

PRIVATE SCHOOLS IN INDIA

NEARLY HALF OF ALL INDIAN CHILDREN
ATTEND PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

HOW CAN WE IMPROVE THEIR LEARNING?

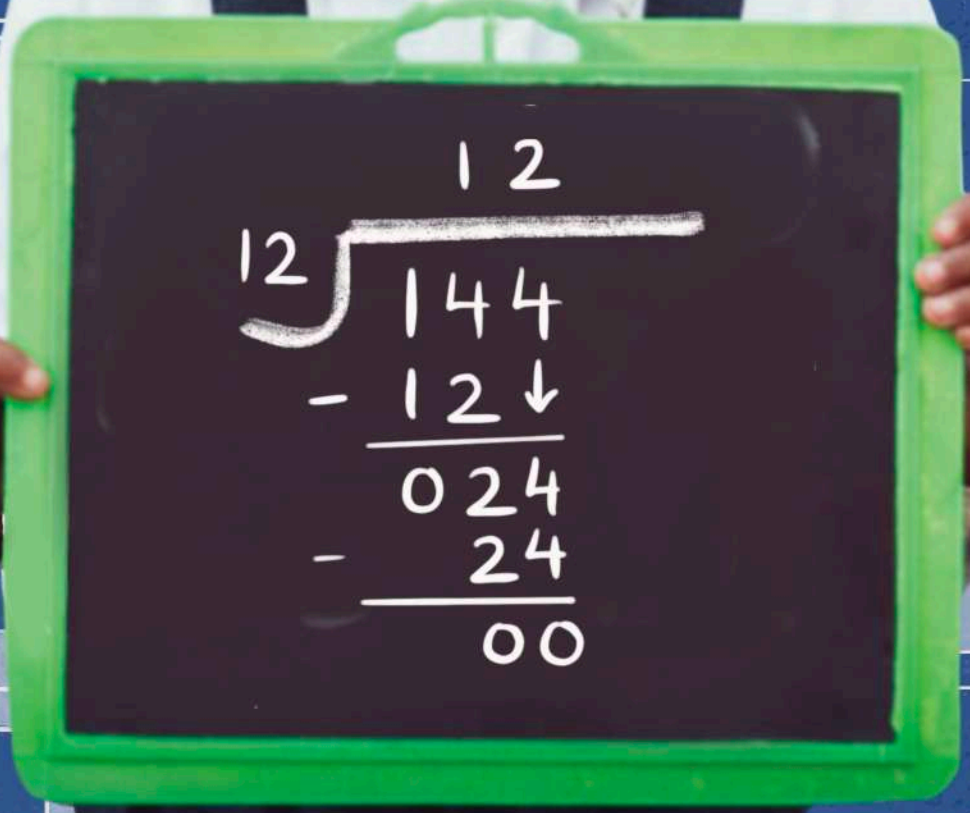
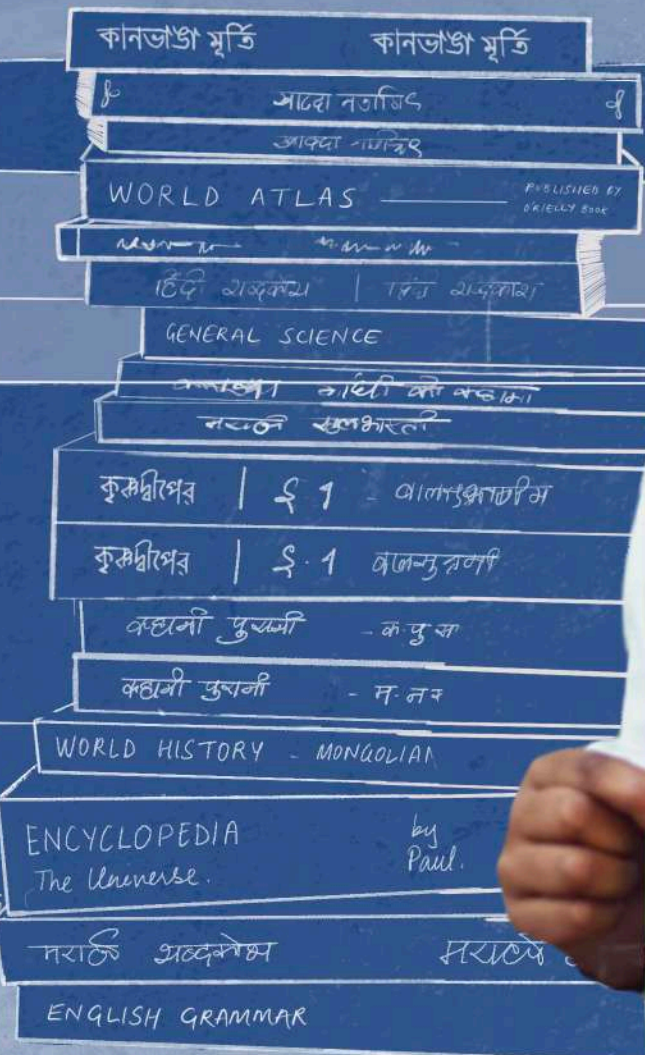


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ABOUT THE ORGANISATIONS



**CENTRAL SQUARE
FOUNDATION**

Central Square Foundation (CSF) is a non-profit organisation working towards ensuring quality school education for all children in India. Since 2012, CSF has partnered with the government, the private sector, non-profit organisations, and other ecosystem stakeholders to improve the learning outcomes of children, especially from low-income communities. CSF is driven by its mission to enable the school education system to adopt solutions that are scalable, sustainable and effective so that all children get equal access to opportunities needed for leading a better life.

To learn more, please visit <http://www.centralsquarefoundation.org/>



**OMIDYAR
NETWORK
INDIA**

Omidyar Network India (ONI) invests in bold entrepreneurs who help create a meaningful life for every Indian, especially the hundreds of millions of Indians in low-income and lower-middle-income populations, ranging from the poorest among us to the existing middle class. To drive empowerment and social impact at scale, ONI works with entrepreneurs in the private, non-profit and public sectors, who are tackling India's hardest and most chronic problems. Omidyar Network India makes equity investments in early stage enterprises and provides grants to non-profits in the areas of Digital Identity, Education, Emerging Tech, Financial Inclusion, Governance & Citizen Engagement, and Property Rights. Omidyar Network India is part of the Omidyar Group, a diverse collection of companies, organisations and initiatives, supported by philanthropists Pam and Pierre Omidyar, founder of eBay.

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Comments or Questions

We welcome your feedback on this report. Please write to us with your comments or questions to privateschoolsreport@centralsquarefoundation.org.

Disclaimer

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NOTE FROM CENTRAL SQUARE FOUNDATION



ASHISH DHAWAN

Founder and Chairman

Private schools today serve 12 crore students - nearly half of India's total. Their rise is an important, and often, unheard story about our education system. Typically perceived as 'elite', the growth in the private sector has actually been powered by a wave of low- and middle-income families seeking better education for their children. Nothing illustrates this better than the fact that 45% of private school students pay less than ₹ 500 per month as fees. In the immediate aftermath of COVID-19, some of these children may shift to government schools. The lowest-fee schools may close and a large number of students may see their learning affected. These are unfortunate circumstances and we must come together to ease the short term impact for students as well as schools. In the medium to long term though, the factor that led to this sector's growth - parents' demand for quality - will remain, and the sector is likely to bounce back. The first wave of private school growth caught us unawares - their resurgence should not.

Today, despite parents' perception of quality, learning outcomes in private schools are not where they should be. They do better than the government system, but 35% of grade 5 students in private schools still cannot read a basic paragraph. After accounting for the advantages of a child's home environment, the private school learning advantage over government schools reduces further. Improvement in the private school sector is, and will remain, crucial for improving our national learning levels.

In spite of this imperative, when I speak to government officials, I often find they refer to government school students as "our students". I believe it's important to recognise that all Indian students are "our students," and their learning will equally contribute to our country's development. Of course, many of our policymakers realise this and understand that the private school sector is far too large to wish away, ignore or suppress. They recognise that at their best, private schools can become a source of innovation, efficiency, and improved outcomes for the system as a whole, like private service providers have done in many other areas. Indeed, research, as well as private school systems in some countries, have demonstrated that significant and rapid improvement in learning outcomes is possible.

To achieve this, our regulatory architecture for private schools will have to prioritise learning. Currently, it is heavily focused on inputs and operations, which does not improve outcomes and creates compliance and complexity burdens for schools. Due to this, many committed, quality entrepreneurs decide against entering into education delivery. The opportunity of a new National Education Policy should be used to unlock quality education across private and public school systems, through regulatory levers that suit their unique structures, weaknesses, and strengths.

The State of the Sector Report on Private Schools in India aims to support such an endeavour by laying out the data and research on the private school sector, as well as evidence backed regulatory and policy instruments to bolster learning, synthesised in one place for ease of use. While the report focuses on private schools, many of the regulatory issues raised are also relevant for the public education system. We hope it will prove to be useful for policy-makers, funders and researchers.

NOTE FROM OMIDYAR NETWORK INDIA



ROOPA KUDVA
Managing Director

In just 20 years the share of India's children going to government schools has dropped from 71% to 52%. Nearly half of school students in India attend private schools, with 70% of them paying monthly fees of less than Rs. 1000. Fuelling this dramatic growth of India's private school sector are the aspirations of millions of middle and low income families – India's "Next Half Billion" - who believe that private schools will provide their children higher quality education and become a passport to a better life. Nearly 40% of the children studying in private unaided schools come from the "aspiring" or "deprived" segments.

However, as this report shows, learning outcomes in private schools are not materially different from those in government schools. While India has secured access to schooling - more than 95% children are enrolled in schools – it has faltered at the next step. India's children are not learning. Alarming trends such as only half of Class V students being able to read Class II level texts (ASER 2018) point to an urgent need to focus on quality learning outcomes as the primary goal of education policies. Given the scale of the sector, improving learning outcomes in private schools needs to become an essential part of the human capital development agenda for India.

Several stakeholders have a role to play in this effort: regulators, parents and philanthropists and impact investors.

In India, regulations around schooling have traditionally focused on inputs and not on the quality of learning outcomes. A renewed regulatory framework for private schools needs to shift the needle towards outcomes, encouraging school-owners to invest in learning and empowering parents with the means to make informed decisions while making school choices. We must make it easier for parents to judge the quality of schools and strengthen their voice in demanding quality education for their children. In the absence of meaningful information and efforts to build awareness, things like computer labs or marketing claims of English-medium instruction become the measures of quality instead of invisible factors like teacher training and quality.

Philanthropic funding and impact investing capital can play a vital role in supporting innovative solutions and initiatives in improving learning outcomes in private schools. Regulatory restrictions have inhibited the flow of impact investments into the affordable private school sector. Philanthropists could focus on providing low marginal cost products and services for bottom of the pyramid private schools, as well as building parent demand for quality learning.

In the wake of the COVID-19 crisis, the role of entrepreneurs and philanthropists has become even more significant. As schools have shut down, low-fee private school operators have lost out on revenues (student fees). In turn, service providers to these schools are also hit hard. For students in these schools, the need for home-based learning solutions to complement in-school learning and ensure continuity of learning has become a critical need. Unlike the affluent segment, families from the "Next Half Billion" have a large proportion of India's first-time internet users. Solutions need to recognise their constraints in access to devices and data. Entrepreneurs and philanthropists can play a vital role in stabilizing the ecosystem at this crucial hour, and seeding long term solutions for education quality improvement in private schools.

Data and analysis can equip all stakeholders to make better-informed decisions. This report is an effort towards that end.



PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Why a State of the Sector Report on Private Schools?

Private schooling has become a widespread phenomenon in India - dominating urban schooling and making significant inroads into the way rural children study. The large and heterogeneous sector is often misunderstood as a niche sector, primarily for the elite. Research findings on private schools are not widely known among educationists and policymakers, and regulatory focus is limited to inputs or fee control rather than improving learning outcomes. Hence, our aim with this report is to consolidate and disseminate the large and growing body of data and research to examine the growth and nature of the sector with a specific focus on learning. We also examine possible learning improvement through regulatory, information-based, or financial levers.

How did we compile this report?

The report is a review of existing data sources and literature to generate as comprehensive a picture of the sector as possible. Our approach in interpreting data and summarizing research was consultative -- the themes, analysis, and findings of the report were shaped through conversations with several sector experts, bureaucrats, researchers, activists, lawyers and other stakeholders in the private schools ecosystem. These conversations offered us insights into political economy, on-ground changes in demand and supply, and the evolution of policy priorities. Our understanding was also refined through interviews with parents, teachers, principals and school owners in Karnataka, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, covering remote rural areas as well as dense urban pockets to weave in perspectives from varied contexts. Insights from these interviews are interwoven as “voices from the ground” sections to add nuance and depth to the data and research.

Key data sources from which insights around private schools were drawn include the National Sample Survey Organisation data for social consumption (NSSO), Unified District Information System for Education (U-DISE), the Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), the India Human Development Survey (IHDS), and the National Achievement Survey (NAS).

Complementing the data landscape is a growing set of peer-reviewed scientific papers, some based on nation-wide studies and others based on smaller-scale experiments that provide significant insight into the sector. Over 150 research papers, surveys and peer-reviewed research studies were reviewed for various aspects of the private schooling sector, including understanding parental demand, determinants of learning and aspects of equity.

The report also examines legislation, rules, court judgments, departmental circulars and notifications that govern and regulate private schools at the national and state levels, and global examples of private school governance.

A brief note on the use of U-DISE data

- a) The terminology “privately managed schools” refers to the entire private school sector - including private aided, private unaided, unrecognised schools, and religious institutions. “Private unaided schools” refers to all the above except aided schools, which may include religious institutions. Aided schools are described separately since the autonomy and regulation of aided schools is significantly different from that of unaided schools.
- b) Unrecognised schools are not accounted for while comparing private enrolment share across the last 50 years, using U-DISE and the All India School Education Survey. They are enumerated in variable ways across states, and it is unclear how comprehensive the count of these schools is.

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Mohit M Rao, a freelance journalist, brought the expert views, research and data analysis together to draft the report. The report was co-authored by members of the Private Schools Governance team at CSF: Aditi Nangia, Akash Pratap Singh, Apoorva Bhandari, Devika Kapadia, Rahul Ahluwalia and Ruchika Singh.

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ABBREVIATIONS

NCERT: National Council of Educational Research and Training	INR: Indian Rupee
MPCE: Monthly Per-capita Consumer Expenditure	ISI: Independent School Inspectorate, Britain
MSDF: Michael & Susan Dell Foundation	KHDA: Knowledge and Human Development Authority, Dubai
DFID: Department for International Development	MCD: Municipal Corporation of Delhi
PIPE Program: Program to Improve Private Early Education by FSG	MHRD: Ministry of Human Resources Development
DSEAR: Delhi School Education Act & Rules, 1973	NAS: National Achievement Survey
ICNL: International Center for Not-for-Profit Law	NCPCR: National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights
UIS: UNESCO Institute for Statistics	NSSO: National Sample Survey Organisation
B.Ed.: Bachelor of Education	OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation Development
LEAPS: Learning and Education Achievement in Punjab Schools Project, Pakistan	Ofsted: Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills, Britain
NIOS: National Institute of Open Schooling	PAB: Project Approval Board
AAR: Annual Administrative Report	PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment
AISES: All India School Education Survey	POCSO: Protection of Children from Sexual Offences
ANA: Avaliação Nacional da Alfabetização (National Assessment of Alphabetization), Brazil	PSL: Partnership Schools for Liberia, Liberia
ASER: Annual Survey of Education Report	RTE: Right to Education
BPL: Below Poverty Line	SAEB: Sistema Nacional de Avaliação da Educação Básica (National Basic Education Assessment System), Brazil
CAG: Comptroller and Auditor General of India	SEP: Subvención Escolar Preferencial (Preferential School Subsidy), Chile
CBSE: Central Board of Secondary Education	SC: Scheduled Castes
CSR: Corporate Social Responsibility	SFF: School Fees Framework
DFE: Department For Education, Britain	SIMCE: Sistema de Medición de Calidad de la Educación (Education Quality Measurement System), Chile
DIET: District Institute for Education and Training	ST: Scheduled Tribes
DSIB: Dubai School Inspection Bureau	TIMSS: Trends in International Math and Science Studie
ECI: Education Cost Index, Dubai	TRAI: Telecom Regulatory Authority of India
EWS: Economically Weaker Sections	U-DISE: Unified District Information System for Education
FDI: Foreign Direct Investment	USD: United States Dollar
FSSAI: Food Safety and Standards Authority of India	1 lakh: 1,00,000 (10 lakh=1 million)
ICSE: Indian Certificate of Secondary Education	1 crore: 1,00,00,000 (1 crore= 10 million)
IDEB: Índice de Desenvolvimento da Educação Básica (Basic Education Development Index), Brazil	
IGCSE: International General Certificate of Secondary Education	
IHDS: India Human Development Survey	
INEED: Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa (National Institute of Educational Evaluation), Uruguay	



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY: IMPROVING LEARNING OUTCOMES IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The Elephant in the Classroom

12 crore students study in private schools in India

While the policy ecosystem devises reforms to bring quality education to low-income students through the government system, many low- and middle- income Indian families are seeking private school alternatives.

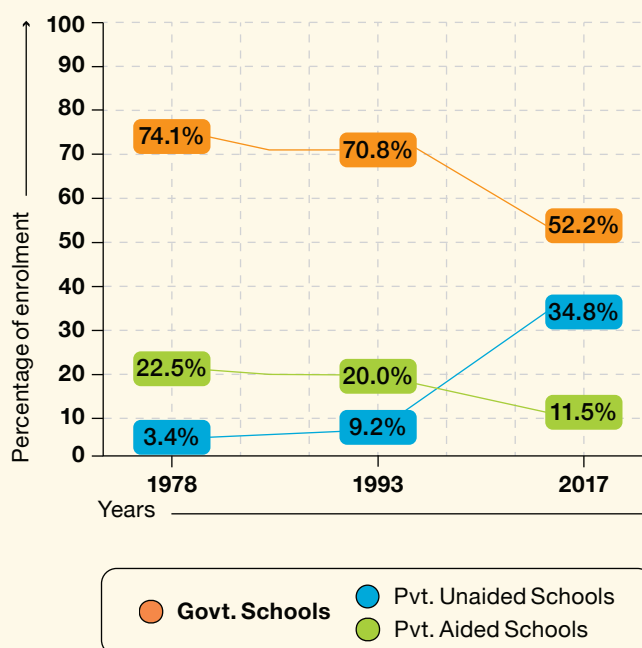
50%

Nearly 50% of all students in India are enrolled today in the 4.5 lakh privately managed schools across the country (U-DISE 2019)

If considered independently, they make up the third-largest school system globally, just behind China and India's public school systems (UIS 2019). Some private schools in India receive government aid, but it is the 'unaided' school sector that has experienced massive growth in the last two decades and today serves 9 crore students (U-DISE 2019).

The sector contributes approximately ₹1.75 lakh crores to the economy (MoSPI 2019)

Figure 1
GROWTH OF SCHOOL ENROLMENT OVER THE YEARS



Source: U-DISE 2019

Given the scale of the sector, the quality of education these schools impart is of immense importance to our human capital development.

Not Just Elite Schools, but not Yet Equal Access

70% of private school students pay less than ₹1000 per month in fees

This growth is driven by parents' demand for better quality education across the board. Contrary to popular belief, the private school sector is no longer the exclusive domain of the elite.



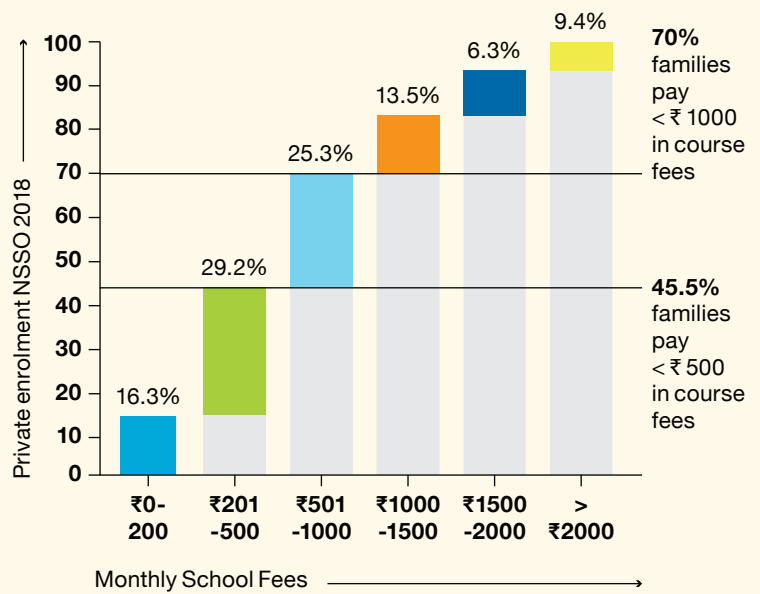
45.5% of students in private schools pay less than ₹ 500 a month as fees, suggesting that the majority of the sector is “low-fee” or “affordable”(MoSPI 2019)

This scale is representative of a citizens’ movement in education. As the country becomes richer, more urban, and more attuned to the workforce needs of the 21st century - including oral English and digital literacy - a nimble, responsive private school sector is likely here to stay.

Despite growing access among the middle class and poor, equity remains a concern

Private schools inherently involve payment for access and serve lower proportions of the poor, girls, and children from Scheduled Castes (SC) and Scheduled Tribes (ST). Significant attempts have been made to improve access to private schools through the Right to Education (RTE) Act Section 12(1)(c), which mandates a 25% reservation in private schools for socio-economically disadvantaged students with the state reimbursing costs to schools. However, the implementation of this act has been spotty across states and has exposed significant design challenges. An evaluation of the RTE Act 12(1)(c) implementation finds that students who enrol in private schools through the provision would likely have gone to private schools even without the RTE.

Figure 2
PROPORTION OF ENROLMENT
AT VARIOUS FEE TIERS



Source: MoSPI 2019

Their learning outcomes are also not significantly better than those who apply for the RTE lotteries but do not get them (Damera 2017). RTE reimbursements have been a challenge for schools with long delays and approvals. Reimbursements for over 3.11 lakh students in 12 states were not approved in 2019-20.¹

Learning Levels

35% of rural private school students in Grade 5 cannot read a basic grade 2 level paragraph

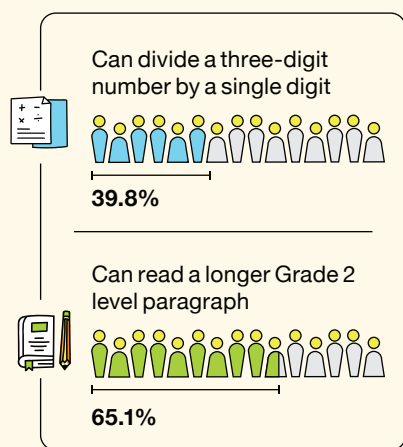
Learning quality, articulated in the National Education Policy (NEP) Draft 2019 as the key goal of the education system, still remains a challenge for all students across sectors. Though parents believe that private schools provide better learning environments for their children, actual student learning outcomes in private schools require much improvement (Azim Premji Research Group 2018, NCERT 2017).

¹ Reasons for non-approval include: states not submitting relevant documents, proposal for anticipated expenditure rather than actual expenditure; pre-primary admissions claimed

Private schools outperform government schools in terms of raw test scores and are much more cost-effective; however, when student background is accounted for, the learning gap narrows (DFID 2015, Muralidharan et al 2015).

Figure 3

MATHS AND READING COMPETENCY OF GRADE 5 CHILDREN IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS



Source: Chavan 2019 (ASER 2018 Report)



The ASER 2018 report shows that 35% of rural private school students in grade 5 cannot read a basic grade 2 level paragraph

More worryingly, learning levels in the private school system have remained stagnant for a decade. This indicates a lack of systemic forces that would lead to an improvement in quality.

