exist in some countries but not in others. In the latter case strengthening the capacity of local administrations is a pre-requisite for effective decentralization.

Public-private sector partnerships

Partnerships with non-government providers will almost inevitably be a key element of successful secondary education development strategies. In East Asia such partnerships have played a key role in creating an environment that allowed a rapid expansion of secondary education. A similar strategy can be attractive to several countries in SSA. Partnerships can occur in a number of different ways but will most often include government financial support to private provision, including community provision; and often private financing for publicly provided schooling. In virtually every country in SSA
Box 9.5 Public-private partnerships in Burkina Faso
A World Bank supported project in Burkina Faso was designed to provide incentives to private operators at the post-primary level to expand enrollments. However, a lack of interest of private school proprietors made it necessary to review the demands on the private schools, which included repayment for the government-provided classroom (the operator would pay back the cost over 5 years, free of interest), and the requirement that the proprietors to build their classroom prior to the government building the matching classroom. The first condition was dropped, i.e. no repayment, and the latter one was changed to requiring the provider to build his classroom within at most one year after the one constructed by the government.

Source: Verspoor, 2006

The secondary education development strategy described above is parsimonious in resource allocations, explicitly quality focused, sequential from the bottom of the education pyramid up in its strategic emphasis, school and community based; and values the importance of diverse partnerships and alternative delivery mechanisms. It is a strategy that suggests an evolving role of the government away from its role as single provider towards a role that focuses on key priorities:

- Policy formulation, setting of standards and monitoring of progress towards national goals.
- Provision of funding to support a broad based equitable expansion of junior secondary education of acceptable quality as well as a selective expansion of senior secondary education and TVET in conjunction with incentives for private provision and subsidies to ensure equality of opportunity.
- Offering incentives and partnerships to non-government providers that are ready provide education opportunities of acceptable quality also to disadvantaged children.

Different countries will have vary different initial conditions and longer term objectives, they will emphasize different features and will combine them in a unique way. Nevertheless, it will help almost all to consider the options for strategy and practice that have evolved from regional and broader international experience, as they expand the opportunities for learning beyond primary education to strengthen their human capital base, accelerate economic growth and build a social infrastructure conducive to economic growth and human development.

Implementing Reforms
Much of the discussion on education reform has focused on the substance of the reforms that countries may want to consider. This report so far is no exception. Yet much of the parents contribute an important share of the cost of private and public secondary education (Chapter 5). The challenge is to structure these partnerships in such a way that they work effectively together and that public and private sector partners can contribute in those areas where they are best placed to do so.

A clear legal framework, transparency in resource allocation, explicit indicators for accountability and open and participatory procedures for consultation on policy and implementation are the preconditions for effective public private partnerships (Chapter 8). Where these are not well designed the objectives of the public intervention will not be realized (Box 9.5).
literature on school reform and change emphasizes that ultimately it is the quality of local implementation -i.e. the extent to which schools adopt the reform- which will determine the success of the reform. Implementation is often much less automatic than central authorities assume. In Zambia for example many primary schools have not implemented the government mandated policy to offer grade 8 and 9 (Bennell et al, 2005; CIDT, 2005). The difficulties of changing classroom teaching practice are well documented (Chapter 8). The readiness of schools and local administrators for change will determine to a large extent the feasible pace of implementation. But the mental models of change will be determined by the way change strategies are designed and practiced by central level authorities.

**The politics of change**

Secondary education policy reform is almost always controversial. This reflects the fact that secondary education is not just a technical problem, it is almost always a political issue with potential winners and losers lobbying to protect their interest. Successful implementation requires political will and efforts to build national consensus and support for policy and reform objectives. Progress will depend first and foremost on the political will to take difficult decisions and sustain them over the long period of time it usually takes to implement them. The latter involves more than “the will to act”. It typically will involve the readiness for consultative practices for policy development, effective communication strategies, transparency in decision making and resource allocation processes and a willingness to consider evidence and lessons of experience even when that questions preconceived ideas and conventional wisdom. Success has more often been associated with pragmatism than with ideology or paying-off political opponents.

Political will is most powerful when it derives from a national development vision which links education development to national development strategies. This involves the interaction between education and the economy, with a clear understanding that these two national development priorities are mutually dependent and reinforcing. But –as the experience of East Asia demonstrates- the emphasis on education's development role is driven by priorities that go well beyond economic issues, as education has been assigned a key role in nation building, including building the moral values and national cohesion required to make a multi-ethnic society work. And it is particularly at the secondary level –with adolescents- that both labor market preparation and the moral aspects of education are particularly important.

Where there is such a vision combined with a willingness to act, rapid change has often been possible. For example over the past 40 years both Finland and Korea have implemented education policies that have led to a large increase in the number of adults with at least a secondary school education. Korea’s policies took only 20 years to achieve this, whereas the same process took 40 years in Finland. Thailand increased its secondary enrollment ratio from 30% in 1990 to more than 70% 15 years later. Educational upgrading in the East Asian “tigers” the US and Europe began with improvements at the bottom of the pyramid, through strong and sustained efforts to provide secondary education (World Bank 2005).
Similarly, the experience in SSA also shows that rapid change is possible once it becomes a political priority in the context of national development. In South Africa the reform of the education system became a priority for the first democratically elected government in 1994 (see Box 8.10). Sweeping changes were implemented within three years. Further reforms were implemented to deal with concerns about low “matric” \(^7\) pass rates which resulted in an increase from about 50% in the mid-nineties to 70% a decade later, although arguably not with the same standards and persistent disappointing performance in math and science. Zimbabwe after independence in 1980 launched a massive program to expand access to education to black students who had previously been excluded (see Box 4.4). The Harambee movement in Kenya has impressive record expanding secondary opportunities in rural areas. (Box 9.3).

**The practice of change**

Education reform and in particular secondary education reform is a complex and multifaceted process that has often failed to produce the promised results. The best ideas often have faltered on the rocks of implementation. Fortunately experience is accumulating and lessons are being learned as countries – in Africa and in other regions- are grappling with the challenges of secondary education development. Several trends are becoming apparent.

First, *school systems* are increasing transforming themselves in a *system of schools* where the responsibility for improvement and performance is shifting from the central level managers to the school level. But it does not make a lot of sense to ask schools to implement increasingly complex reforms when the capacity for change at the school level is limited and teachers are unfamiliar with the instructional methods they are asked to implement. There are no quick fixes to the problems of secondary schools. Especially reforms that aim to change instructional practice and improve learning achievement must be conceived as processes not as events. These are not interventions that can be centrally mandated. There is no substitute for a sustained effort over time that builds up the capacity for change at the school level, develops decentralized support mechanisms and provides sustained national leadership. What is needed is a process of continuous improvement and learning, which permeates the system. Schools can learn from each other. Administrators can share their experiences with colleagues in other districts. Central level administrators can learn from their own experience and from the experience of other countries in the region and beyond.

Second. Evidence based strategies are at the root of successful reform. Continuous learning from experience requires information. Where rigorous evaluations-using quantitative and qualitative information are absent, learning becomes based on anecdotes, opinion and prejudice. These are poor substitutes for authentic information that provides the basis for learning-based planning and policy making. Considerable progress has been made in improving education data collection systems. But much of the effort has focused on primary education. Information gathering on secondary education has been neglected (see chapter 8). Successful design and implementation of the necessary reform of secondary cannot take place without good information. National statistics should

---

\(^7\) Grade 12 examination certifying secondary school completion.
provide information on the availability of inputs. Household surveys provide information on educational attainment, school attendance and education expenditures. Examinations results can provide feedback to schools on student performance. Assessments can provide policy makers with information on the overall performance of the system and compare it with neighboring countries. Continuous classroom assessments can help teachers identify the need for remedial instruction. Randomized sample surveys are often very useful to gather evidence on the performance of particular programs.

But significant challenges remain. The capacity to collect data has increased dramatically; but the capacity to analyze these data often lags. Moreover, even when information is available, it is often not used in the policy process, especially when the findings are inconvenient or fly or contradict conventional wisdom. Countries such as South-Africa\(^8\) that have monitored closely the implementation of reform programs and were willing to take corrective actions when the results were not what was anticipated have benefited enormously from these processes.

Third, broad communication of challenges and achievements, public discussion of policy options and transparency in decision making are key ingredients of effective implementation strategies. Many of the reforms in secondary education will be controversial and often threaten vested interest or our challenge established ways of service provision and instructional practice. Consultations with stakeholders and open and honest information of the public can often help building acceptance and public support.

**Conclusion**

The imperative of reform of secondary education can no longer be ignored in Sub Saharan Africa. The transformation of a traditional elite system that prepares a few privileged students into one that provides opportunities to further learning to a rapidly increasing proportion of adolescents is one that is taking-off throughout the region. But the challenge is not one of expansion only; it involves improving quality relevance and equity at the same time. Linear expansion of existing systems –more of the same- is not an option.

The challenge is particular daunting since economic growth remains fragile, population growth rates will be high for the foreseeable future and primary education still requires additional resources if the EFA goals are to be reached. Sub-Saharan Africa faces the challenge to develop a strategy for secondary education that fits the particular conditions of its current development context. Such a model will have to be one that is parsimonious in resource use, recognizes the bottom up sequential nature of education development, is closely aligned with national development priorities, anticipates labor market demand, strengthens school autonomy, ensures effective central direction and

---

supports and builds public-private partnerships reflecting relative competence for action. It also implies an evolving role of the government towards policy formulation, setting of standards and monitoring of progress towards national goals as well as the provision of funding to support a broad based, equitable expansion of secondary education with incentives for private provision and subsidies to disadvantaged students to ensure equality of opportunity.

Yet, even with the most cost-effective strategy, secondary education development will almost always require additional public resources involving trade-offs with other sectors and allocation choices within the education sector. Making the choices explicit and presenting a case to the Ministry of Finance will almost always require a sectorwide medium term expenditure framework and a longer term sector development plan with realistic financial projections. Planning for secondary education development can not be done in isolation from other priorities in the sector.

Implementing change along these lines will require capacity development throughout the system, effective management information system and most importantly a long lasting political commitment and leadership. Such a commitment is a commitment to provide the essential resources but also a commitment to build broad public support for a reform agenda. Only then will it be possible to tackle the challenge of secondary education with confidence.