Under- and Over-Regulation

Quality may be suffering because learning outcomes are under-regulated in the sector, whereas entry and operations are heavily regulated

Experts have sought to address the conundrum of poor learning levels in an otherwise accountable sector. The private school sector is heterogeneous, complex, and understudied, but existing theory and evidence point to two main culprits.

The first barrier to improving learning outcomes is that while parents care about the quality of learning, it may be hard for them to judge how much their children are learning in school in absolute terms, or how good their school is in comparison to similar schools in their neighbourhoods

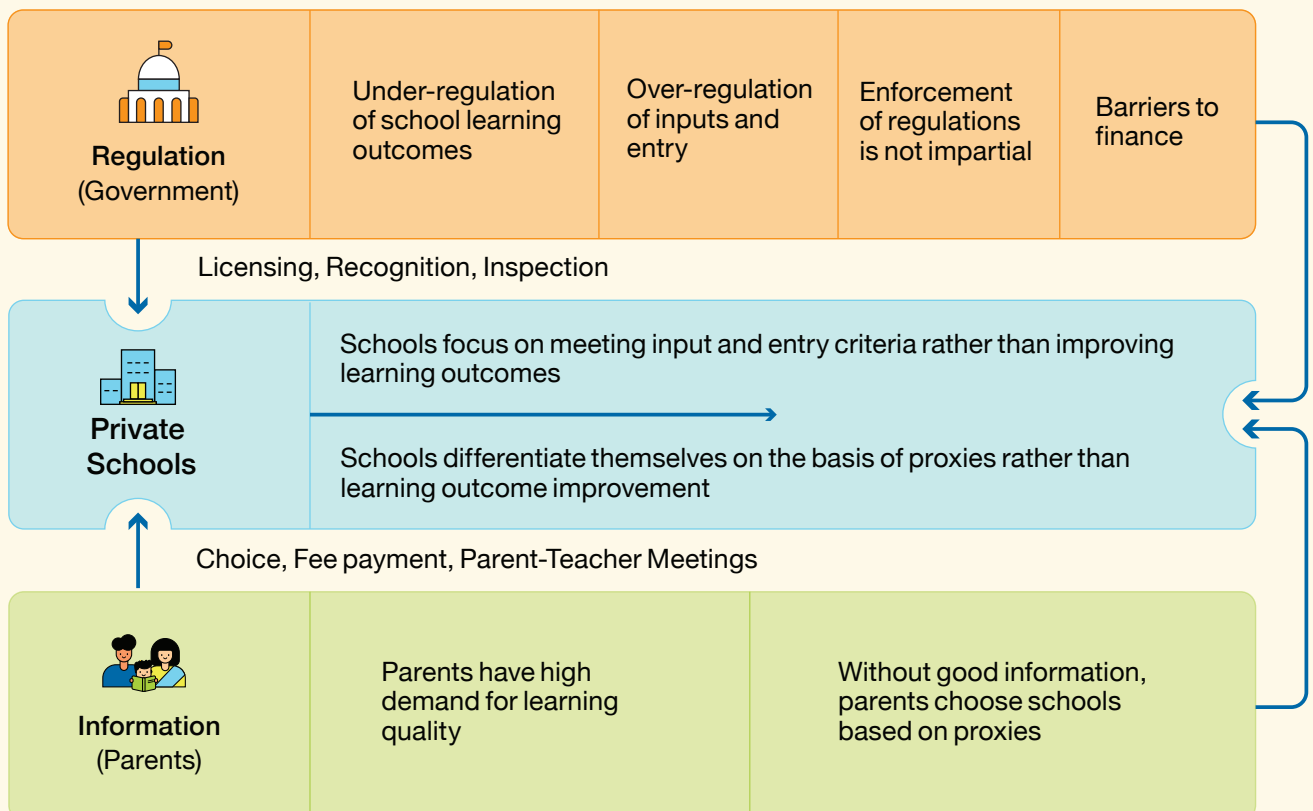
This is particularly true in early grades, and about 60% of all private schools do not extend to a board exam grade at all, making it particularly hard for parents to judge the quality of these schools (U-DISE 2019). This information gap also means that schools are less likely to invest in learning-focused but invisible improvements like teacher training and quality, and more likely to spend on things that are observable by parents but may not lead to much improvement in learning - like computer labs, or marketing that proclaims English-medium instruction.

The second main barrier to improving learning outcomes is the current regulatory structure. These prescribe non-contextual input standards around land, infrastructure and salaries, which are difficult to meet for low-fee, under-resourced schools

For example, standards set for infrastructure or stipulations that teachers in private schools get

paid at par with their government counterparts may not be practical in environments where fees are too low to meet these requirements. Complex regulation is aggravated by the fact that the regulator of private schools is usually the same department that manages the government system, setting up a conflict of interest. The mandate that private schools must operate as non-profit trusts or societies could also lead to unintended consequences such as poor financial records, as well as pose barriers to access to credit or investment. Regulatory prescriptions make entry and operation in the private school sector a challenge that further hinders the difficult task of teaching young students from poor backgrounds (Sampradaan Centre 2004).

Figure 4
DYNAMICS OF THE PRIVATE SCHOOL ECOSYSTEM



Five Pillars of Reform

What can be done to improve learning and equity in private schools?

1



Create a universal learning indicator to help parents compare learning performance across schools and make informed decisions. This could happen through an early grade key stage assessment which develops a universal learning indicator across schools. For e.g, in “X” school, 98 percent of grade 5 students read with comprehension. This universal indicator could be widely disseminated to parents.

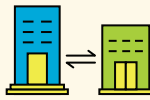
Evidence from South Asian experiments as well as international reforms suggests that this would motivate schools to focus on learning improvement (Andrabi et al 2017, Afridi et al 2017, Murnane et al 2017). This would also be key to informing and empowering parents to demand quality in the long term.

2



Develop a pragmatic accreditation framework that factors in constraints of low fee schools and state capacity to implement while focussing on learning outcomes and child safety. Such a framework would be best leveraged by systematically empanelling independent accreditors, and, once again, disclosing information widely to parents. Parents could then choose,

3



Establish an independent regulatory agency for the private school sector. Assessment and accreditation should be coordinated through a regulatory agency that is independent of the department for education to prevent conflict of interest - in keeping with the principle of separation of powers at the core of regulatory design.

4



Review the non-profit mandate for the education sector and existing fee regulations to attract investment and enable easy access to credit for schools. The government could also explore opening corporate governance structures to private schools to drive greater transparency and accountability. Classifying private schools as micro, small, or medium enterprises could enable higher credit availability for the sector.

5



Strengthen RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) which mandates 25% reservations for underprivileged children to ensure more robust targeting and fee reimbursements. Stronger targeting mechanisms for disadvantaged sections wishing to participate in the scheme are needed, and transparent and direct fee transfers to parents rather than reimbursements to schools will create greater accountability around fund release. These steps will help fulfil the intent of the law and create more equity in access.

Ecosystem Implications

A better regulated private school sector with more informed, empowered parents will make space for a flourishing ecosystem. A quality incentive for schools will lead to an increase in school demand for innovative, learning-focused **service providers** across fields like teacher training, school management, and education technology.

Impact investors could consider funding these service providers, as well as directly funding schools and school chains (if the non-profit requirement for private schools is lifted).

Philanthropists could focus on providing low marginal cost products and services for bottom of the pyramid private schools, as well as building parent demand for learning.

Finally, strengthening the private school ecosystem can also help improve the **government education system**.

Only thoughtful and structural reforms will give the students studying in private schools their best chance at learning. And we cannot make substantial progress towards better learning for India's children without facilitating this chance for the nearly 50% of them in private schools.



The COVID-19 Crisis and Private Schools

COVID-19, with accompanying economic challenges, is likely to have a very serious impact on the private school sector. In the short term, due to stress on parent and school finances, the sector is likely to shrink, with parents shifting their children to more affordable schools, including government schools, and schools with lower liquidity possibly even closing. Along with enrolment, learning will also be affected. Evidence suggests that disasters or shocks leading to school closures may adversely impact student learning even when measured 4 years after the event (Andrabi et al 2020). A preliminary survey finds that learning gaps between low- and high- fee schools are likely to be exacerbated during periods of remote learning. Lower-fee schools are struggling with digital transition due to challenges around household access to digital devices and internet access for teachers. The majority of parents of private school students have been unable to provide their children with study support during this period.

However, in the medium to long term, the factors that have led to private school growth - namely, parent demand for learning quality - will remain, and the sector will revert to its current size or even grow. This crisis provides an opportunity to restructure the sector to focus on learning outcomes. Regulatory reforms have been proposed across sectors to build healthier norms post COVID-19, and private school education should be one of them. Flux in the sector may lead to the exit of the lowest quality providers, and regulatory tweaks in this period will enable a new generation of entrepreneurs to better deliver quality across the pyramid, and allow a healthier, more transparent sector to evolve.

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COVID-19 IMPACT ON PRIVATE SCHOOLS: EXPLORATORY SURVEY

To gather insights around the impact of COVID-19 on the private school ecosystem,² we conducted a preliminary exploratory survey, comprising semi-structured interviews with 90+ stakeholders including schools, teachers, parents and service providers in the private school sector,³ with a particular focus on low-fee schools. Responses were analysed across several themes including learning continuity during the lockdown, school and parent finances, and the role of the government.



School Service Providers

Service providers across most large states and metro cities, working on education technology, pedagogy, teacher training, socio-emotional learning and other solutions.

Respondent Profile



Schools and Teachers

Schools across Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Delhi, Haryana, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Odisha, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh. Over a third of these schools are not in major metros. We spoke to schools charging between ₹ 4,800 - ₹ 1,00,000 annually in fees, with a median monthly fee of ₹ 830 or median annual school fee of ₹ 10,000 for the schools surveyed.



Parents

Parents across Andhra Pradesh, Delhi, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh. Parent occupations include small business owners, domestic help, farmers, workers in small factories, security personnel and tailors. Parents surveyed included both fathers and mothers in roughly equal proportions.

KEY FINDINGS

a) School Finances and Enrolment



Low-fee schools have seen a significant impact on revenue due to school closures, examination postponement, and widespread non-payment of fees for this period.

25%

None of the private schools reported that they collected fees during the lockdown, but around 25% parents report paying fees



Fee collection cycles in private schools depend on the start and end of the school academic year; parents often wait until March-April i.e. till the end-of-year examinations - to pay the academic year's dues



More than 50% school owners surveyed have uncollected fees, to the tune of ₹ 4 lakh to ₹ 4.8 crore, due from the previous year, accounting for 13% to 80% of annual revenue

² One such organization, Global School Leaders and its country partners including India-based Alokit conducted a study with responses from 1833 government and private schools across the world with 291 responses from India. Nearly half of the school leaders from India expressed concerns over online teaching. [Link to GSL Report, Indian School Leaders' response to COVID19- Alokit](#)

³ Interviews were conducted with 30 school leaders, 24 teachers, 24 parents and 18 service providers over 3 weeks



Some states including Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra ordered schools to refrain from collecting fees during the lockdown, forcing schools to forgo a large share of their annual fees and not just the monthly fee for March and April⁴



Haryana, Telangana, Delhi and Madhya Pradesh allowed schools to charge only the tuition fee and Maharashtra warned schools of strict action if they withheld staff salaries during the lockdown⁵



Nearly 50% school leaders are considering a shift in pricing models in the upcoming year. They mentioned fee discounts/ fee deferrals, pay cuts for staff and increasing class sizes as possible ideas



Financial distress for schools will continue even after re-opening as they anticipate drop in enrolments. A significant proportion of parents surveyed say they may have to switch schools for the coming academic year.



Enrolment in private schools may decrease in the short term

- Thousands of families migrated to their hometowns during the lockdown and might not re-enrol their children in the same schools next year
- Some parents might enrol their children in government schools for this academic year
- If the economic crisis worsens, private schools with little liquidity may be forced to shut down



Teachers and service providers, who depend on schools for their livelihood, have experienced significant financial impact due to loss in school revenue.



Nearly 50% teachers didn't receive their salary for March despite schools closing only in mid-March



Less than 20% teachers from private schools continued to receive their salaries after March



A few teachers in Telangana have found other means to earn their wages in the interim, including agriculture work, enrolling in MNREGA programs⁶ and manual labour⁷



School service providers rely on the school fee cycle and the timing of the closure has affected their revenues⁸

b) Learning Continuity



While the majority of schools are attempting digital transitions through low-tech, Whatsapp based tools or video classes, only 33% parents can support their children with digital education, and none of the teachers surveyed find current forms of online instruction effective.



Research suggests that disasters or shocks leading to school closures may adversely impact student learning even when measured 4 years after the events⁹

⁴ Bhatkhande, Ankita, "Maharashtra schools warned of action if they sack teachers or hold salaries," Hindustan Times, May 30, 2020, [Link](#); "Take action against private schools collecting fees: Ramadoss," The Hindu, May 10, 2020, [Link](#)

⁵ "Delhi Schools Told to Charge Only One Month's Tuition Fee at a Time," The Wire, April 17, 2020, [Link](#); "Haryana CM orders private schools to charge only tuition fee," The Economic Times, April 24, 2020, [Link](#); Jha, Shuchita, "Private schools of Madhya Pradesh to only charge tuition fee for lockdown period, says CM," The Times Of India, May 16, 2020, [Link](#); Bhatkhande, "Maharashtra schools warned of action if they sack teachers or hold salaries"; Parasa, Rajeswari, "Pvt schools manipulating govt order to collect extra fees, parents in Telangana allege," The News Minute, May 31, 2020, [Link](#)

⁶ Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act

⁷ Parasa, Rajeswari, "Private school teachers in Telangana turn to daily wage work amid COVID-19 crisis," The News Minute, May 22, 2020, [Link](#)

⁸ Organisations working on curriculum, teacher training, co-curricular activities, assessments and providing school loans were interviewed for this survey

⁹ Andrabi, Tahir, Benjamin Daniels, and Jishnu Das. 2020. "Human Capital Accumulation and Disasters: Evidence from the Pakistan Earthquake of 2005." RISE Working Paper Series. 20/039. [Link](#)



Schools started using digital learning platforms to ensure learning continues during the lockdown

- More than 66% of the surveyed private schools have adopted Whatsapp as the mode for digital provision of teaching
- Schools are worried about enforcing online learning and setting in place accountability systems since many students don't have access to smartphones and internet¹⁰



Teachers have adapted to online teaching and monitoring through Whatsapp groups even with reduced or no pay during the lockdown

- Nearly 50% teachers engage in teaching-learning through Whatsapp

Teachers felt that slow learners and younger children were most affected by this shift due to the lack of personalised attention and the absence of immediate feedback



Parents have new roles to support home-based learning through online tools including allocating screen time, managing learning environment and supporting younger children with learning tasks

- Nearly 33% parents can support their children with online learning at home
- Parents opine that key barriers to online learning are the lack of one on one teacher interaction, and managing learning discipline, especially for younger children



Service providers quickly adapted to stay engaged with schools and parents by tweaking their existing solutions, adding technology-based products and providing complementary services

- Some providers pivoted to support teachers and school leaders with tools for online teaching
- Service providers are attempting to provide low-cost products, with some pegging the latter at the schools' typical transport fee
- Organisations working on socio-emotional skills have curricula and resources to support teachers and students with the skills required to navigate the current crisis
- Initial feedback on digital learning products seems promising. Though not seen as effective substitutes, teachers and parents feel they may be useful supplements to in-class learning

c) Crisis Policy Response



Private schools require urgent support on both the learning and financial fronts, in the form of:



Active dissemination of EdTech products and learning solutions, e.g. DIKSHA, to private schools



Relaxation of regulatory restrictions on operations and fees to allow the sector to recover from losses



Easy credit availability to private schools by including them as Micro, Small, or Medium enterprises (MSMEs) so they can avail of loan guarantees

¹⁰ Koshy, Sneha Mary, "Unable To Join Online Classes, Kerala Schoolgirl Commits Suicide: Cops," NDTV, June 2, 2020, [Link](#)



A QUICK PRIMER: INDIA'S SCHOOLING SYSTEM

India's schooling system¹¹, the second largest in the world (UIS 2020), caters to 25.1 crore students. As of 2017-18, India's schooling system would be the fifth most populous country in the world on its own.

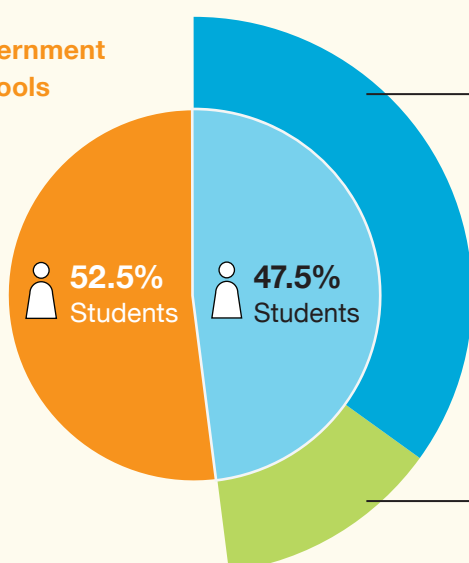


Government schools¹² are entirely financed and run by concerned government bodies.
10.9 lakh schools | **13.1** crore students



Privately managed¹³ schools are not run by a government body. They may be financed philanthropically, through parent fees or through government aid.
4.6 lakh schools | **11.9** crore students

Government Schools



Private Unaided Schools

Privately managed and financed entirely through private funds.

3.5 lakh schools | **8.7** crore students

34.8% students

Privately Managed Schools



Private Aided Schools

Privately managed but receive financial support from the Government.

84,422 schools | **2.8** crore students

11.2% students

Source: **Unified District Information System for Education, (U-DISE), 2017-18, UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2020.**

¹¹ Classes 1 to 12

¹² Including state education department-run, municipal or local body-run, tribal or social welfare department-run, or central government-run schools

¹³ Privately Managed schools include recognized unaided schools, government aided schools, unrecognized schools, and schools administered by religious organisations. Since unrecognized private schools and madarasas account for less than 2% of students each, they have not been included in this overview of types of privately managed schools.



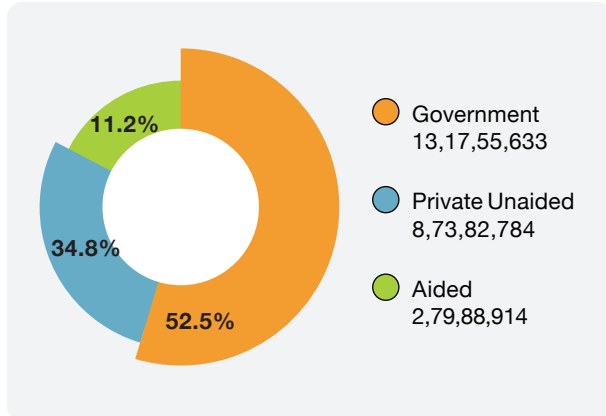
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In Numbers: Private Schools in India

Understanding the growth, demographics, and learning quality of the private school sector

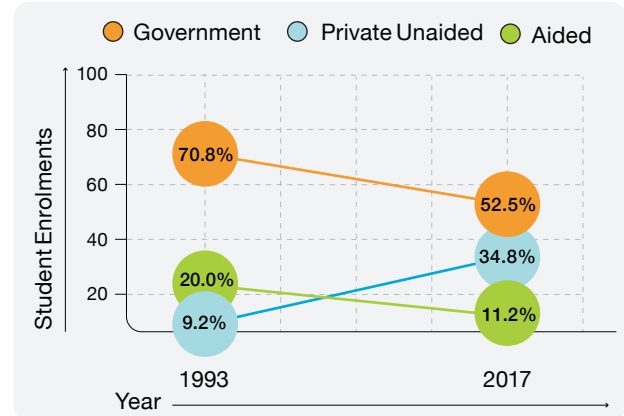
Growth of Private Schools

1. **47.5%** of students in **India** attend **private schools**. India's private school sector is the 3rd largest school system in the world.



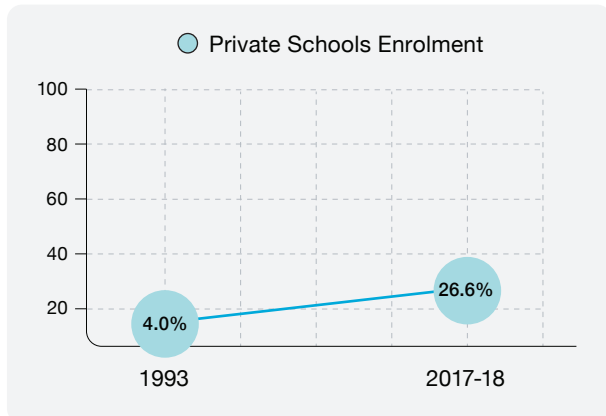
Source: **U-DISE 2019**

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has **grown rapidly** over the last twenty-five years.



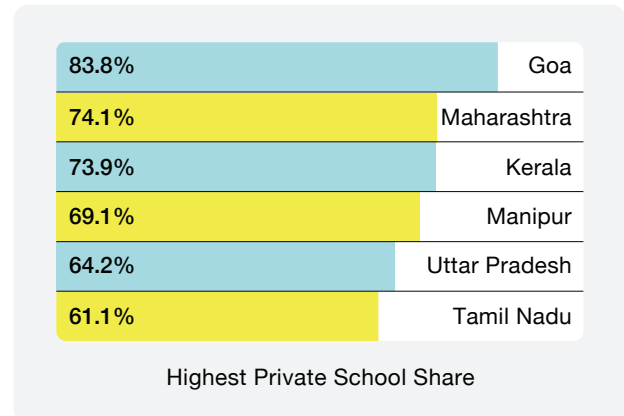
Source: **NCERT, U-DISE**

3. **73%** of students in urban areas attend private schools. Rural private school enrolments have risen greatly in the last two and a half decades



Source: **NCERT, U-DISE**

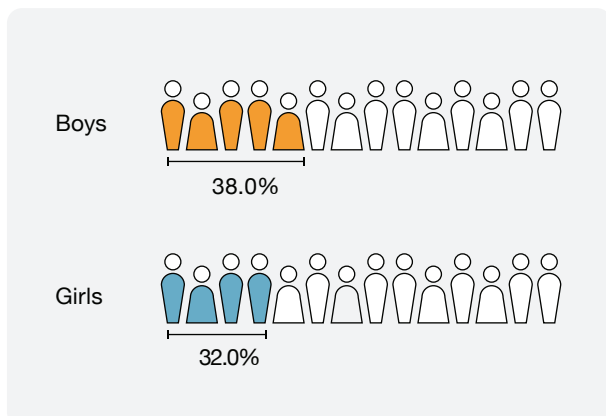
4. **16** states have over **50%** of students in private schools. The following 6 states have the greatest enrolment share.



Source: **U-DISE 2019**

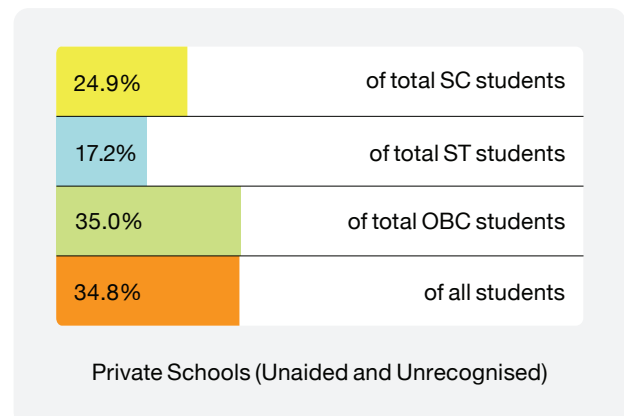
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **38%** of **boys** attend private unaided schools, while **32%** of **girls** attend private unaided schools.



Source: **U-DISE 2019**

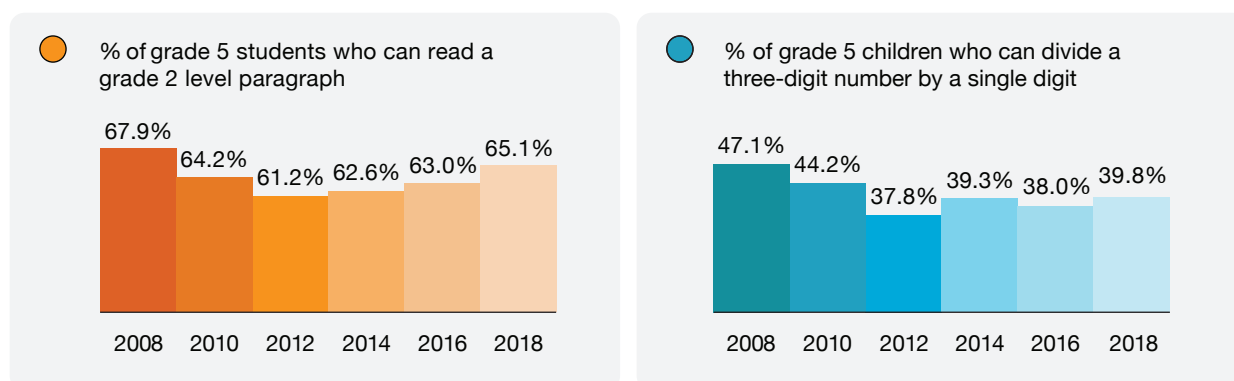
2. A smaller share of **SCs and STs** attend private schools than the national average.



Source: **U-DISE 2019**

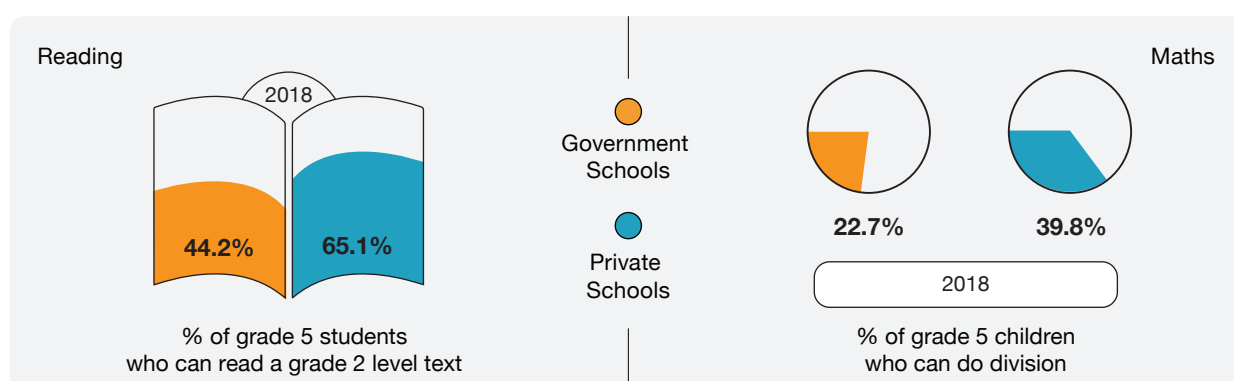
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the **last 10 years**, reading levels in India's rural private schools have stayed the same, while arithmetic skills have worsened.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Children in India's **private** schools perform better than their **government** counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination for all schools.

Institutional Source	Act, Judgement, or Rule	Governance	Infrastructure	Operations	Finance	Learning Disclosure
Central legislation	Societies Registration Act, 1860; Indian Trusts Act, 1882; Companies Act, 2013	✓			✓	
	Right to Education Act (RTE), 2009	✓	✓	✓		
State Legislation	State Education Acts/Rules	✓	✓	✓		
	Fee Regulation Act/Bill (In 13 states) (NCPCR, n.d.)				✓	
Courts	Multiple court judgements				✓	
Boards	CBSE, ICSE, State Boards, NIOS		✓			✓

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided, aided and unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" U-DISE 2017-18; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

CHAPTER 1

Growth of Private Schools

Examination March 2020

Class - Nur	Maths	English	M.M
11	5/0		
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Remains available @

KEY TAKEAWAYS

1



12 crore students, nearly half of India's school-going children, study in private schools. Any significant improvement in overall learning outcomes requires attention to these students



By itself, India's private schooling system is the **third-largest school system** in the world



In **16 Indian states**, over **50%** of students attend private schools



Aggregate household spend on private unaided schooling in the country is ₹ **1.75 lakh crores**



The rapid growth in private schooling has been led by private unaided schools, which are financed and run independently of the government. Their share increased from **9% in 1993 to 35% in 2017**

2



Contrary to popular perception, most private schools are low-fee schools and are widespread across both urban and rural India



45% of private unaided school students paid less than ₹ 500 per month in fees in 2018



27% of rural students attend private schools, up from less than 5% in 1993



70% paid less than ₹ 1000 per month in fees



Over 70% of all urban students attend private schools

3



73% of parents report that they prefer private schools because they want better learning for their children



VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Rising Private School Enrolments

A board with numerous pictures of smiling children and an announcement of the start of the admission process for a private school marks the entry into Kashipura village in Karnataka's drought-prone Mulbagal region. Set amidst fields of tomatoes, leafy green, fallow lands and mango plantations, the agrarian village comprises three schools: a 34-year-old government lower primary school that is barely conspicuous, a 28-year-old private aided high school tucked behind a small gateway, and a 15-year-old private school that brands itself in numerous posters in the village as an "international school."

Kashipura is an archetype of the remarkable change in the way children are being educated in the past two decades. The government school, which once taught over 60 students annually, now has nine students. The private aided school, with a sanctioned strength of 103 students, has just 40 students on its rolls. On the other hand, the private "international school" has 182 children, with the demand during admission season outstripping its capacity.

A teacher in the private aided school reflects:



When the school was started in the 90s, there was perhaps one private school in the entire taluk (administrative block). Now, within five kilometres, one can find four mammoth private schools. There is an inexplicable craze among parents to enrol their children in private schools.... Only those who can't get admissions there, enrol their wards in our school.



I. INTRODUCTION

The emergence of a significant private school sector reflects an underlying demand among people that the public education system is unable to meet. Data shows that parents are increasingly choosing to send their children to private schools, despite the significant additional expenses private education entails. This demand is spread across the spectrum of socio-economic groups (Pande and Dubey, n.d.).

This chapter explores the rapid growth of the unaided private schools market in India, both in terms of size and the factors driving this demand. It also discusses the historical growth and shifts in private schooling, starting from the colonial period when private education was widespread. It gave way to the emergence of government and private aided schools after independence, followed by growth of a robust and sizable private unaided sector between the 70s and the present. Further, it examines the nature and composition of today's private unaided school sector - its fee distribution, the size of schools on average, the sector's geographic spread in urban and rural areas, its varying presence in states, and the grade levels it serves across primary, secondary, and higher secondary. Finally, this chapter examines the demand and supply for private schools. It examines the complex set of factors that lead parents to choose private schools, and the relatively small literature on school founder motivations and school financial models.

II. EVOLUTION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLING IN INDIA

a) Pre-Independence

Before 1947, the state was not an active provider of education, due to lack of will and funding from the British government (Mondal 2017). During this period, education was transacted “non-formally” and entirely privately through traditional or religiously affiliated institutions such as gurukuls, madrasas, missionary run schools, and labour linked apprenticeships (Singh 2013). After independence, there was a heavy emphasis on expansion of government provision of education (Singh 2013). Over the next three decades, even the private sector was predominated by government-backed private aided schools.¹⁴ As seen in Figure 1.1, while private schools overall enrolled more than 25% students in 1978, 22.5% were in private aided schools and just 3.4% were in private unaided schools (NCERT 1982).

b) The Rebirth and Growth of Private Unaided Education

These proportions have shifted significantly from the end of the twentieth century to the present. Government enrolment share has fallen from 74% in 1978 to 53% in 2017, and nearly 50% of students attend private schools today. Within private schools, the share of private aided school enrolment has nearly halved in this period, going from 23% to 11%.

¹⁴ Note: Private aided schools are privately managed and staffed through the same channels as government schools.



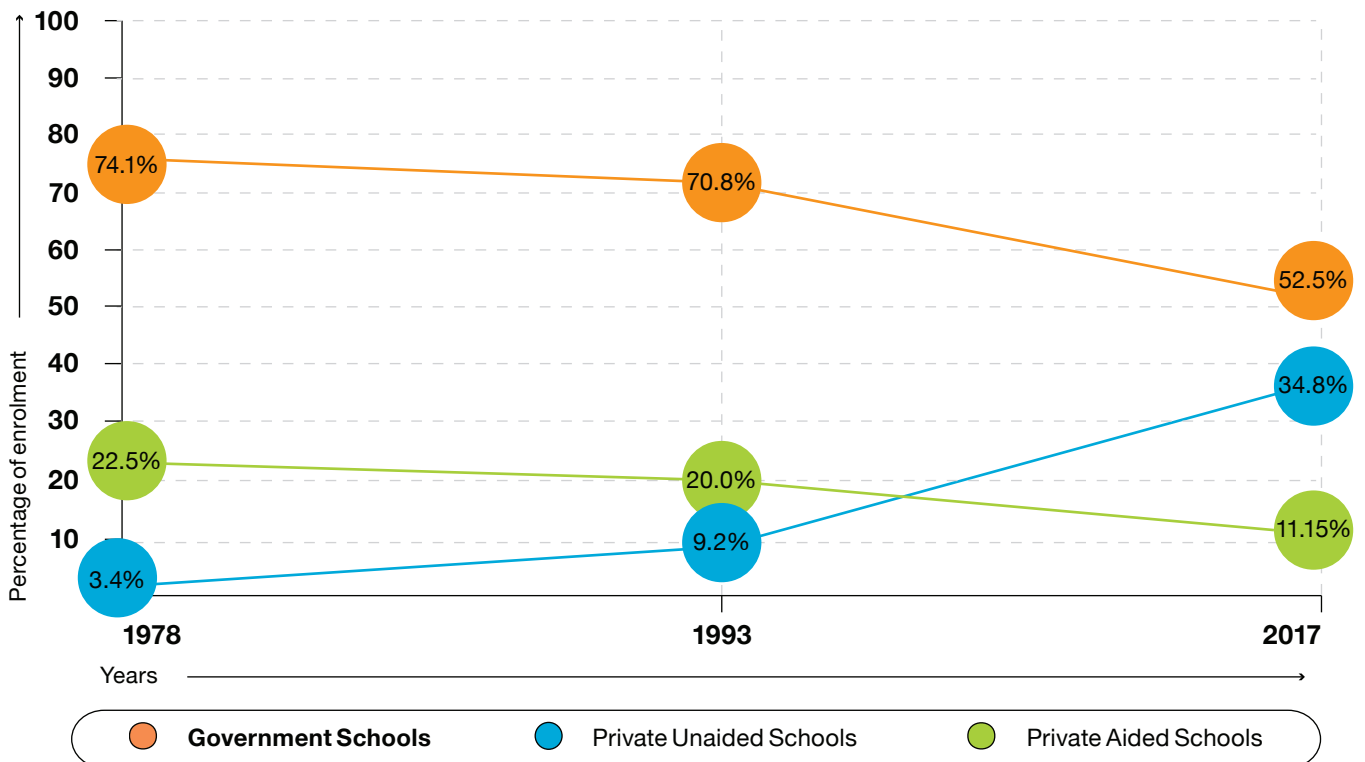
As seen in Figure 1.1, the proportion of students enrolled in private unaided schools has risen dramatically, from 3% to 35% in the last 4 decades.¹⁵

Enrolment in private unaided schools rose most sharply at the turn of this millennium, following the economic liberalization that raised incomes in the early nineties (Venkatanarayanan 2015). Enrolment in private unaided schools grew by 5.8 percentage points between 1978 and 1993 and even more rapidly, by 25.6 percentage points between 1993 and 2017.¹⁶

Between 1973 and 2017, enrolments in private unaided schools grew 33 times (NCERT 1978, U-DISE 2019).

Though this growth seems to have plateaued over the last 2 years, this is a sector which now serves a significant proportion of all students in India. If considered on its own, it is the third largest school system in the world just behind China's school system and India's public education system (UIS 2020).

Figure 1.1
GROWTH OF SCHOOL ENROLMENT OVER THE YEARS

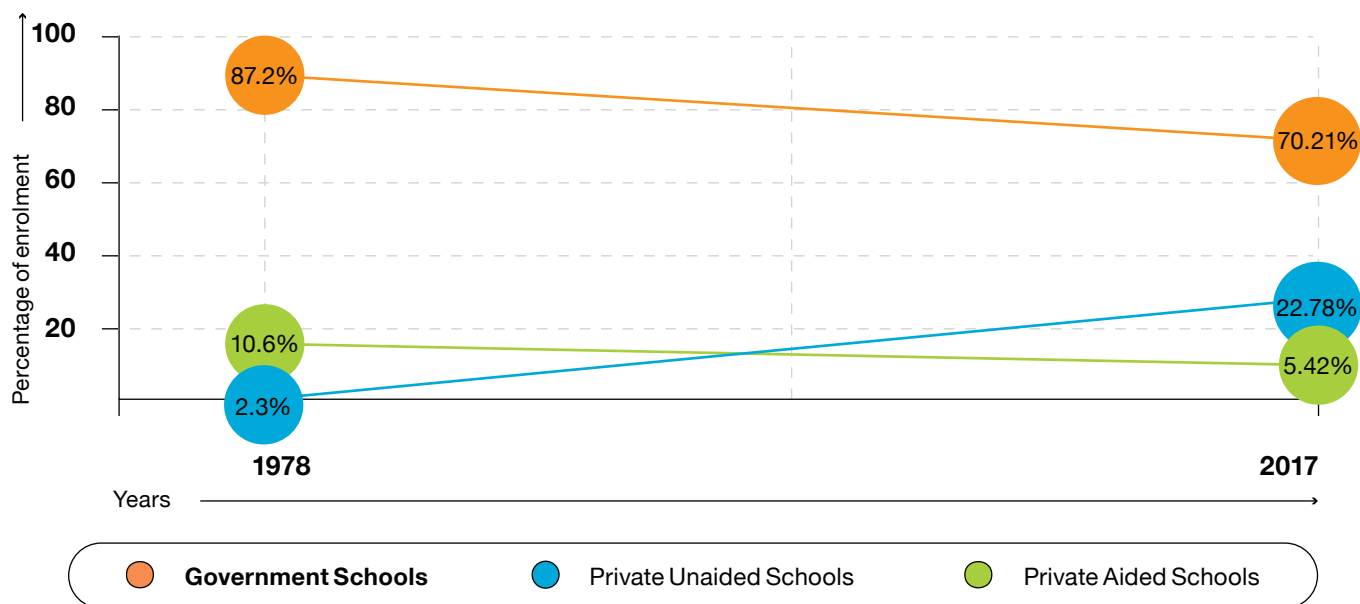


Source: NCERT, U-DISE

¹⁵ U-DISE data for unrecognized schools is not available for the year 1978.

¹⁶ U-DISE data for years between 2002 and 2012 is only available for elementary grades, and hence has been excluded.

Figure 1.2
GROWTH OF SCHOOLS BY MANAGEMENT OVER THE YEARS¹⁷



Source: NCERT, U-DISE



III. THE PRIVATE UNAIDED SCHOOL SECTOR TODAY - ACROSS FEE LEVELS, GEOGRAPHIES, GRADE LEVELS

The private unaided school sector is highly heterogeneous, and we examine this heterogeneity across fee levels, states, urban and rural areas, size, and grade levels.

¹⁷ Data for AISES reports between 1978-2002 exclude unrecognised schools. U-DISE data for years between 2002 and 2012 is only available for elementary grades, and hence has been excluded.

a) Fee Levels in Private Schools

Though the popular perception of private schools is of schools that serve higher income families and charge very high fees, such schools constitute a tiny sliver of the sector. Analysis of NSSO 2018 data suggests that the monthly median fee in an elementary private unaided school is ₹ 958 in urban India and ₹ 500 in rural India.

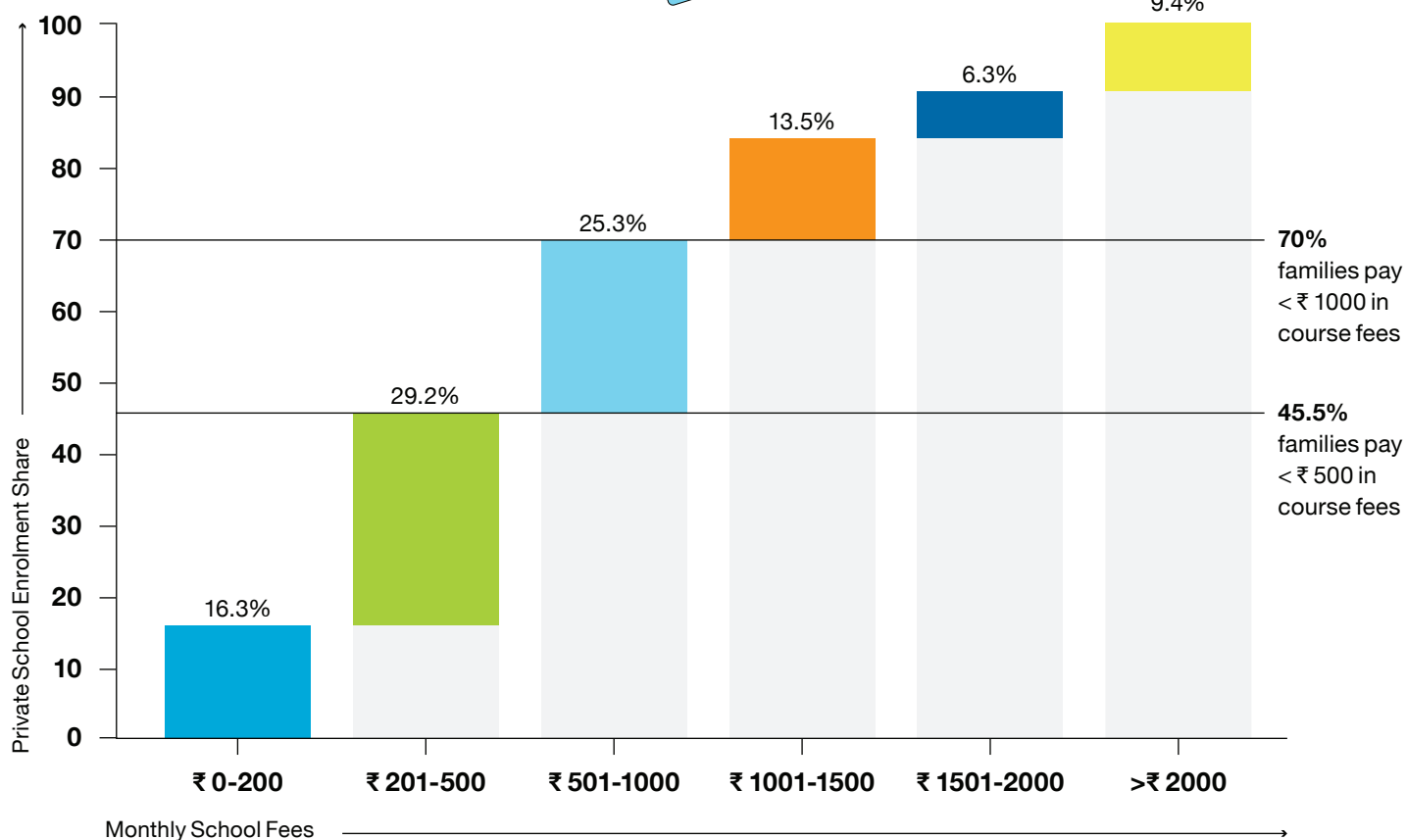


Nationally, over 45% of all students studying in private schools pay less than ₹ 500 per month, while schools where parents pay more than ₹ 2,000 per month constitute less than 10% of the private schools sector (MoSPI 2019).

A large proportion of private schools thus fall into the loosely defined category often referred to as “affordable private schools,” “low-fee private schools,” or “budget private schools.”

Figure 1.3

PROPORTION OF ENROLMENT AT VARIOUS FEE TIERS



Source: MoSPI 2019



VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Low-Fee Private Schools

Colourful cartoons of school children, cows and rainbows mark the corner house as a school in the narrow gullies of Indiranagar in Lucknow. The low-income area is home to those who eke out a living as mechanics, electricians, daily-wage labourers and other blue-collar service workers. The nearest government school is over a kilometre away, and cannot cater to the thousands of children residing in this densely-populated colony.

A private school started in 2012 in a rented house. “The private schools in the city were attended by students from the middle class. There were hardly any school options for the poor. There was a big gap and we wanted to fill it,” the school owner said.

Now, over 500 students attend elementary school in the small, dingy house. The school fee starts at ₹ 400 for the youngest children and ₹ 700 for the senior-most pupils. “This is perhaps the limit that we can charge as our children come from poor homes,” said the owner.

Every afternoon, Mubarak, who works as a welder, arrives in his motorcycle to pick up his child who studies in grade 2.

Mubarak explains his decision to enrol his son in a private school:



We wanted our son’s first school to be a private school even when he was a little boy. He can learn better there. Luckily, this school was nearby and it is affordable for us.



b) Enrolment Shifts Across Levels of Education

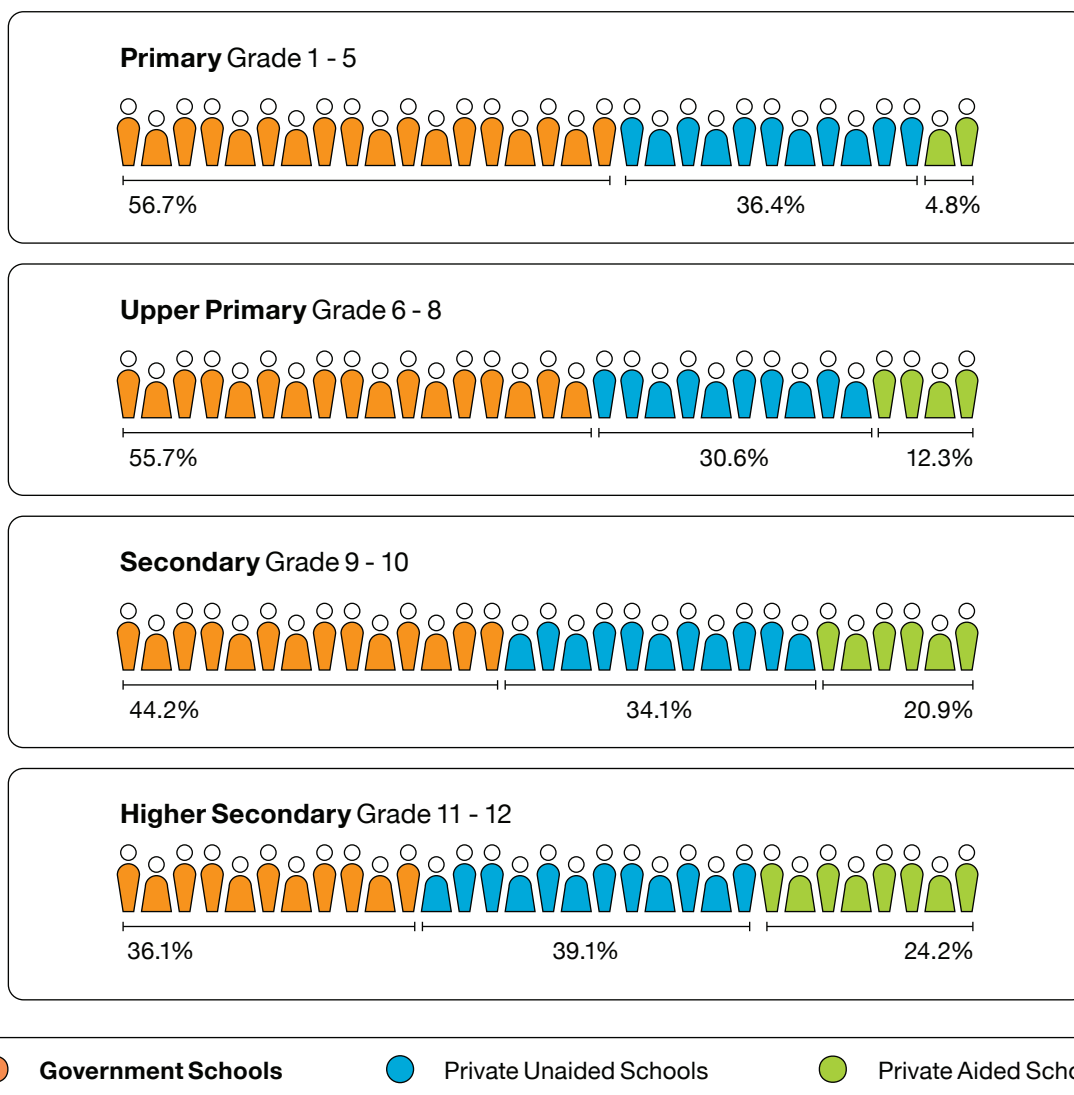
Is private schooling more prevalent in any particular grades? Government schools have a small majority in primary and upper primary school enrolments, that reverses in higher grades.

In secondary and higher secondary grades, privately managed schools have an enrolment share of 59% (U-DISE 2019).

There is an increase of 8 percentage points between secondary and higher secondary grades, as seen in Figure 1.4. This increase is led by the private aided schools segment. Increasing private enrolment as students grow older might have to do with a greater government focus on primary schooling, as well as perceived performance of private schools in critical school board examinations and the willingness of parents to pay for what they believe is better quality education (MHRD, n.d.).

Figure 1.4

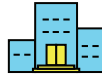
GRADE LEVEL ENROLMENT IN SCHOOLS OF DIFFERENT MANAGEMENT TYPES



Source: U-DISE 2019

c) Private Schools in Urban and Rural Areas

Historically, the rise of private schools has been centred around urban areas, due to a range of factors including demand for English-medium schooling, a slow public infrastructure-oriented response to rapidly increasing urban density and the ease of access to private schooling in dense areas (Baird 2009).



In 2017-18, 73% of urban students studied outside government-run schools, in private unaided and aided institutions. Amongst the students attending private schools, 55% were enrolled in private unaided schools (U-DISE 2019).

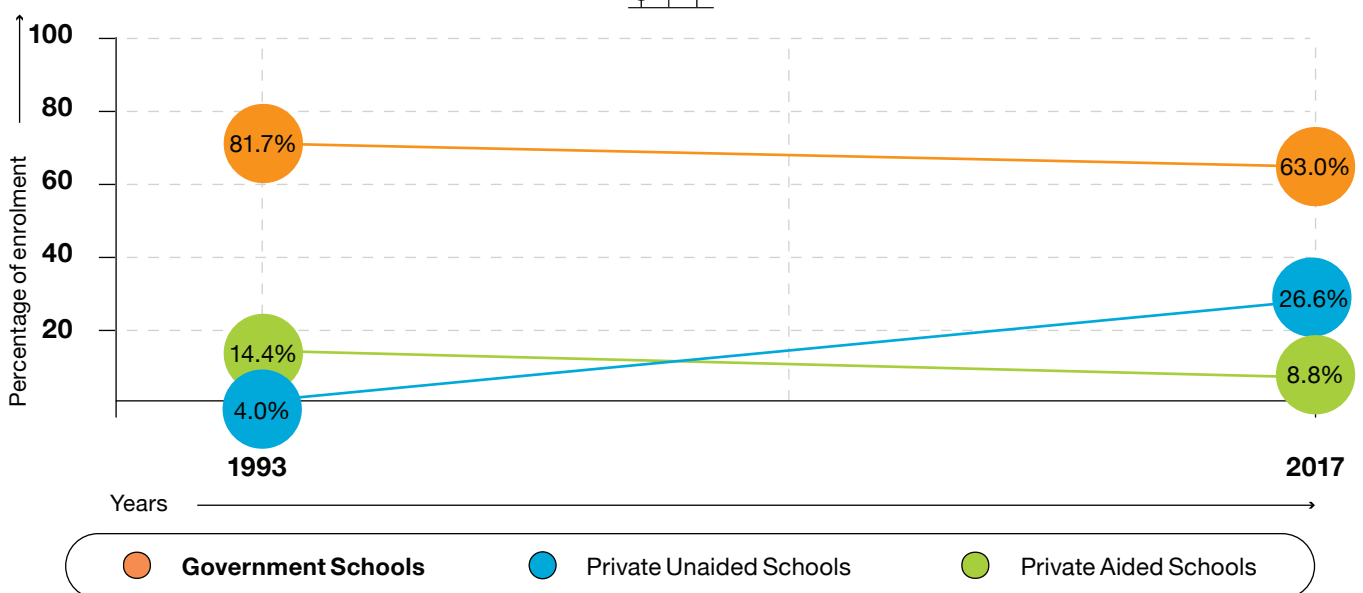
Yet private schooling is not simply an urban phenomenon. In the past four decades, rural enrolment in private schools has rapidly risen.

Enrolments in private unaided schools in rural India rose exponentially from 1.6% in 1973 to 27% in 2017 (NCERT 1979, U-DISE 2019).

Post liberalization, between 1993 and 2017, there has been a 23 percentage point increase in enrolment in rural private unaided schools, as seen in Figure 1.5. Rising rural incomes, greater availability of both private and government services, better roads and better access to electricity in villages have all facilitated the growth of private schools in rural India (Pal 2010).

Figure 1.5

SCHOOL ENROLMENT IN RURAL AREAS¹⁸



Source: NCERT, U-DISE

¹⁸ Data for unrecognized schools is not available for the year 1993.

d) Average Private School Size and Span Ratios

Private schools tend to be larger, on average, than government schools. There are management advantages that come with greater enrolment numbers - larger schools can have improved teacher-grade ratios, better and more feasible management spans linked to better accountability, and for older grades, a greater number of specialized teachers. In contrast, government policies promoting access to primary schools by positioning them within a kilometre of habitations, have resulted in many more small government schools.

As of 2017-18, an average private unaided school has 246 students on their rolls. An average government school, on the other hand, has 120 children per school (U-DISE 2019).

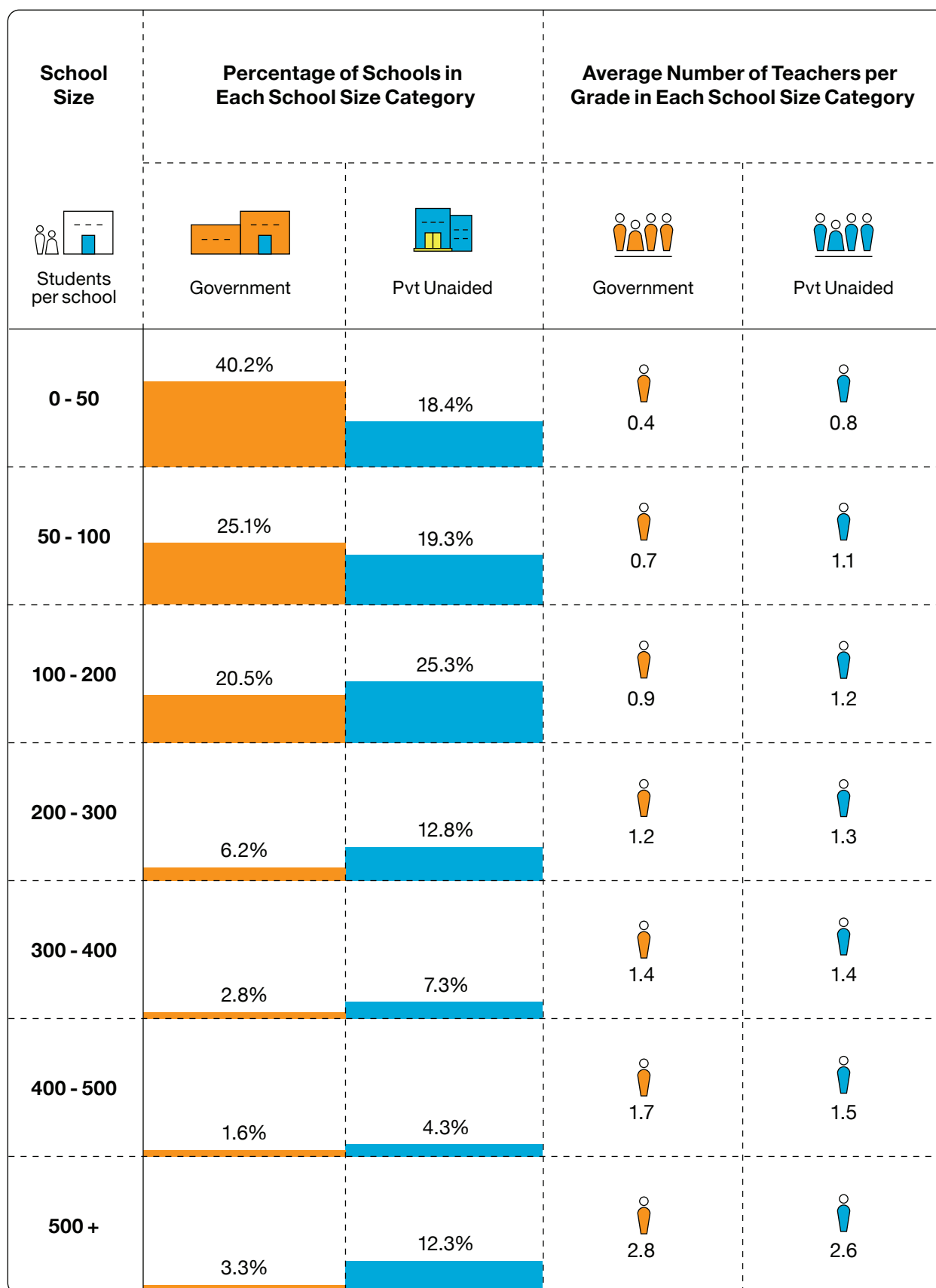
While only 37.7% of private unaided schools have less than 100 children, 65% of government schools have less than 100 students, as seen in Figure 1.6. Smaller school size increases the likelihood of multigrade teaching.

While 81.4% of private schools have at least one teacher per grade, 88% of government schools struggle to match this provision (U-DISE 2019).

In classrooms with two grades grouped together, teachers are routinely required to teach in situations where there could easily be a gap of four to five years in both age and learning levels between students in a single group (Bhattacharjea 2013). Teachers and learners both struggle to ensure effective learning in a mixed ability classroom (Nusrat 2017).

Private schools may also grow by adding more schools through the development of a chain, and here too management advantages may be seen. While good evidence on chain schools is missing, a small study suggests that India's school chains have a median of four schools within them (Crawford 2019). The proportion of chain schools within the ecosystem is believed to be small, and confined to middle- and high-fee schools.

Figure 1.6
TEACHER-GRADE RATIOS



Source: U-DISE 2019

e) Private Schools Across States

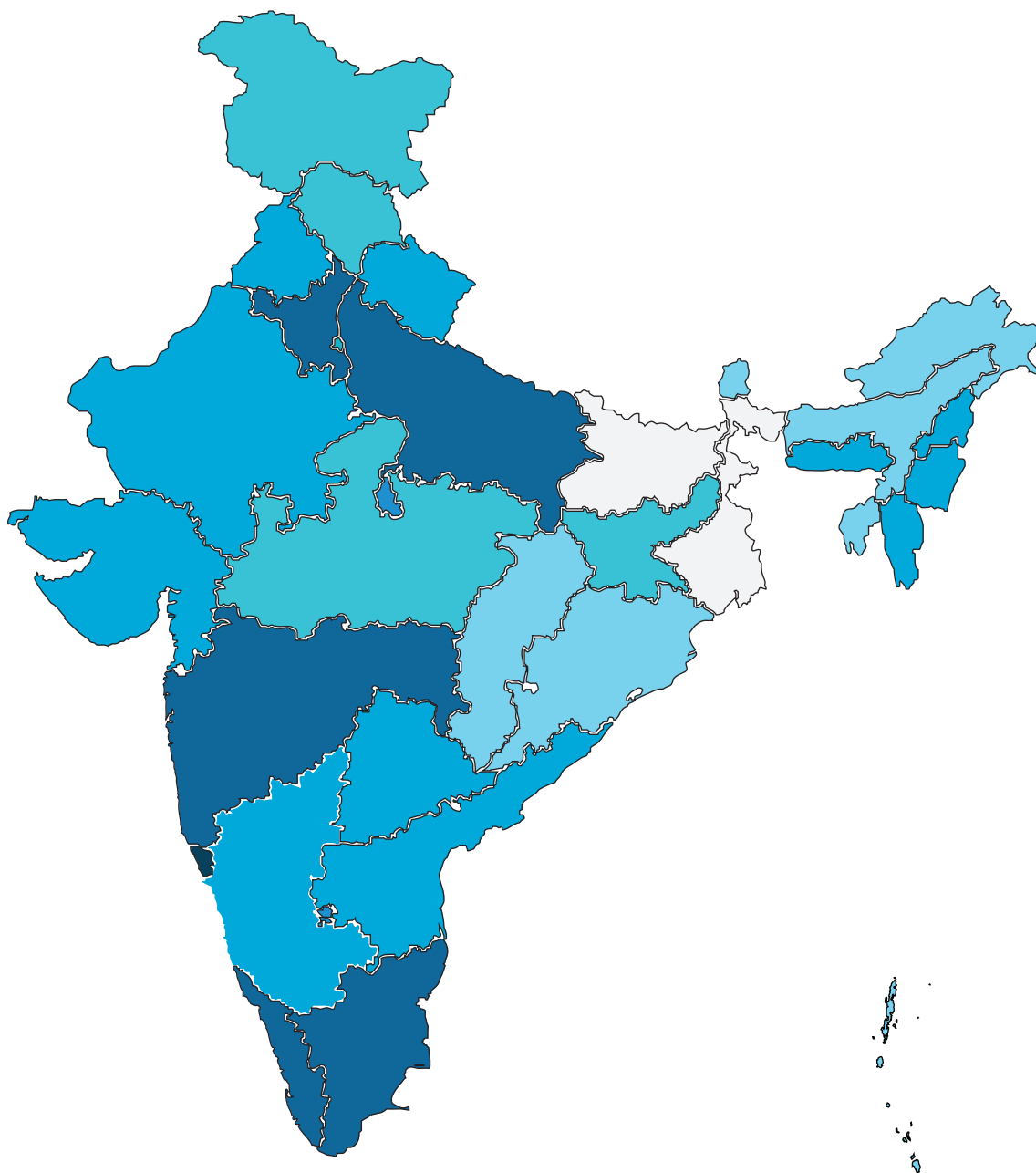
50%

16 out of 36 states and union territories have more than 50% of students attending privately managed schools (U-DISE 2019).

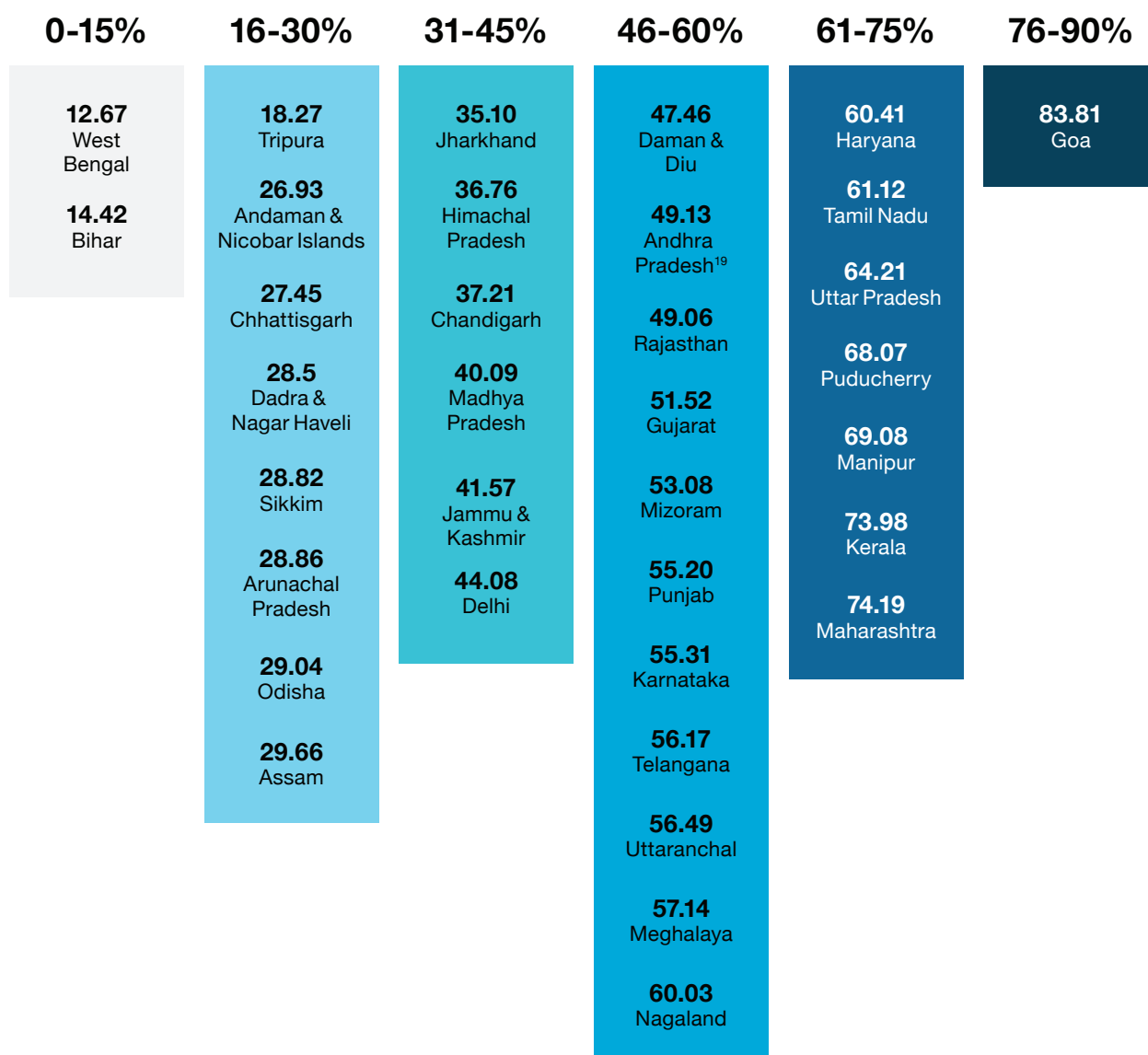
Six of these - Manipur, Nagaland, Haryana, Puducherry, Telangana and Punjab - have over 50% of their students attending unaided schools alone (U-DISE 2019).

Figure 1.7

PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLMENT SHARE BY STATE



PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLMENT SHARE BY STATE



Source: U-DISE 2019

The rate of proliferation of private schools in states defies simple explanations. It is likely driven by a complex set of factors including state-level regulations, access to credit and land, the local political economy of private schooling, per-capita incomes, the quality of government schools and implementation of the RTE Act, 2009, among others. As can be seen from the map above - private unaided school enrolment share is high in Uttar Pradesh, which is among the states with low per capita income; yet, it is also high in the high per-capita income states of Punjab and Haryana. Enrolment share remains low in states with lower per capita incomes like Bihar, Assam and Odisha - although even these states have seen significant increases in private enrolments in recent years (U-DISE 2019). In rural Himachal Pradesh, however, despite greater purchasing power there are fewer private schools, possibly due to the relatively better performance of government schools.

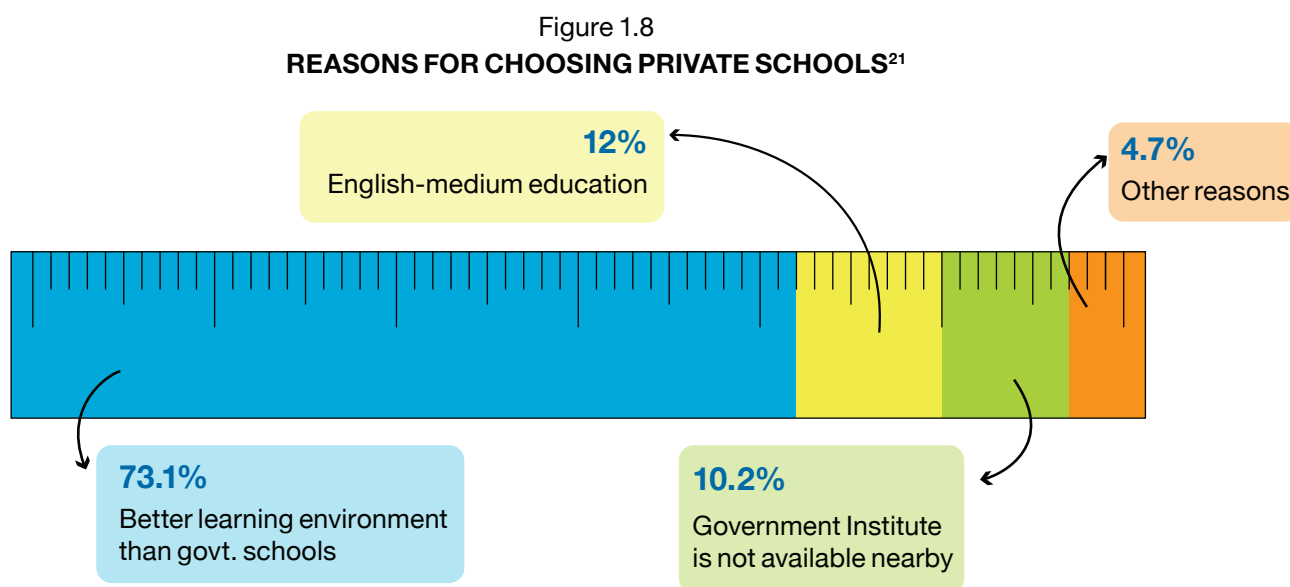
¹⁹ Andhra Pradesh was bifurcated in 2013. The growth rate of private school enrolment is represented as undivided Andhra Pradesh. The two states have been clubbed as Undivided Andhra Pradesh for trends in enrolment since 2012.

IV. WHY DO PARENTS CHOOSE PRIVATE SCHOOLS?

An often proffered reason for the rise of private schools is the lure of English-medium education. However, the rapid national growth of the private unaided school sector appears to be largely driven by parent demand for quality.

NSSO survey results reveal that 73% of parents choose private schools because these schools provide a better quality of education.

12% of parents choose these schools for English-medium instruction, and 10% choose schools for their proximity.²⁰



Source: MoSPI 2015

a) Demand for Quality

There is ambiguity over what the NSS means by “better learning environments,” but another smaller-scale study also validates that the most important factor for parents is “teaching-learning,” suggesting that cognitive and academic factors are truly highly influential for them (Azim Premji Research Group 2018). The perception among parents that private schools have better learning environments is marginally higher in rural areas than in urban centres (MoSPI 2015). NSSO data shows that the perception that private schools offer a better learning environment is also higher among parents whose children are in primary school and reduces for parents whose children are in secondary and higher secondary sections.

²⁰ The 71st round of NSSO in 2014 tabulates reasons for preference of private schools over government schools. Over 31,000 responses from those studying in private schools were enumerated against a set list of private school preferences. While the 75th round of NSSO conducted in 2017 also asked respondents for their reasons for attending private schools, this data has not yet been made public.

²¹ Note: Calculated based on estimated responses for primary, upper primary, secondary and higher secondary in Rural + Urban areas. The categories “better learning environment” and “quality of education in government schools is not good” were grouped since they both pertained to demand for learning quality.

For many parents, their preference for private schooling is also influenced by their perception of the quality of learning in government schools. Numerous studies have suggested that perceived failures of the government school system might be associated with the increasing demand for private education. Parents are more likely to send their children to private schools when the public school in their village displays both high levels of teacher absenteeism and has a high Pupil-Teacher Ratio (Pal 2010). A study suggests that while absenteeism did exist in private schools, teachers in private schools were eight percentage points less likely to be absent than government school teachers in the same village (Kremer et al 2005).

b) Preference for English-Medium

To parents, English-medium education is seen as a pathway to employment, elite status and better life chances, and schools that offer the language as a medium have a distinct advantage. Individuals who are more likely to have training in the English language in both primary and secondary school earn significantly higher relative wages and have better occupational outcomes (Bakshi 2016). A larger proportion of private schools offer English as a medium of instruction than government schools.

42.3% of private schools offer English as at least one of the mediums of instruction in their schools, as opposed to 10.4% of government schools (U-DISE 2019).



Aggregate Household Spend on Private Schools

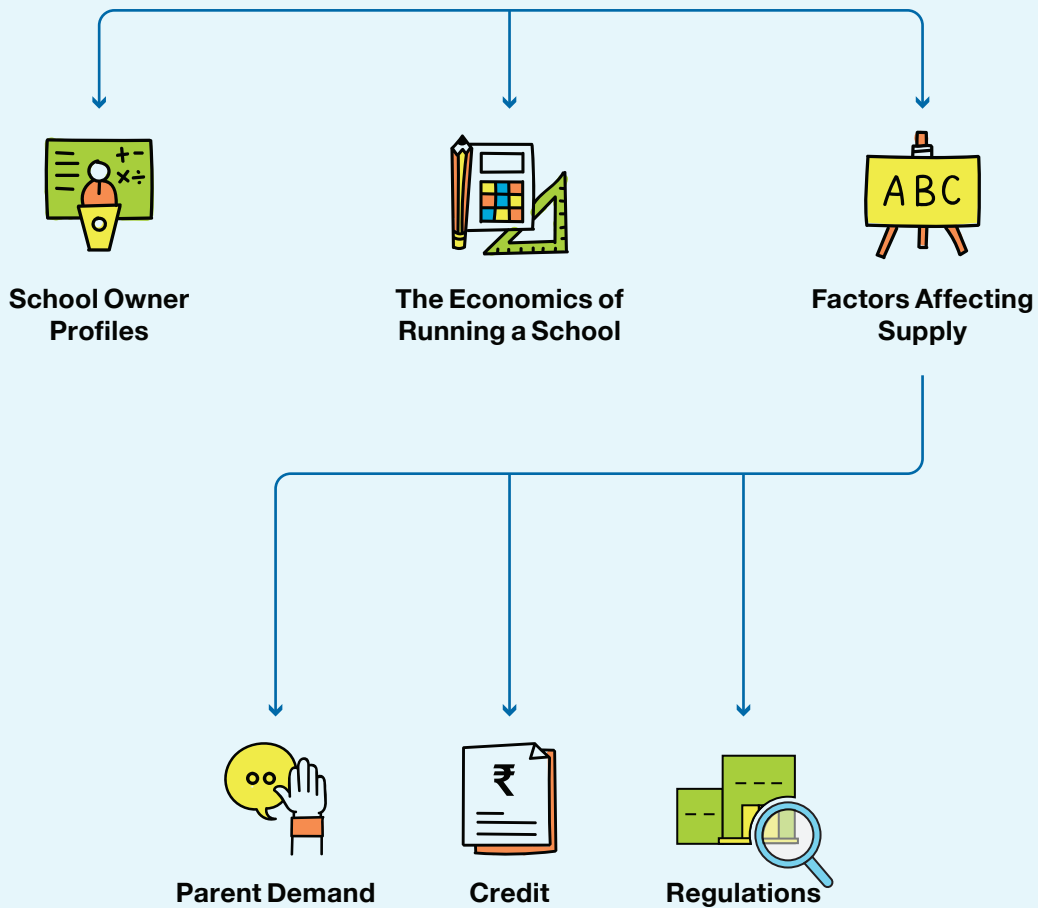
70% of families with children attending private unaided schools spend less than INR 1000 per child on fees in a month but, given that so many families send their children to private schools, aggregate household spending on private schooling is significant. According to data from the 2019 NSS and enrolment figures from U-DISE 2019, the private school market was worth nearly ₹ 1.75 lakh crore (23 billion USD) in 2019. This dwarfs the ed-tech sector (estimated to be worth 247 million USD) and is close to the value of the e-commerce sector (24 billion USD).

It is estimated that total private education spending in India (including on higher education) is 68 billion USD, or 2.5% of India's GDP (Economist 2019). To get a sense of scale compared to other Indian sectors, the education technology market was valued at 247 million USD in 2016 and was estimated to grow to 1.96 billion USD by 2021 (KPMG 2017). The e-commerce industry was valued at 24 billion USD as of 2017 (Deloitte 2019), while the automobile industry was valued at \$74 billion in 2016 (SESEI 2018).



THE SUPPLY SIDE: WHO STARTS SCHOOLS?

In response to this massive demand, a growing and nimble supply side of private schools has emerged. But what are the factors that drive individuals, trusts and societies to set up schools, and how do they manage operations? In later chapters, we will also delve deeply into the impact of regulation on supply.



SCHOOL OWNER PROFILES



The state allows charitable educational trusts or societies to set up private schools.²² This is based on an inherent normative assumption that education should be a charitable activity. A small scale urban research study, as well as most anecdotal accounts, suggest that low-fee private school owners often view the school as a business, and tend to be primarily motivated by economics (FSG, n.d.). Their motivations range from a desire for redressing a social need (that is, a perception that existing schools in the neighbourhood, particularly government schools, provide low-quality education) to managing an inherited school started by members of the older generation in a family (Mond 2019). They come from varied backgrounds, from small businessmen and traders to lawyers to former bank employees (Mond 2019). On the whole, though, there is insufficient research on motivations, practices, management and labour, and drivers of learning in this sector.

THE ECONOMICS OF RUNNING A SCHOOL



In the absence of dependable surveys, it is difficult to get a sense of private school finances. Small-scale, ethnographic studies, which offer us a peek into the running of schools specific to their region, are among the only sources of information on school finances.

In a study of five low-fee private schools of Delhi, between 70% to 90% of the school's income was found to be from monthly fees. The remaining sources of revenue included profits from merchandise (sale of books, belts, uniforms, others), examination fee, computer fee, etc. accounting for just 20% of the annual income of private schools (FSG, 2017). Fee collection rates vary from 80% - 92.5%. Often, students of low-cost private schools are given fee concessions (Ohara 2012). The major expenditure is on staff salaries (70% -80%), with the rest being spent on utilities, repairs and maintenance and others (Bhinder 2011).

²² Most states allow management to start and operate schools if they are registered under the Indian Trusts Act or Indian Societies Act. Haryana and Maharashtra allow individuals or companies to start schools under the companies Act. See chapter on Regulation for more details.

FACTORS AFFECTING SUPPLY

Parent Demand



Schools tend to provide services that will appeal to parents and signal high-quality education - including, for example, ensuring low levels of teacher absenteeism and high levels of teacher activity. These may also include pedagogically inappropriate practices like rote learning or English-medium instruction at early ages, which parents value (Jain 2018).

Credit



Despite their growth and high demand, low-fee private schools have trouble accessing credit. Raising capital through formal borrowings is difficult for budget private schools, for reasons ranging from lack of collateral to lack of auditing processes that would help in the loan process to low financial literacy (Garg, n.d.).

Many private school owners instead turn to family, friends, unsecured loans or secure funds through money lenders. This could lead to higher interest rates for loans, which could contribute to the slower growth of schooling infrastructure.

Regulations



The challenges in running a private school are exacerbated by the complex tangle of rules and regulations that govern private schools. India's current regulatory framework over-regulates inputs and entry and under-regulates the actual outcomes schools are able to provide. These are often not context appropriate for low-fee schools, and create barriers to entry, operations, and scale (see chapter 4 for a more detailed review). This regulatory environment has even led to closures of some private schools and perhaps tempered growth of private schools.

Other factors, including the quality and size of the management and teacher workforce, are understudied.

V. CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF THE SECTOR

Private unaided schools have grown at an incredible pace in India, and in many states, private school students outnumber government school students. If growth in the next decade matches the growth in the last, just the private *unaided* school enrolment share will grow another 10 percentage points to cover nearly half of all students in India. As ASER and other independent learning assessments suggest, learning outcomes in India are troublingly low. Even in the private sector, as we will see in the next chapter in greater detail, learning outcomes are not high, and there is no clear evidence of improvement in the decade since the ASER survey started (ASER Centre 2018).

As the Indian state sets its learning agenda for the coming decade, it should acknowledge and act on the need to facilitate learning for all students in the government *and* private school sector. Improving outcomes for the growing numbers of students enrolled in this school sector would be essential to substantially bolster learning outcomes on both national and international assessments such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Furthermore, since the private sector complements and competes with the public schooling system, an improvement in one should push the other to improve outcomes, resulting in better education quality for all students. This is also critical for fulfilling the long term need of building human capital for a developed nation with prosperous and engaged citizens.





VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Parent Demand for Private Schooling

The maze-like lanes and by-lanes of Malvani branch off into even smaller pathways that are barely wide enough to fit a motorcycle. Ubiquitous in the largely minority-dominated low-income area, sandwiched between the sea and a creek in Northern Mumbai are billboards, placards, and boards pointing to private schools. The private schooling market here is as crowded as the area: with estimates ranging from 37 recognised private schools to over 80 unrecognised and recognised schools within a radius of three kilometres.

70-year-old Nazreen lives with her three grandchildren barely 50m from a large municipal school. All three children study in private schools in the area - the eldest, who is to write his grade 10 examination in 2021, studies in the “top” school that charges over ₹ 1,400 per month. The two younger children study in cheaper schools that charge ₹ 800 monthly. Money is hard to come by - the children’s father is bed-ridden and Nazreen has to rely on her pension from government schemes and donations from a charitable organisation to fund her grandchildren’s education. Despite this, enrolling the children into the municipal school, where education is free, is her last option.

1,400 km away in Lucknow, in a small house tucked inside Sarvodaya Nagar, the Khanojiyas ran out of luck in the RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) admissions. Subsidised education in a private school for their two children - a son aged 7 years and a daughter aged 9 - was not an option. But, a desire for private schooling remained. The main bread-earner is a daily-wage labourer. The decision to pay ₹ 7,000 annually to educate both children in a nearby private school was not an easy one. But it is one they have stuck to resolutely, believing it to be an investment in their child’s future. “We wanted our children to learn English well. It is important to know the language to get good jobs. And it is only private schools that teach in English,” the children’s mother said.

Nazreen says:

“

The teachers at the government school do not teach well. They get their salaries from the government and do not give attention to the children. We see the children there are undisciplined and do not study. In private schools, students are scared of teachers. They behave well, and if my grandchildren do not go to class or do not do their homework, I get phone calls about it.



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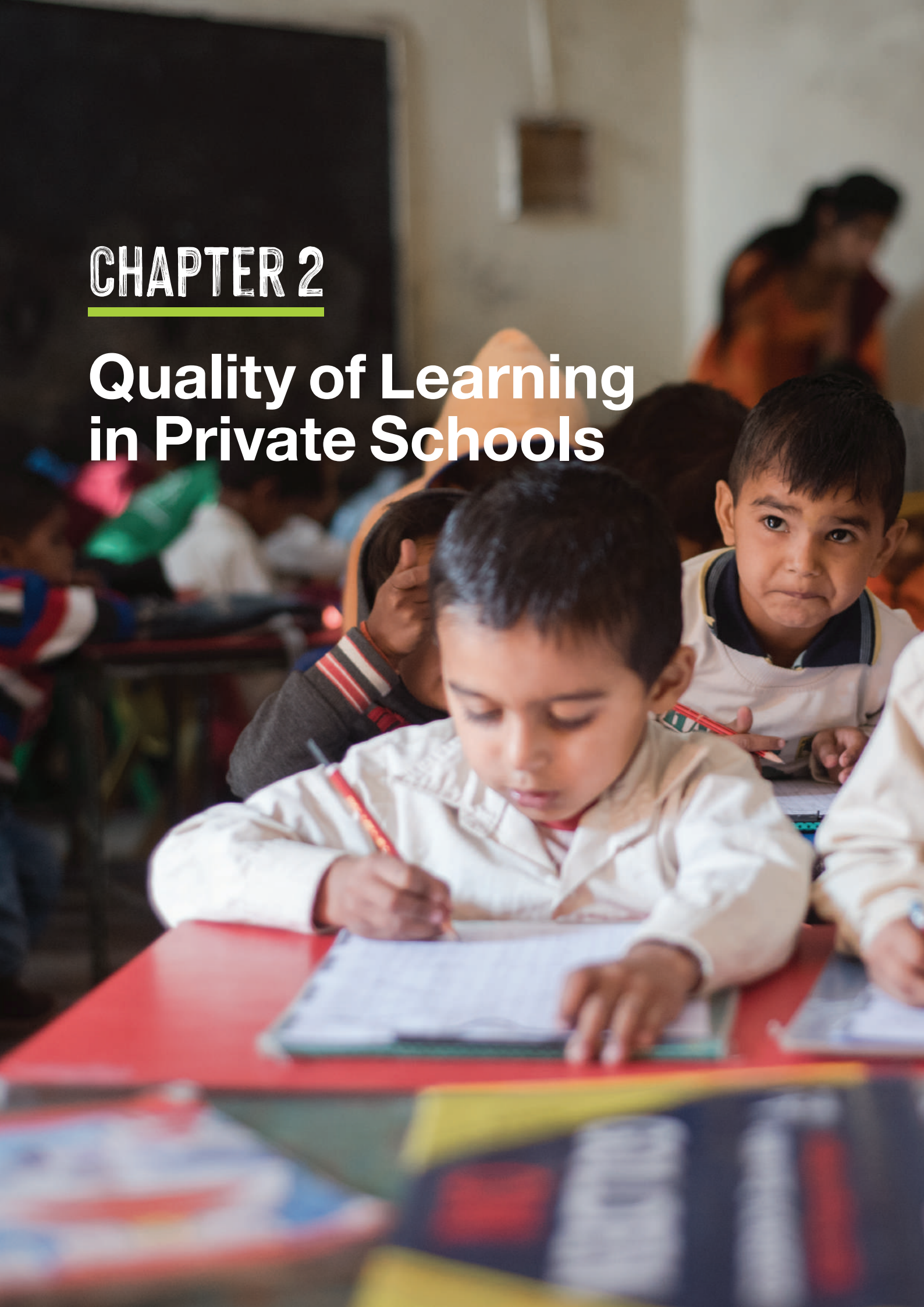
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CHAPTER 2

Quality of Learning in Private Schools



KEY TAKEAWAYS

1



Even in private schools, actual learning outcomes require attention



Foundational learning levels are low. 60% of rural private school students in grade 5 cannot solve a simple division problem, and 35% of students in grade 5 cannot read a basic grade 2 level paragraph



Consequently, learning in later years suffers. In the National Assessment Survey, the average score for **grade 10 students in private schools was below 50% in 4 out of 5 subjects**



Learning levels have either **declined over time or are broadly stagnant** in private schools

2



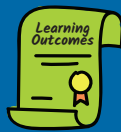
The learning crisis is the worst for the poorest students. However, even amongst students from the richest 20% households attending private schools, only 56% of children between 8 and 11 years old can read a basic grade 2 level paragraph

3



Compared to government schools, raw test scores in private schools are significantly higher. But this gap reduces significantly after adjusting for disadvantages in student background

4



Outcomes in private schools are achieved at a third of the government expenditure

5



In the absence of learning data, parents choose schools based on proxy markers of quality of learning in schools, such as school infrastructure and English-medium education



60% of private schools do not extend to the grade of board examinations, therefore standardised information on these schools' learning outcomes does not exist



As a consequence, private school owners do not have incentives or pressure to improve learning levels amongst students

I. INTRODUCTION

The demand for private unaided schools, as seen in the previous chapter, is driven by perceptions among parents that private schools provide quality education. This chapter delves deeper into the question of quality of education provided by private schools. Despite the perception of quality, absolute learning levels across the private school sector are low, and though they are better than levels in government schools, it is not clear that this is entirely because of schools.

Quality of learning can be defined in many dimensions and is often connected to the purpose of education as set forth in a national curriculum. Learning quality includes a range of competencies across multiple domains such as core subjects, cognitive skills, socio-emotional skills and other competencies. Several internationally agreed upon frameworks outline these. One framework by the World Economic Forum, suggests that 21st century skills required for participation in the labour force include foundational skills (including literacy, numeracy, financial knowledge, cultural and civic literacy, etc.), competencies such as critical thinking, creativity, etc. and qualities like curiosity and initiative (World Economic Forum 2015). The achievement of such skills by students are referred to as learning outcomes - describing what the learner will reliably know at the end of a course or program.

The discussion in this chapter focuses on quality of foundational cognitive skills measured through pan-national tests conducted over time by non-government organisations, central government agencies and research institutions. The reasons for this focus are two-fold. First, acquiring literacy and numeracy skills is a core component of all frameworks. Second, while there are global efforts towards measuring some of the other essential competencies, there is little evidence and consensus around the measurement of skills such as socio-emotional learning and creativity, especially in the Indian context.

This chapter looks at data from assessments that test the recall of grade level curriculum and foundational competencies such as word recognition, subtraction, etc. Based on national data from multiple sources, we attempt to understand the extent to which children in private schools learn foundational skills and how much curriculum they have mastered by the time they reach the tenth grade. We also explore variation in learning in private schools - how much learning levels have shifted across time, how much they vary across rural and urban contexts, states, and parent income levels and expenditure on schooling.

II. ARE CHILDREN IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS LEARNING?



A multitude of standardised assessments show that learning outcomes are low across school managements, including private schools. To assess learning quality in private schools, we examine data from Annual Status of Education Report (ASER), National Achievement Survey (NAS) and Integrated Human Development Survey (IHDS) to understand various aspects of learning in private schools. These surveys provide an overview of learning outcomes in private schools and are conducted by government and private organisations on a sample population of individuals, schools and households, respectively. Details of the scope and caveats to using the information from these surveys are provided in the Appendix.

a) Attainment of Foundational Skills

Foundational learning by grade 5, or the attainment of certain gateway competencies like reading with comprehension and basic numeracy that allow for further learning, is fairly low in private schools, as seen in Figure 2.1.

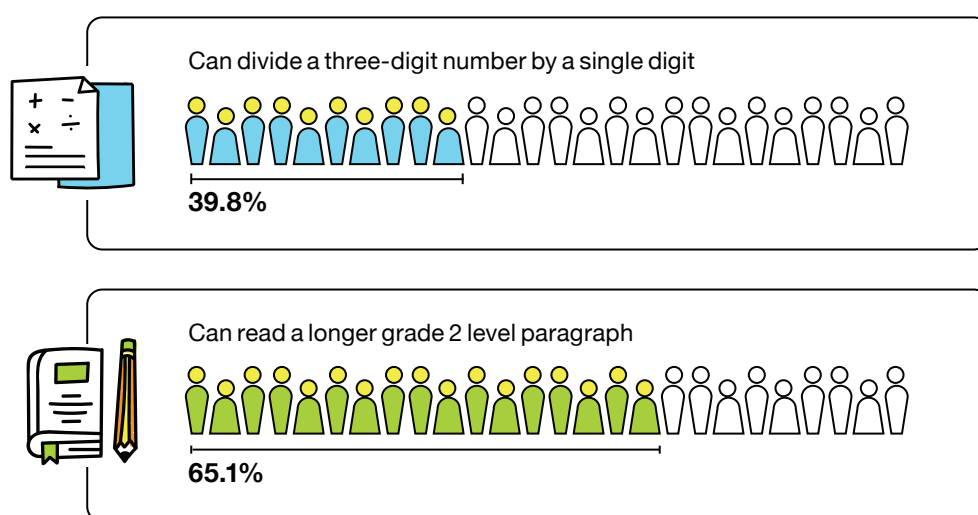


Only 39.8% of students in rural private schools in grade 5 can do basic division, and only 65.1% can read a long grade 2 level paragraph (ASER 2018).

Figure 2.1

ARITHMETIC AND READING COMPETENCY OF GRADE 5 CHILDREN STUDYING IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

More than **60% children** cannot do three-digit division and more than **30% children** cannot read a grade 2 level paragraph.



Source: Chavan 2019 (ASER 2018 Report)

b) Learning in Later Years

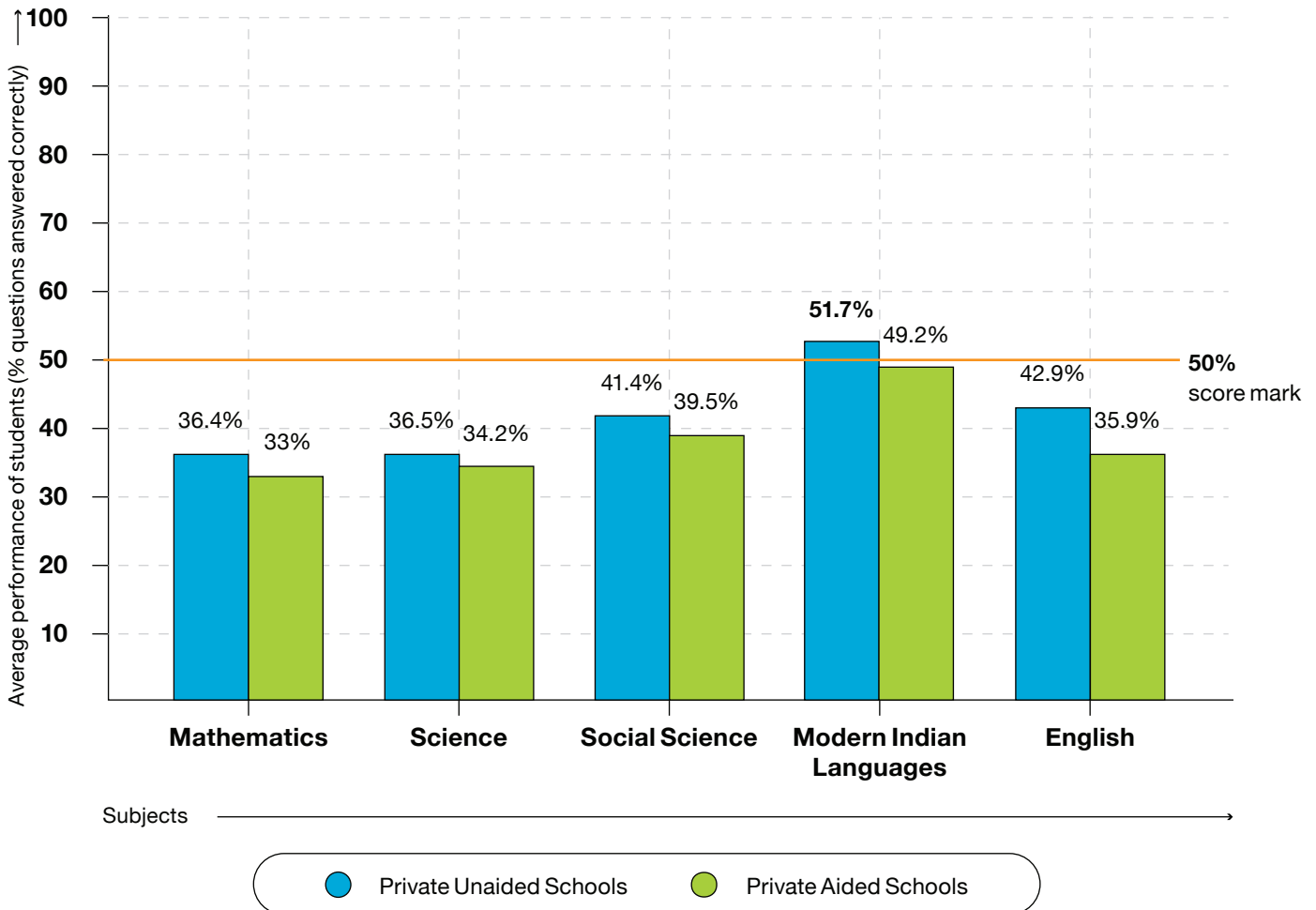
For many private school students, the failure to attain foundational skills is reflected in curriculum-based examinations they take in the tenth grade, as seen in NAS. In 2015, NAS conducted its maiden assessments for grade 10 students in private schools

In the NAS assessment, students in grade 10 in private schools scored below 50% on average in 4 out of 5 subjects (NCERT 2017).

On average, students in private unaided schools performed better than those in private aided schools, while private Indian Certificate of Secondary Education (ICSE) school students topped the performance tables. Students in schools affiliated with the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE) also performed significantly better than students in the average unaided/ aided private school affiliated with state examination boards.

Figure 2.2

PERFORMANCE OF GRADE 10 STUDENTS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS AFFILIATED TO STATE BOARDS



Source: NCERT - National Achievement Survey (NAS) Dashboard 2017

c) Decline in Learning over Time

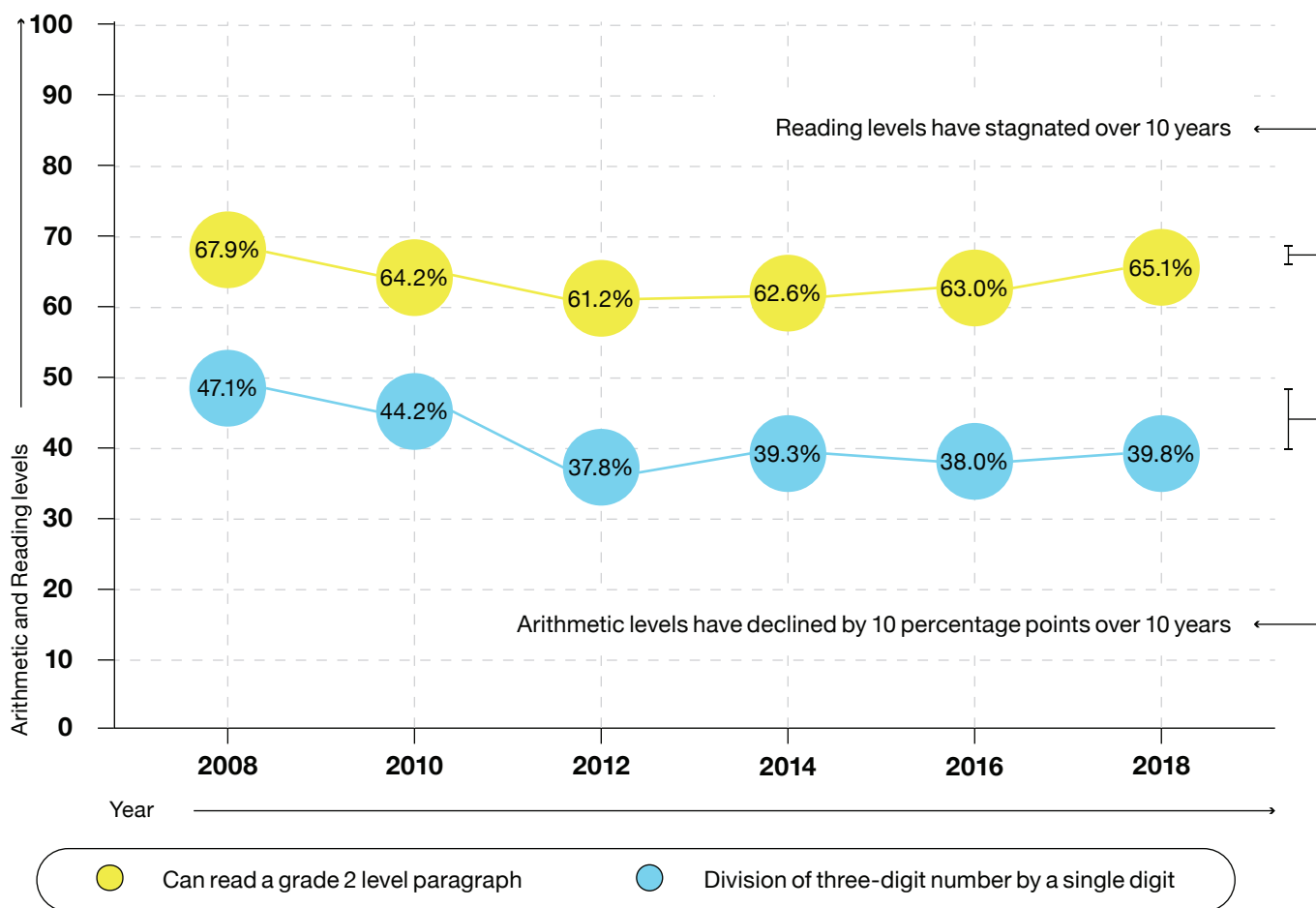
Low to begin with, learning in private schools has worryingly stagnated or declined over time, as seen in Figure 2.3.

Though literacy rates have remained largely stable, long-term trends in the ASER data show a steady decline in tested arithmetic skills among grade 5 private school students over the decade.

In 2008, 47.1% of grade 5 students from rural private schools could solve a simple division problem, but in 2018 this number reduced to 40%. Similarly, while 67.9% of grade 5 students could read a basic grade 2 level paragraph in 2008, this slightly dipped to 65.1% in 2018.

Figure 2.3

ARITHMETIC AND READING LEVELS: TRENDS OVER TIME IN GRADE 5 IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS



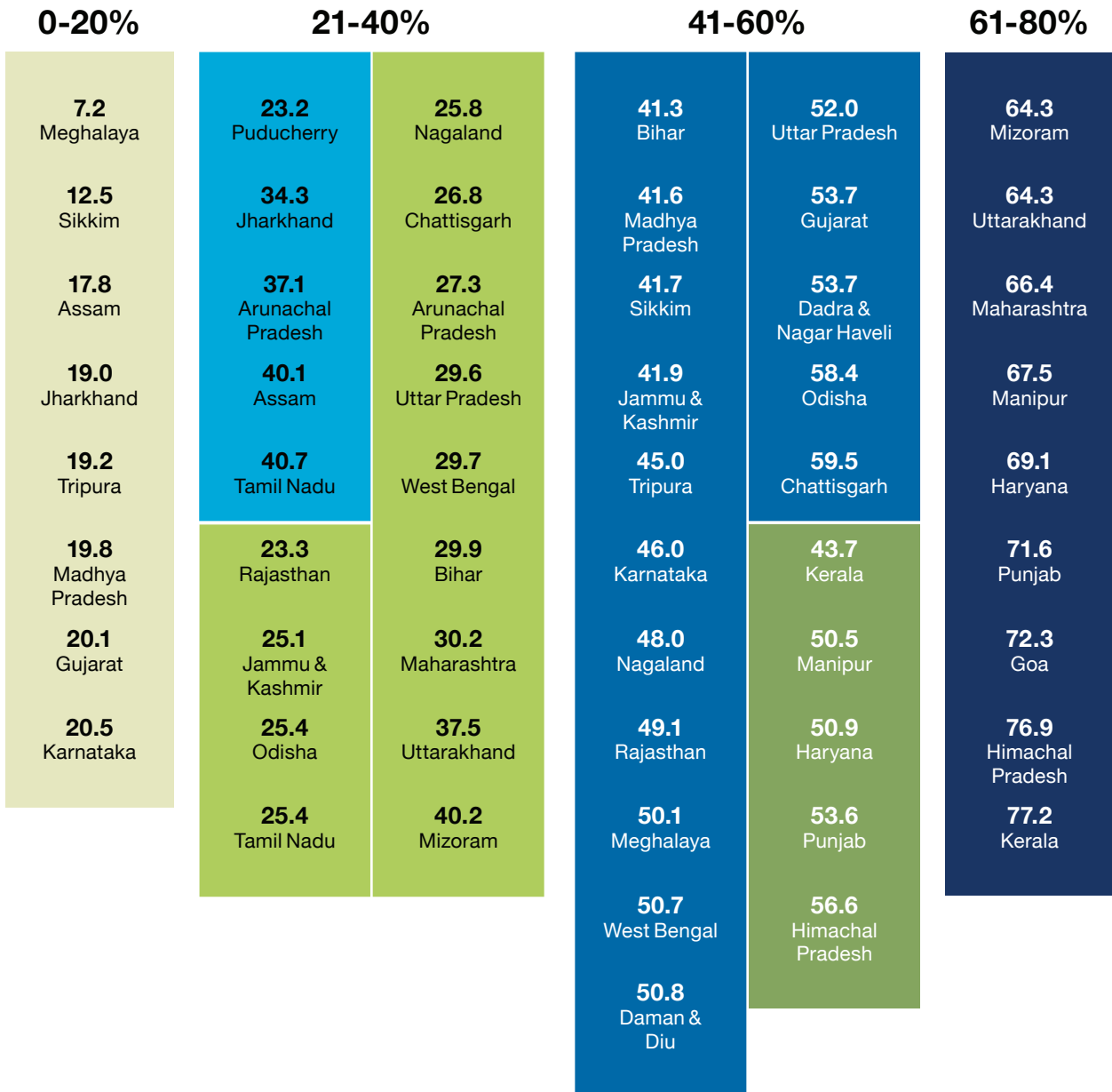
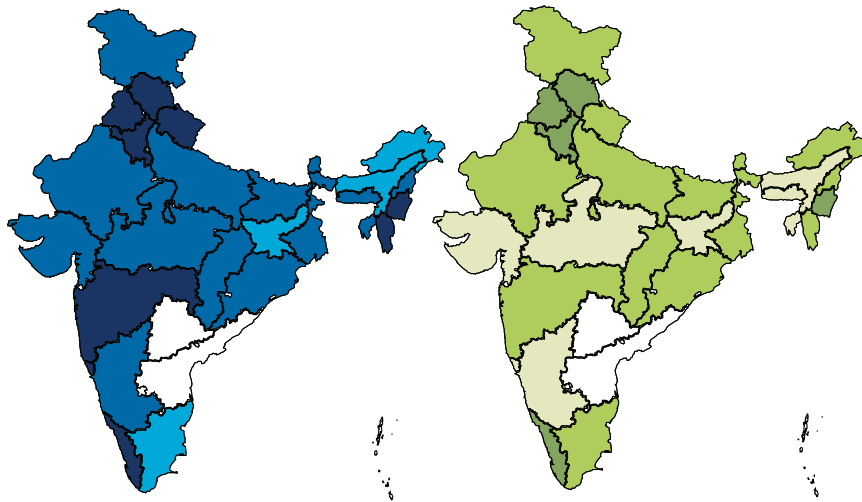
Source: Chavan 2019 (ASER 2018 Report)

II. LEARNING VARIATIONS IN THE PRIVATE SCHOOL SECTOR

As seen in Chapter 1, the private school sector is heterogeneous in nature. Variations in fee levels, income levels, or place and geography may impact quality across schools. The IHDS, a national household-based survey across rural and urban areas, tests children on language and math ability using the ASER tools. Through this data, we examine the relationships between learning and variables such as the state a student lives in, whether a student lives in an urban or rural area, how much they spend on their school fees, and whether they belong to a marginalised group. This allows us to understand quality variations in the sector.

Figure 2.4

STATE-WISE VARIATION IN PERFORMANCE OF CLASS 5 PRIVATE SCHOOL STUDENTS



Source: ASER Centre 2019

a) Private School Performance across States

There is great inter-state variation in learning achievements assessed across states.

States like Kerala, Himachal, Haryana and Punjab perform well, while Assam and Jharkhand have lower test scores among the larger states.

However, even in Punjab, the state with the highest reading ability in ASER, approximately 1 in 5 children cannot read a grade 2 text. Similarly, approximately half the children assessed in the top 3 states could not solve a division question (an assessment of numerical ability).



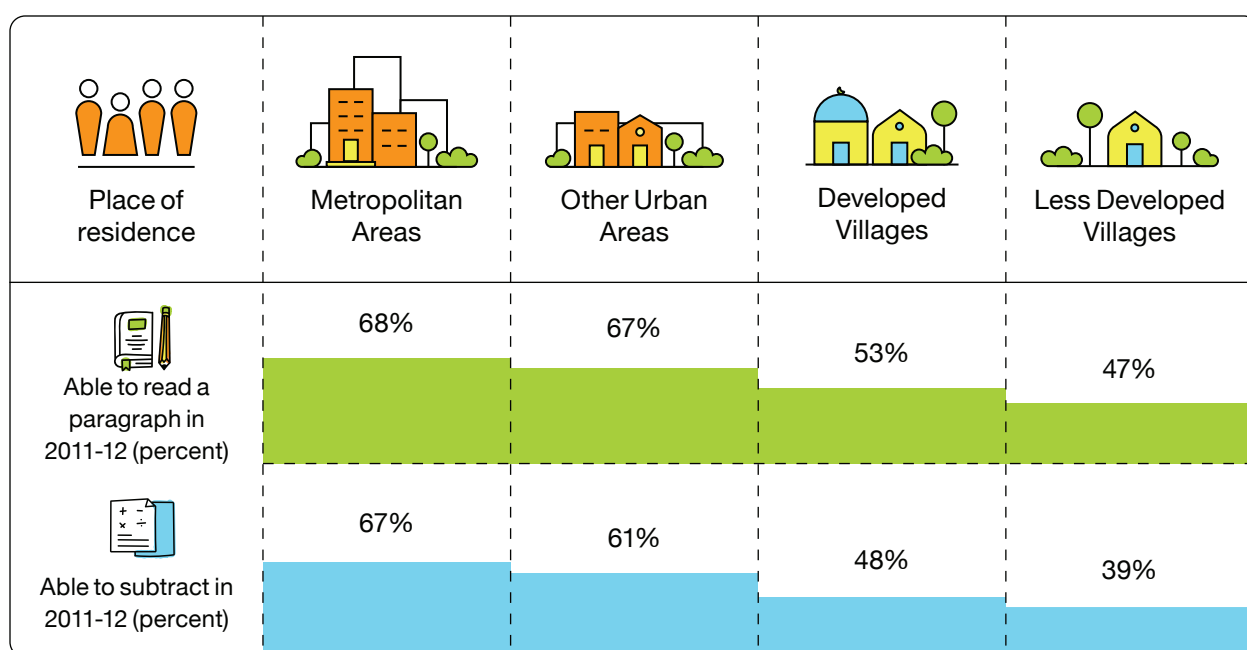
b) Learning across Urban and Rural Areas

Private school students in metropolitan areas tend to have higher scores than those in smaller towns and villages. Over 60% of urban private school students can read a paragraph and are able to subtract, while for students in developed villages²³, this drops sharply to 53% and 48% respectively.

Private school students in less developed villages have the worst outcomes - 53% cannot read a paragraph and 61% cannot subtract (Pande and Dubey, n.d.).

²³ IHDS divides villages into two approximately equal groups according to an index of infrastructural development - developed and less developed. Some villages they survey have "substantial infrastructure: paved roads with easy access to urban centres, postal and telephone connections, electricity to power lights and televisions. Others lack most of the conveniences of modern life and can be reached only by narrow footpaths, in some cases even one has to use some unconventional means, like camel or boat. The more developed villages generally appear closer to urban areas on most human development outcomes." (IHDS 2005)

Figure 2.5
URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENCES IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS²⁴



Source: Pande and Dubey, n.d.

c) Household Income and Learning

Much research suggests a deep link between students' resources and their learning outcomes. This is true in private schools too.



As IHDS data from 2011-12 indicates, private school students from families in the lowest 20% of the economic distribution²⁵ have lower learning achievements than those from families in the most affluent 20%.

While 30% of children from the most affluent quintile could not read a story, the same figure is a significant 55% for children in the lowest income quintile.²⁶

²⁴ Private schools include unaided, aided and unrecognised schools. Data from IHDS is used, though dated, since it is the only independent learning data covering both rural and urban students.

²⁵ Measured through monthly household income

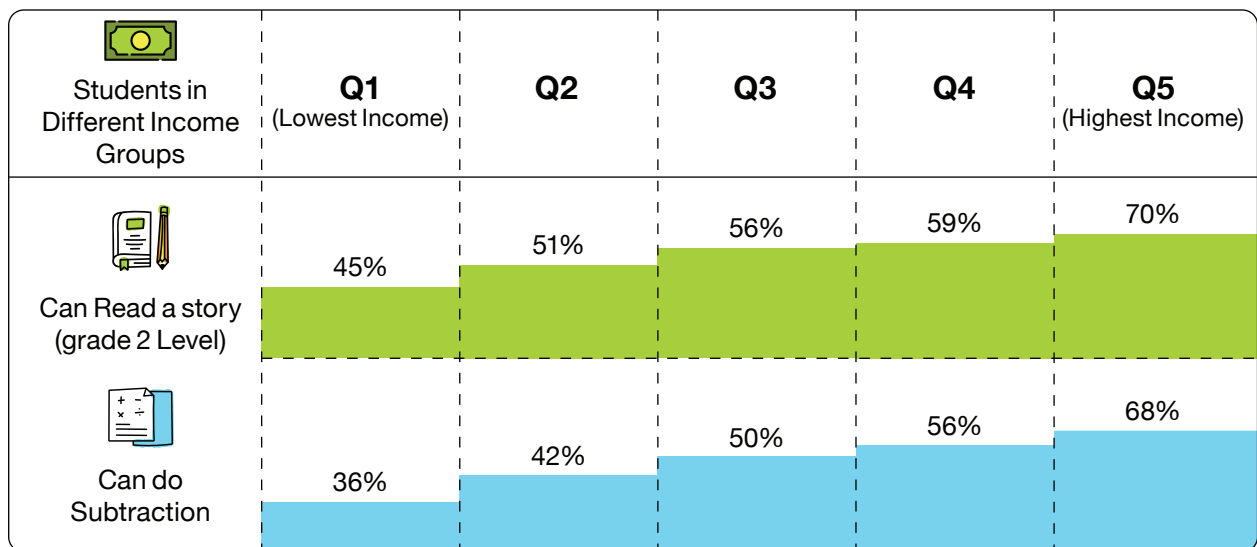
²⁶ A quintile is defined as five equal groups of a population divided on the basis of values of a variable.

Evidence of the extent of the learning crisis comes from the fact that even the students from the wealthiest households suffer huge learning gaps - 30% cannot read a story and 32% cannot do basic subtraction.

The figure below suggests that as India gets wealthier, learning levels will improve - however, it is imperative to accelerate that pace since even the wealthiest quintile is far from an ideal level.

Figure 2.6

ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE BY HOUSEHOLD INCOME QUINTILE FOR CHILDREN ATTENDING PRIVATE SCHOOLS*



*Tests were administered to children aged 8-11 years
Source: Pande and Dubey, n.d.

d) Learning Outcomes and School Fees

A study by the Michael and Susan Dell Foundation (MSDF) administered tests in 2013 involving 75,000 students from grade 3 to grade 7 in six cities (Delhi, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Hyderabad, Dharwad and Rajkot). The study's findings show that private schools with monthly fees ranging from Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 8,000 outperform private schools with monthly fees of Rs. 1,000 or less and government schools (Rajagopalan and Agnihotri 2014).

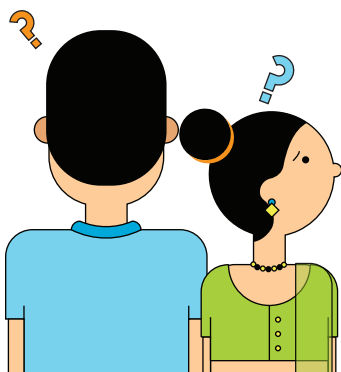
IV. FACTORS DRIVING LOW LEARNING LEVELS

a) Lack of Information Around School Quality



As we saw in the previous chapter, the demand for private schools is largely driven by the perception of high quality. Yet, this perception is inaccurate - parents seem to overestimate the quality of their children's schools. This is likely because school learning outcomes are less visible to parents without independent, reliable, and clearly comparable data.

Currently, the only independent markers of learning outcomes for schools are through board examinations. Grade 10 and 12 examinations are conducted in all states, while a few states have board examinations for grade 8.



Since 60% of private unaided schools end before the grade of board exam testing, it becomes difficult for parents to judge the quality of their schooling options (U-DISE 2019).²⁷



In the absence of reliable school quality information, parents use more visible markers to discern school quality. These markers, which include English-medium instruction, infrastructure, etc, may not be effective in judging actual school learning outcomes. As a result, schools tend to differentiate themselves based on these proxies rather than in terms of improvement in core learning outcomes, explaining why learning has remained stagnant in these schools.

A small survey of school owners backs this claim - a majority believe that improvements in learning outcomes will not lead to growth or financial benefits for their schools (Jain 2018).

Evidence from two South Asian experiments suggests that distributing information to parents comparing the performance of schools on learning outcomes significantly improves student learning since it provides a nudge to schools to improve quality (Andrabi et al 2017, Afridi et al 2017).

b) English-Medium Instruction



A far greater number of private unaided schools offer English as a language of instruction than government schools. 42.3% of private unaided schools include English as at least one of the languages taught in their schools, as opposed to 10.4% of government schools (U-DISE 2019). Exact data on the extent of English-medium instruction is not available. This is because surveys like DISE and IHDS that collect information on the language of instruction do not distinguish between languages taught as subjects and languages in which other subjects are taught. Further, schools which are English-medium on paper may not be so in practice. Anecdotally, at least, the advertisement of English-medium instruction is widespread.

²⁷ Note: Calculated based on the number of primary and upper primary schools that end before grade 10 in all states except Rajasthan and Jharkhand. These states are excluded from the calculation since they conduct board exams in Grade 5 and/or Grade 8.

As discussed earlier, English-medium instruction is also a motivating factor for parents choosing to educate their children in private unaided schools, possibly because of its labour market benefits. However, this may not aid learning. According to the 2011 Census, English is spoken as a home language by 2.5 lakh people in India - suggesting that a large majority of private school students are not being taught in their home language. A large body of global neurocognitive research suggests that learning outside the home language may have negative consequences for the acquisition of basic literacy skills. Instead, a bridge course after grades 2-3 (when literacy skills in the local language have been developed) is more likely to promote better learning (Abadzi 2008). Though this was not the subject of their research, a study on school choice also finds that medium of instruction affects student learning in Indian private schools. It has revealed that switching to English-medium schools may have had negative effects on first-generation learners' literacy in the native language and on their learning of content in other non-language subjects (Muralidharan 2019).

Yet low- and middle- income parents cannot experience the truth of this research as materially as they experience the benefits of English learning in the labour market. Therefore the demand for English-medium education may not reduce. Experimentation and research is required on strategies to educate parents on the importance of local-language instruction in the early years and on the transition to English in later years, as well as on how such a transition could be effectively implemented within schools.



c) Teaching Quality in Private Schools



Given low levels of agreement around rigorous frameworks to assess teacher quality (DFID 2014), it is hard to quantitatively compare teacher quality across schools or school management types. While teacher salaries in private schools tend to be lower and their qualifications fewer than in government schools, teacher presence and activity are higher on average in private schools.

The latter tend to be stronger predictors of learning outcomes (Singh 2013, Kremer and Muralidharan 2008). Some factors measuring teacher practices within classrooms in private schools such as checking children's notebooks and using textbooks in class seem to have a significant impact on test scores. Others, such as teacher training, teacher experience and teacher tenure do not seem to have any effect (Singh 2013).



d) Student's Socioeconomic Background and School Fee Level



Poverty, parental education, and gender are found to be among key indicators that affect student learning in rural primary schools in India, with poverty being the strongest predictor of low learning levels (Alcott and Rose 2017). Data suggests the wealthiest quintile of students attending private schools may outperform the poorest quintile by 25% - 30% (See Figure 2.5 above).

Student socioeconomic background is also closely linked to the school's fee tiers, and evidence suggests lower fee schools may perform worse than private schools on average (Chudgar and Quin 2012). As seen in the section on variations in learning within the sector, being educated in different states, a student's location in an urban or rural area and parental income are each associated with learning levels. However, causal relations between these factors and learning are uncertain. Therefore, private schools working in lower resource settings may also have an additional burden due to challenges to learning based on student background.



LEARNING AND EXPENDITURE IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

ABSOLUTE SCORES



While learning outcomes in private schools need to improve, assessments have shown that children in private schools perform better than those enrolled in government schools. ASER data shows that in 2018, 44.2% of grade 5 government school students could divide a three-digit number by a single-digit, when compared to 65.1% in private schools. Similarly, in NAS 2017, private unaided schools outperformed government schools.

IMPLICATIONS OF STUDENT SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS



However, can this learning difference be attributed entirely to school factors? Children studying in private schools tend to come from more aspirational and prosperous households where parents are typically more qualified and spend more on education. ASER's analysis suggests that non-school factors accounted for 66% of learning differences between government and private school children in 2009, which have since risen to 72% in 2014 (Wadhwa 2014).

One way of isolating the role of school factors in learning is through experimental studies where students studying in government schools are shifted to private schools through the random allocation of vouchers.²⁸ The difference in learning outcomes for voucher-winning students can be an indicator of the “private school advantage” considering that household characteristics remain nearly the same.

²⁸ Vouchers cover the costs of studying in private schools and are randomly allocated. Schools cannot exhibit implicit or explicit selection bias in the admission of students.

Among the most debated experiments in India is the Andhra Pradesh School Choice Project (Muralidharan and Sundararaman 2015).²⁹ In this study, researchers offered vouchers to students to attend private schools to test the effects of private schools on student achievement, as measured by test scores. The voucher was distributed to students after conducting a lottery. Lottery-winners received a voucher that covered all school fees, textbooks, and school uniforms. Tests in Telugu, Mathematics, and English were conducted after 2 years; and tests in Environmental Studies and Hindi were administered after 4 years. The children who received vouchers had lower scores in Telugu and Mathematics - perhaps due to a shift in the medium of instruction - than children who had just missed the voucher and stayed in government schools. However, they had higher scores in English and Environmental Science and did much better in Hindi (which was not taught in government schools).

Another study was conducted in Delhi by 'Ensuring Access to Better Learning Experiences' (ENABLE) (Wolf, Egalite and Dixon 2015). In this study, researchers conducted tests in English and in Hindi to assess learning outcomes.³⁰ In two years, there was a significant improvement in English-learning, while there was zero to slightly marginal improvement in Hindi and Mathematics (Wolf, Egalite and Dixon 2015). After six years, however, voucher winners had lower Hindi scores with no discernible impact on English and Mathematics scores (Crawford, Patel and Sandefur 2019).

COST-EFFECTIVENESS



While the effectiveness of private schools in terms of quality and learning outcomes is contested, what has wider acceptance is that these schools deliver similar learning outcomes at a third of the amount spent on each student in government schools (Muralidharan and Sundararaman 2015). This varies significantly by state. Another study finds that the average private school in India offers 5.3 times the value for money a government school does, but in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, private schools offer 12 times and 29 times more value respectively (Kingdon, 2017).

²⁹ This was a two-step lottery system where selected students were sent to private schools through vouchers. 180 villages, which have at least one private school, in Andhra Pradesh were randomly selected as control or "treatment" (90 villages each, with an eligible 10,935 eligible households in all). In both sets of villages, students in government schools could apply for the voucher programme for entry into private schools (6,433 households applied for vouchers). Within "treatment" villages, students were then selected through a lottery for admission into private schools (1,980 households were selected, of which 1,210 students accepted the voucher and shifted from government to private schools). At the end of four years of the project, a total of 1,005 students continued to avail of the voucher.

³⁰ This was conducted between 2010-11 to 2015-16 and involved more than 1,000 children in low-income neighbourhoods in East Delhi. Voucher-winning students could study in private schools without paying for tuition fees for five years.

A significant chunk of this cost difference may lie in the wages of teachers. For government school teachers, salaries are linked to pay commission announcements which are routinely revised (Kingdon 2019). The component of teaching salaries could form between 60%-90% of the overall elementary education budget (Dongre, Kapur and Tewary 2014). On the other hand, private school teachers tend to be paid the market wage fixed by the laws of supply and demand. It tends to be far lower on average than what government school teachers get paid. Teacher salaries in private schools also remain low, since, for most low-fee schools, the revenue collected from students would not permit higher wages.

IV. CONCLUSION: LEARNING FOCUSED REFORM

While learning outcomes are better in high-fee schools or relatively-elite schools covered under CBSE and ICSE, and marginally better among children studying in urban areas when compared to their rural counterparts, learning outcomes in the sector at large have remained low. It is also not clear if, after adjusting for socio-economic status, private schools perform significantly better than government schools. Even if we look only at unadjusted learning outcomes, which are better than government schools, it is worrying that learning achievements have not matched grade-level competency. This means that, by and large, *all* children in our current education system are not learning adequately, irrespective of school management type. As the ASER 2018 report notes, “not only are we not creating a sufficiently literate population, but that most of our population is functionally illiterate.”

The primary objective of any education system is learning, and it is critical for Indian policymakers and schools to re-orient towards this through practical and evidence-based policies that work well for all schools.

In Chapter 4, we explore such regulatory mechanisms that might facilitate learning improvements in private unaided schools.



Private Schools and the Role of Philanthropy

For philanthropists, education is a huge priority - Bain Philanthropy Report 2011 found that 40% of high net worth donors see education as their top cause (Bain and Company 2011). As the NEP Draft 2019 suggests, many private schools are run philanthropically by those wishing to both provide and subsidise high-quality education (though such schools are likely a small fraction of the whole). More focused foundations and funds³¹ also direct investment into larger-scale efforts around learning improvement in private schools.

This can be done through investments in service providers who assist schools with educational and operational needs like teacher training, lesson-plan scripting or assessment or access. Viable alternatives also exist in the form of school chains, the scale of which allow for more professional management, quality standardization, and accountability; or through innovative financing options through non-banking finance companies. Such financing options include learning-linked credit instruments with variable interest loans that tie rates of return for schools to outcomes achieved (Rangwala 2018).

However, philanthropic investment is only a sliver of total spending on education, compared both to government investment and investment from parents in the form of fees. Constrained by this and limited demand from schools, service and credit providers in the sector have experienced challenges around reaching a significant proportion of private schools. Service providers anecdotally report that schools are unwilling to spend on learning-focused services like training since they are largely invisible to parents, and therefore do not really differentiate the school. Therefore, philanthropists seeking learning impact could continue to catalyse existing forces within the sector to drive scale. This could be done by helping parents use their funds more strategically to pick better school providers. This can be achieved by building parent understanding of quality markers or piloting effective dissemination of universal learning indicators to parents, as, for example, some part of the consultancy FSG's PIPE program (Jain 2018) or non-profit Akshara's Gram Panchayat Contests (Kurukundi, n.d.) aim to do.

³¹ Including Central Square Foundation and Omidyar Network India, co-funders of this report. Central Square Foundation has awarded grants to 321 Education Foundation and Key Education Foundation, which serve affordable private schools. Omidyar Network India has invested in Bridge Academies, an international school chain, and in Varthana, a non-banking financial company that serves private schools.

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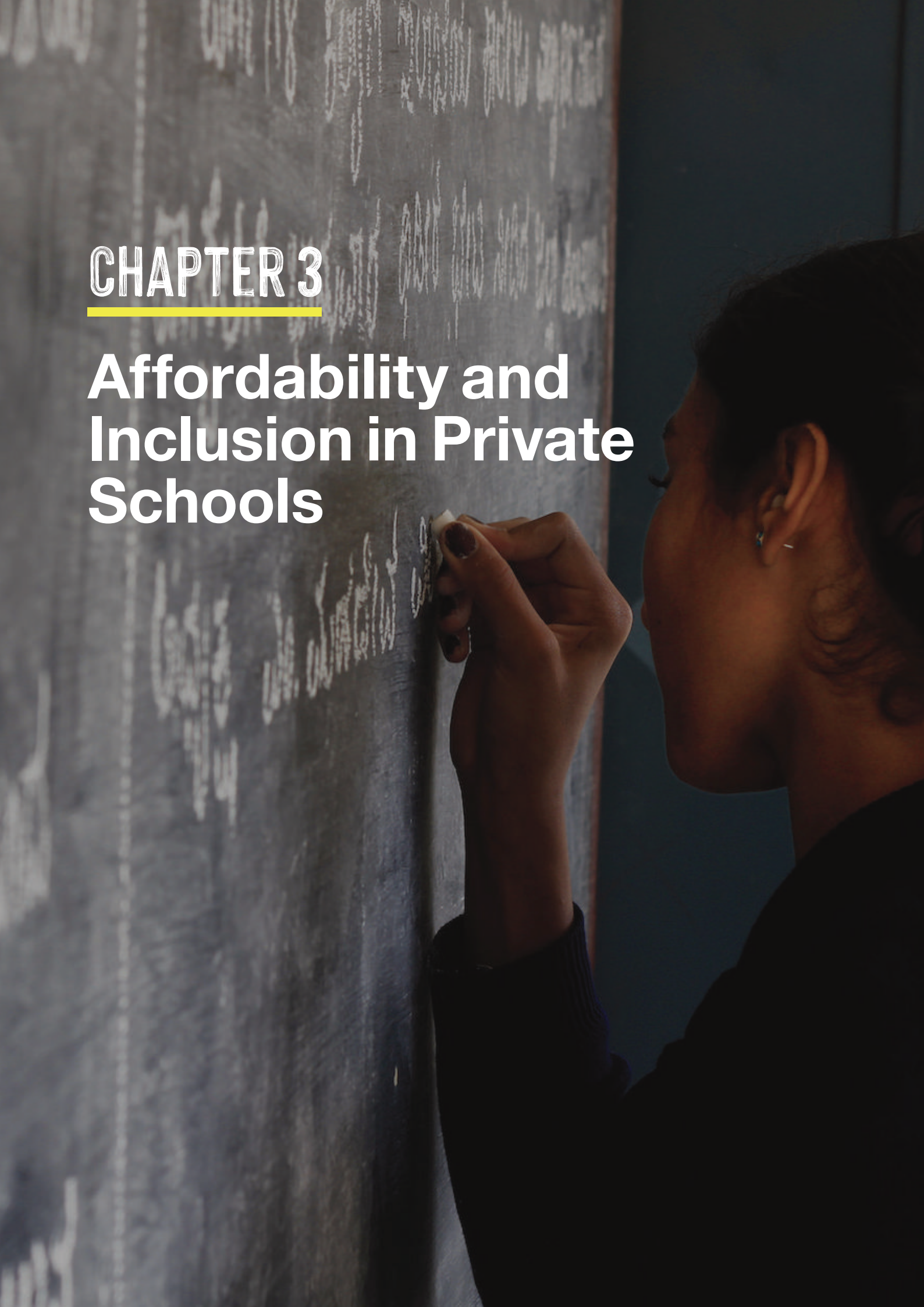
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CHAPTER 3

Affordability and Inclusion in Private Schools



KEY TAKEAWAYS

1



Some of the poorest Indians prefer private schooling - 15% of students from the poorest 40% of the population are educated in private unaided schools today

2



Girls, children belonging to Scheduled Castes and children belonging to Scheduled Tribes, are underrepresented in private schools



38% of boys enrolled in private schools as compared to **31% of girls**



23% of SC children and 15% of ST children enrolled in private schools as compared to 67% of general category students



Hindu, Muslim and Christian children access private unaided schooling in similar proportions

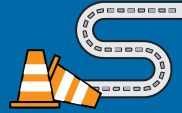
3



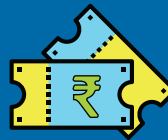
Experiments aimed at improving access to private schooling for lower-income families in India have been attempted, but have faced implementation challenges



These include models based on **vouchers, private-public partnerships, direct cash transfers to mothers, and hybrid models** such as the RTE Act Section 12 (1)(c)



Challenges include implementation and targeting as seen from the **25% reservation for Economically Weaker Section students through the RTE Act Section 12 (1)(c)**, autonomy in public-private partnerships like aided schools, and ensuring quality for beneficiary students



However, research on the RTE Act Section 12 (1)(c) classrooms suggests that **voucher schemes for disadvantaged students may increase empathy** among privileged students, and improve diversity





VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Affordability and Private Schools

Shanu, an autorickshaw driver in Lucknow, has started surveying the schools in Prabhat colony close to Lucknow Airport. He has a four-year-old son and needs to decide on a school by March. He and his wife have taken the opinions of neighbours and family, while teachers from four private schools have already come home to convince him to enrol his son in their respective schools, explaining the facilities of their schools. “We are studying their biodata,” he says, referring to the pamphlet distributed.

At least seven low-fee schools and one government school are within walking distance from his home. “We have our mind set on admitting our son in a private school because we have heard they can teach children better,” he said.

The decision on which private school to enrol in will depend on school fees.

Shanu says:



We are poor and are looking at schools that charge a fee of ₹ 400 per month. There are a lot of options for us.

I. INTRODUCTION

Given that private unaided schools charge fees in most cases, the rise of the sector raises questions of access for the poorest, minorities and girls. This chapter examines how access to private schools remains influenced by various social dynamics historically existing within India, even in the face of their increasing affordability. The chapter explores these linkages through multiple sources, including the government's schools database (U-DISE) and household surveys like NSS and IHDS based on data availability and relevance.

The chapter also explores the degree to which marginalized communities face discrimination in private schools, although the evidence is limited. Finally, we look at how government response requires attention to parents' right to choice as well as the right to free and compulsory education.

II. PRIVATE SCHOOLING AND INDIA'S POOR

a) Income and Access to Private Schools

The economic sustainability of private unaided schools, particularly those not backed by philanthropic capital in the form of donations, depends upon fees to provide and manage educational services.



As fees dip and families increase their education spend, private schools, which had traditionally served the wealthy, are increasingly being accessed by lower-income households (MoSPI 2019, MoSPI 2015).

As seen in Chapter 1, schools serving low-income households form the bulk of private schooling; nearly 45% of private unaided school students paid a fee of less than ₹500 per month in 2018 and 70% paid less than ₹1000 per month as course fees (MoSPI 2019).

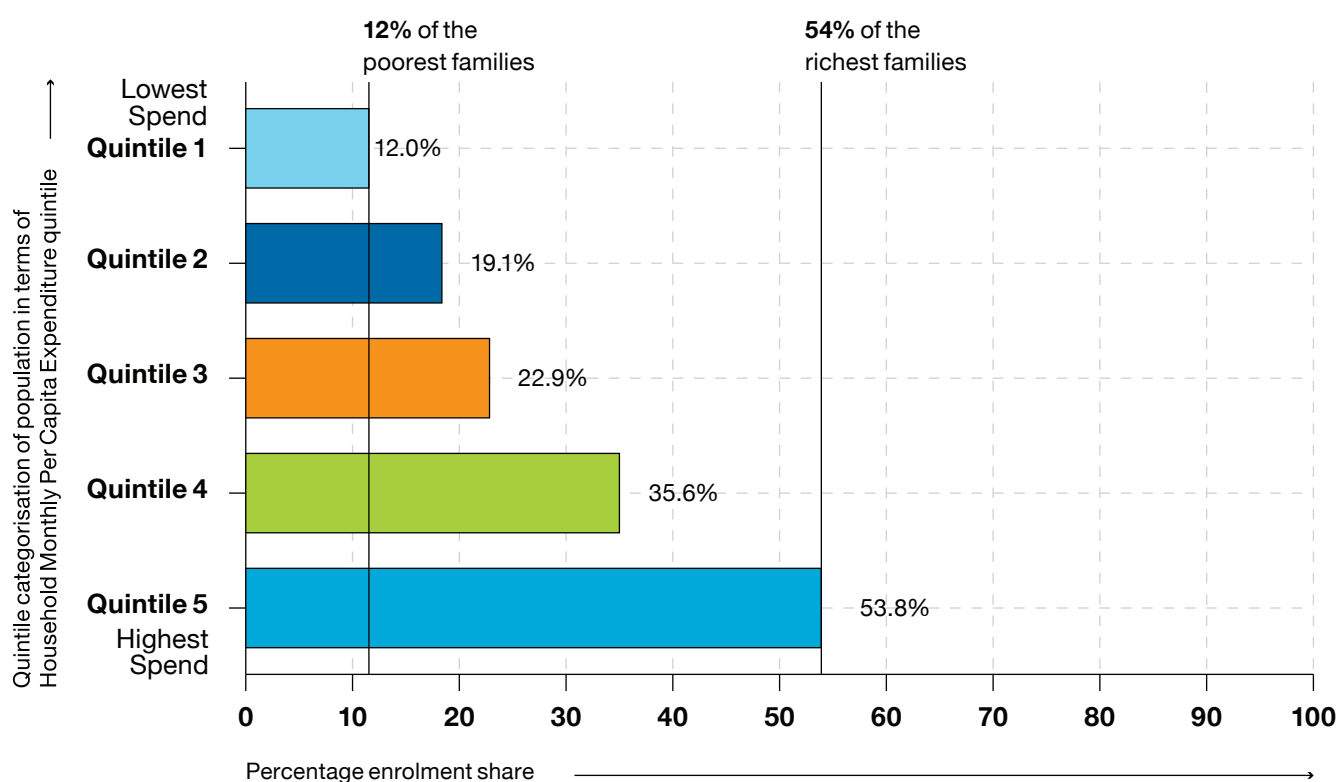
Researchers (Kingdon 2017) have pointed out that private school course fees are reasonable when benchmarked against the per-capita income of all Indian states, the BPL limits set by the government, and mandated daily-wage rates (assuming 300 days of work annually at this rate), suggesting that low-fee schools may be accessible to a large section of middle and low-income families. However, private schools may not always be affordable. In the case of villages in rural Uttar Pradesh, while 94.4% of the interviewees expressed a preference for private schools over government schools, just 41.7% ended up attending low-fee private schools (Kingdon 2017).

The accessibility of private unaided school education across the economic spectrum can be seen by categorizing participation in private schooling across populations by income, wealth, or consumption. The National Sample Survey Office (NSSO), a nationally representative household survey of education, gives a snapshot of the access to private unaided schooling based on income categories. Figure 3.1, based on data from the NSSO 2018, shows enrolment in private schools across household per capita expenditure quintiles.

As the figure below suggests, while 54% of the richest families access private education, 38% of students in private schools come from the poorest 60% population.

Figure 3.1

PRIVATE SCHOOL ENROLMENT BY HOUSEHOLD EXPENDITURE QUINTILE



Source: MoSPI 2019

Note: A quintile represents equally divided fifths - the poorest assumed to be the first quintile, or first 20%, and the wealthiest assumed to be the fifth quintile, or people between 80% - 100%

It is also worth noting, while examining rates of participation, that affordability within income bands may also be significantly impacted by various factors including family structures. For example, private school participation declines as the number of children in a family increases. (Härmä 2010)

b) Understanding Parent Expenditure

Parents sending their children to private schools forgo various subsidies the state provides, and their education spending is not on course fee alone but various related expenses, including transport, textbooks, uniforms, etc. NSSO 75th Round enumerates item-wise expenditure incurred by parents who send their children to private schools.

On average, 62% of the expenditure was on course fees, while the remainder went towards other expenses. A further 14% - 19% of the education expenditure was on books and stationery (MoSPI 2019).



III. CASTE AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

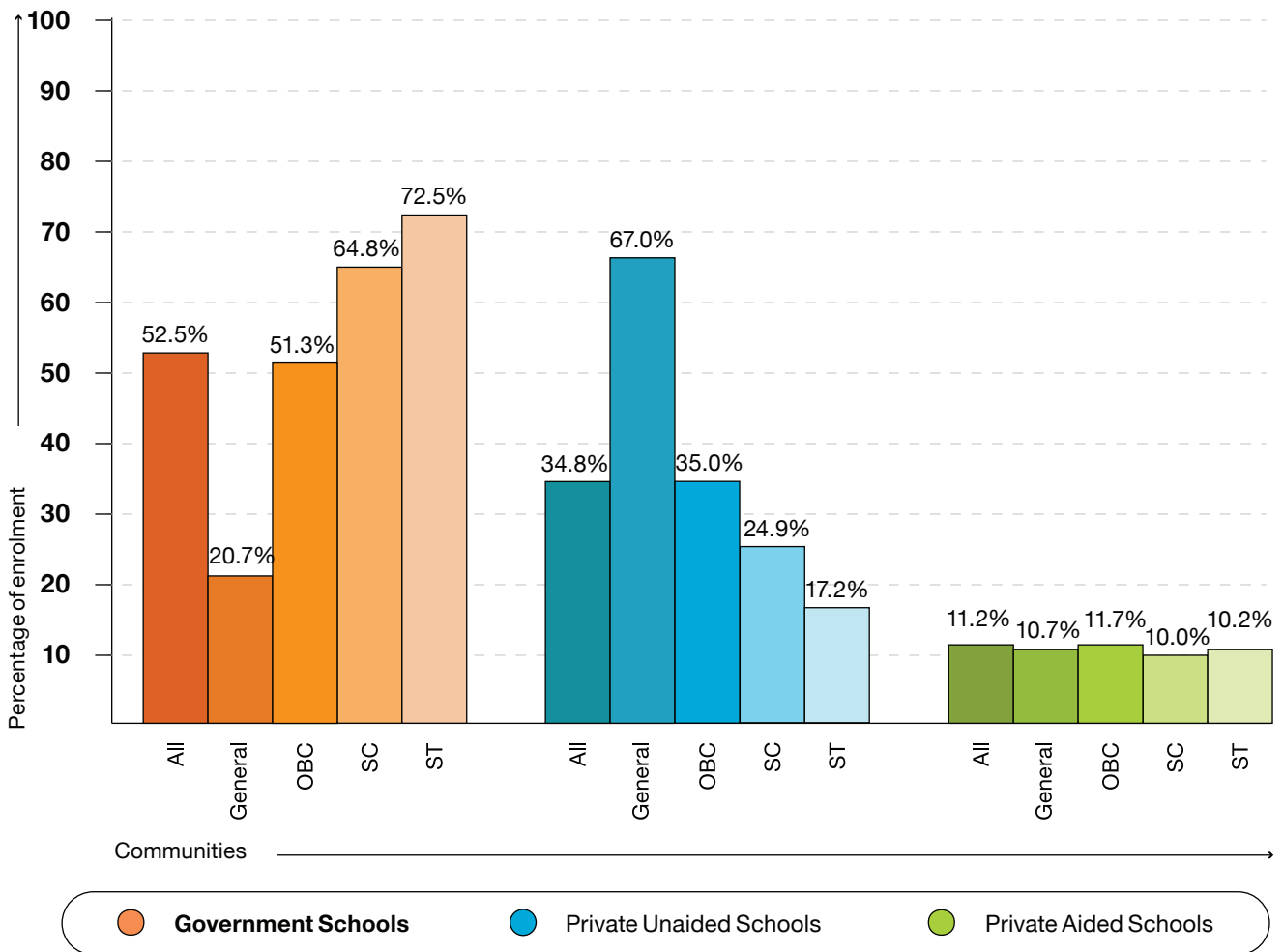
a) Caste and Access to Private Schools

India's education system bears traces of its complex caste system. This manifests as structural and persisting social exclusions and inequities, including disparities in wealth, income, and consumption. Correspondingly, a comparison of educational attainment (measured as years spent in school by now-adults) suggests that an average individual from a Scheduled Caste community spends 4.8 fewer years in school than a Brahmin (Bharti 2018).

Forward Caste students are more likely to attend private unaided schools, with 67% enrolled in the same. However, only 25% of SC students and 17.2% of ST students are enrolled in private schools as compared to 34.8% of the total population. Other Backward Class (OBC) students are enrolled at the same rate, 35%, as the total population (U-DISE 2019).

Figure 3.2

**PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS OF COMMUNITIES STUDYING IN SCHOOLS IN 2017-18
(BY MANAGEMENT)**



Source: U-DISE 2019

Slowly, educational attainment for SC children may be changing - a study of educational mobility finds that SC children born in the 1980s are more educated than their parents, i.e. those born in the 1950s, closing approximately half of the mobility gap with upper castes (Asher et al 2018). However, a comparison of IHDS surveys from 2004-05 to 2011-12 shows that over 7 years, private unaided enrolment for SCs has expanded at the same rate as enrolment for Forward Castes (Chudgar et al 2016).

For ST children, who are also among the most disadvantaged social groups in India, disparities are even sharper. On average, they spend 5.6 fewer years in school than Brahmin children. Of groups, their intergenerational mobility varies most sharply by location - district of residence accounts for a much larger proportion of their mobility gap with Forward Castes compared to Muslim or SC children (Asher et al 2018).

At 17.2%, ST children have the lowest rates of participation in private schooling among all communities (U-DISE 2019).

b) Affordability or Exclusion?

Based on their observations, the IHDS team created a report on caste in India, shedding light on other possible caste-based influence in private schools that are preferential, and potentially discriminatory. Though the exact scale of caste-based affiliations in private schools is not known, the IHDS team writes -

“Caste associations for wealthy castes organise private schools and colleges as well as charitable trusts through which members obtain scholarships and loans for higher education. While these schools are ostensibly open to all, members of the caste that established the school often receive priority. Scholarships are given based on recommendations from members of the caste-based governing body.”
(Desai and Dubey 2012)

A study conducted on whether caste participation can be explained by factors such as income, parental literacy, and geography finds that 51% of the enrolment gap between Scheduled Castes and Forward Castes in primary schools remains unexplained by such factors. It suggests that low participation of SC children in private schooling is not simply a result of their lower per capita income, lower consumption or parental education. It could be due to other caste-based or unobserved factors such as exclusion or distrust in private unaided schools (Azam 2017).





VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Gender and Private Schools

Annappa, who earns a living driving a goods autorickshaw in rural Karnataka, had a tough financial decision to make. His two children, a son and a daughter, had contrasting results. His son was “keeping bad company” and they feared he would drop out. His daughter was studying well, but the government school was understaffed. “Everyone told us to shift them to private school. We were told that he would be brought to ‘condition’ (a term he uses for discipline), and she could excel. But we could not afford to pay an annual fee of ₹ 8,000 for each child...We could struggle and sacrifice and put one child in a private school,” he said.

The decision, thereafter, was one that occurs in many households in the country. The son was preferred, and they even paid for him to attend a private college. “He needs the degree to get a job and then get a good wife. For our daughter, we will anyway marry her off when she completes college. In our community, women are not career-oriented,” he said.

In nearby schools, this gender preference is visible. 44% of a private school’s rolls are girl students. Nearly 60% of the students in the government school next to it are girls.

A private school teacher says:



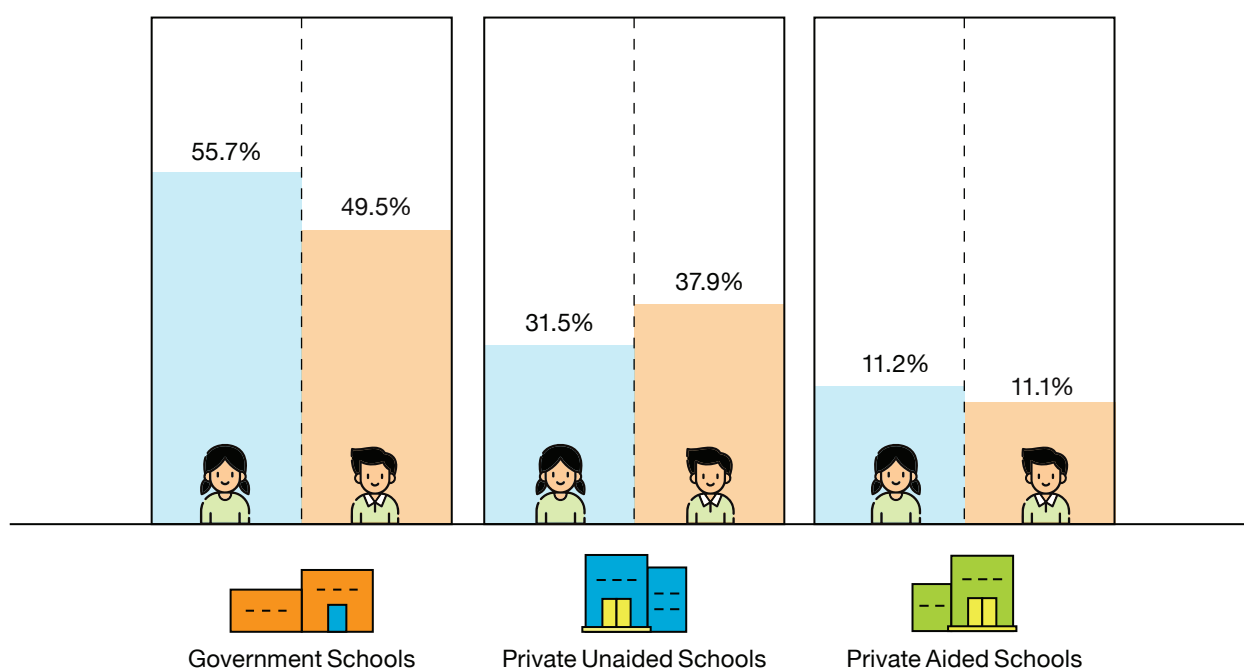
We tell parents to send their daughters to our school too.
They refuse, and ask us if we will fund them instead.

IV. GENDER AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Figure 3.3 shows that the enrolment of girl children in private unaided schools is at 32%, compared to 38% of boys. This gender gap is likely to be heterogeneous around the country, being pronounced in some states - for example, a small survey in rural Uttar Pradesh reveals that 51% of all school-going boys but only 33% of school-going girls attend private schools (Härmä 2010). This is a far greater gender gap than seen at the national level.

Figure 3.3

WHAT PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS AND BOYS ATTEND EACH TYPE OF SCHOOL?



Source: U-DISE 2019

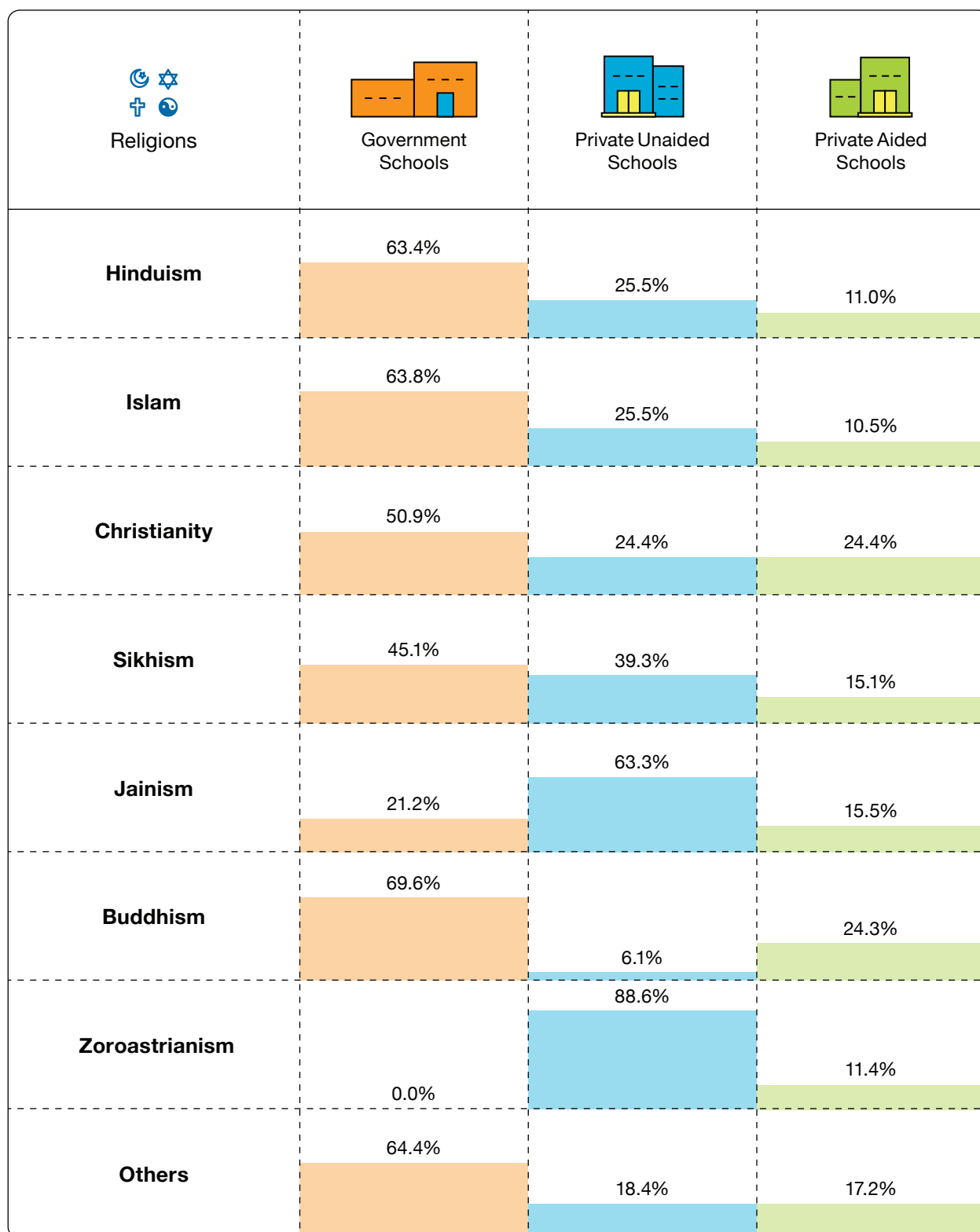
The gender ratio in the private unaided school sector is skewed towards males while the ratio in the government school sector is skewed towards females. Multiple surveys have shown that the proportion of girls enrolled into private schools have risen - for instance, IHDS finds an increase of enrolment from 23% to 29% between 2005 and 2011 (Maitra et al 2016). The gender gap and cost difference are closely-knit: the more expensive the private school, the higher the female disadvantage (Sahoo 2017). NSSO's 75th round shows that the average expenditure on education for girls is 11% - 18% lower than the expenditures for boys. This pro-male bias is seen across communities, castes, household expenses, and irrespective of whether the parents are educated or not (Maitra et al 2016).

V. RELIGION AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Since some private schools are religiously affiliated, different religious communities are likely to access private schools at different rates. Recent NSSO data suggests that a similar share of Hindu, Muslim and Christian children enrol in private schools (around 25%), but the share in smaller communities like Sikhs, Jains, and Zoroastrians is higher.

Figure 3.4

THE PROPORTION IN WHICH DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES ACCESS DIFFERENT SCHOOL MANAGEMENT TYPES



Source: MoSPI 2019

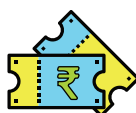
VI. THE STATE'S ROLE: EXPANDING CHOICE FOR THE POOREST?

Several crucial documents affirm that quality education is a right for children regardless of background, identity, or economic status - including the Constitution of India, which, through the 86th Amendment, attests that the state “will provide free and compulsory education to all children from six to fourteen years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine.”

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which India is a signatory, emphasises the prior right of parents to choose non-state options while laying out the responsibility of states to provide equal access to quality education.

Here is a review of the ways by which the state may intervene to enhance equity.

a) Expanding Affordability



Various instruments of the state including voucher schemes, direct benefit transfers, and subsidization of private schools might expand access to private schools for parents who cannot afford it, though they might wish to educate their children in private schools.

Below are some policy design principles emerging from research on other global voucher experiments (described in detail in Chapter 6) and evaluations of India's RTE Act Section 12(1)(c). This section of the RTE Act, 2009 mandates a legal obligation on private unaided schools to reserve 25% of the seats in the entry-level class for children from Economically Weaker Sections and disadvantaged categories.

Figure 3.5

DESIGN PRINCIPLES FOR VOUCHER INSTRUMENTS



b) Discrimination Prevention

To address instances of discrimination, families must have access to mechanisms to redress grievances. National and State Commissions for the Protection of Child Rights have such mechanisms to redress grievances as part of their mandate - they take up specific cases brought before them as well as suo moto cases, summon the violator of child rights, and hear their presentation before the committee and make recommendations to government or judiciary based on an inquiry (NCPCR, n.d.).

c) Ensuring Diversity

Financial instruments such as vouchers to parents or schools are, in the Indian context, proven to expand access and to reduce some of the social factors associated with segregation. A study on privileged children in private schools which had economically weaker students through the RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) in their classrooms as compared to their immediately older peers who did not, finds that having poorer classmates in the classroom led to wealthy students becoming more likely to be compassionate, to volunteer for charity, have egalitarian preferences and be less discriminatory against poor children (Rao 2013).

VII. HOW HAS INDIA DONE SO FAR?

Nationally and across states, governments have acted to balance their dual commitments to free provision and enabling parental choice in various ways - through vouchers to students or schools to enable choice through Section 12(1)(c) of the RTE Act 2009; through direct benefit transfers to parents linked to education in a scheme recently launched in Andhra Pradesh; and by directing state funding to privately managed but 'aided' schools to subsidize or remove fees. Researchers have also worked with states to implement large scale experiments and properly assess the outcomes of such schemes. Some examples include:

a) RTE Act Section 12(1)(c)

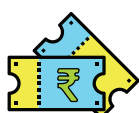
25% The RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) is the largest voucher programme to be implemented in the country. Private schools are mandated to reserve 25% of their seats - with the government reimbursing costs - for the socio-economically backward. This would, on paper, enhance equity in access to private schools.

The implementation of RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) is spotty, with high variation across states (Sarin et al 2015). Nationwide, only 29% of 21 lakh seats reserved for disadvantaged students are filled (Sarin et al 2015). Research finds that Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh cumulatively make up half the number of children admitted under this provision while Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh have a seat fill rate of less than 1% and less than 5% respectively. Rajasthan also has the highest number of participating schools (Sarin et al 2015).

In terms of its impact, an investigation of the RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) beneficiaries and those who applied but did not get through in Karnataka (which implements the RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) through a lottery system) found that a majority of lottery winners and losers both end up attending private schools (Damera 2017). Lottery winners were essentially moving to better private schools (that charged higher fees) through the RTE Act Section 12(1)(c). In effect, 69% of applicants used income criteria, possibly easier to manipulate, to apply for the RTE. Only 31% applied by submitting caste certificates. Prospective government school attending applicants - perhaps for reasons of information access or ability to apply - did not manage to avail the scheme.

Perhaps correspondingly, lottery winners had no learning or psychosocial benefits after 1.5 years in their new school. The voucher, however, was found to lead to greater participation of girls in private schooling, and a significant improvement in their test scores - a step that could be bolstered through gender-based reservations in the RTE Act Section 12(1)(c), says the study.

b) School Voucher Experiments



Smaller-scale voucher experiments, where implementation fidelity is greater, also shed light on the effectiveness of vouchers.

In the Andhra Pradesh School Choice experiment, where government school students were asked to apply for vouchers and a few were selected, those from Scheduled Caste communities were equally likely to apply for the voucher.

The addition of Scheduled Caste students who accepted vouchers considerably increased the fraction of Scheduled Caste students in a typical private school, suggesting that the provision of vouchers can significantly reduce socioeconomic stratification in private schools (Muralidharan and Sundararaman 2015).

c) Public Funding, Private Management



A possible way to expand access to high-quality private provision is through public funding of privately managed schools, which might ease pressure on state capacity while fulfilling their responsibilities under the RTE Act, 2009. Chapter 5 covers global examples and lessons from public-private partnerships in education.

The government attempted to do this in the 1970s by providing funding to private schools. This led to the category “private aided schools” which still makes up a sizable proportion of schools, especially across states like Maharashtra, Kerala, and Goa. The long term impact of this attempt highlights the fine line between state funding and management, particularly in terms of how that funding is distributed. A research landscape on private schools suggests:

“Despite sharing the word ‘private’ in their names, private unaided and private aided schools differ fundamentally in their modes of operation. Private aided schools are virtually like public schools in the way they are governed. Although nominally and de jure run by their private management boards, de facto they are heavily governed by the state. Following centralising legislation in the early 1970s which virtually nationalised the aided schools, their teachers’ salaries are paid by the government treasury and not via the private school management; they are paid at the same rate as government school teachers; and their salaries are paid directly into the bank accounts of their teachers, exactly as in government schools. Moreover, private aided schools’ teachers are recruited and appointed not by their respective managements but by a government-appointed State Education Service Commission, the same body that recruits and appoints teachers to the government schools. All this implies that after the early 1970s, aided schools became virtually like government schools, where teachers are roughly only as accountable to their respective private managements as government school teachers are to district education authorities. Furthermore, aided private schools cannot charge any tuition fee in elementary education (up to grade 8), just as government schools cannot.” (Kingdon 2017)

This evidence speaks to the challenges seen across public-private partnerships in India around contracting to private bodies and quality assurance (Patibandla and Sethi 2018). Given the challenges that the government has faced so far in expanding school choice for low-income families through public-private partnerships and vouchers, more careful and tested policy design seems necessary.

VIII. CONCLUSION: REDUCING INEQUITY

More equitable access to quality education for students across the socioeconomic spectrum and regardless of caste, religious and gender identity remains a key concern. Experiments described here in the form of supply-side aid to schools as well as demand-side vouchers or fee reimbursements show that policy design and implementation require much iteration to support the dual goals of equity and quality. Furthermore, this change must be holistic - and include a review of our regulatory environment, described in Chapter 4, to examine how conducive entry and operations are for low-fee schools.

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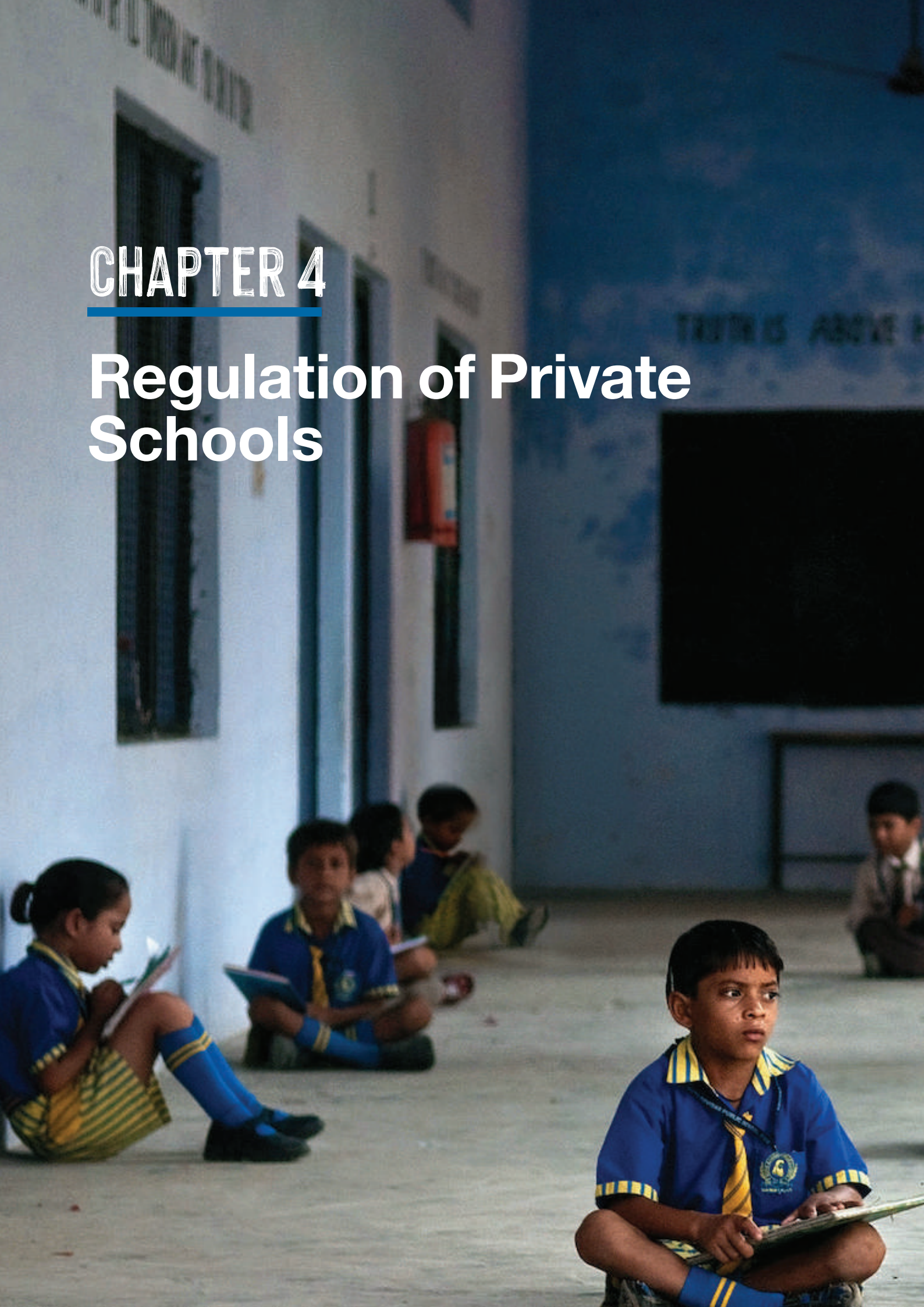
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CHAPTER 4

Regulation of Private Schools



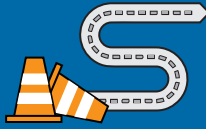
KEY TAKEAWAYS

1



Historically, regulations around schooling in India have focused on inputs and not on the quality of learning outcomes

2



An unintended consequence of input-focused regulations is that they are non-contextual and make entry and operations complex for schools



Extensive licensing requirements typically pose high barriers to entry and limit competition. For example, opening a private school in Delhi **requires 125 documents**, and applications move through at least 155 steps within the Directorate of Education



Most private schools in India are mandated to be registered as **non-profits (under The Societies Registration Act, 1860 or Indian Trusts Act, 1882)**. But this leads to low transparency and weak governance since private schools still try to operate effectively as for-profit entities



Schools being mandatorily not-for-profit makes it difficult for **high-quality providers** to enter or scale



Operational difficulties arise out of prescriptive and non-contextual requirements around inputs and processes such as **infrastructure, teacher salaries, and fee increases**

3



Board examinations, the only reliable quality measurement mechanisms across schools, do not cover the 60% of private schools that end before the grade of testing

4



The government should facilitate regular measurement and dissemination of a learning outcome indicator for every school, to empower parents and encourage schools to consistently progress towards better quality

5



As recognised in the NEP Draft 2019, an independent, accountable regulator is needed to address the existing conflict of interest where the education department sets policy, runs government schools, and regulates private schools

6



Regulation focusing on inputs and processes around safety, governance, and infrastructure should be streamlined to account for ease of operations, heterogeneity in the sector, and state capacity for implementation



VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Regulations and Low-fee Schools

Aziz (name changed) was one of the few in the Malvani slums in Mumbai to have a white-collar job in a corporate. He felt the densely-populated area needed more schooling options than the two private and government schools that were present.

A single room in his house became the first classroom, and the low fee was subsidised by the coaching classes for older students he would teach in the evening. Over the years, he built 15 classrooms, and enrolment touched 928 students.

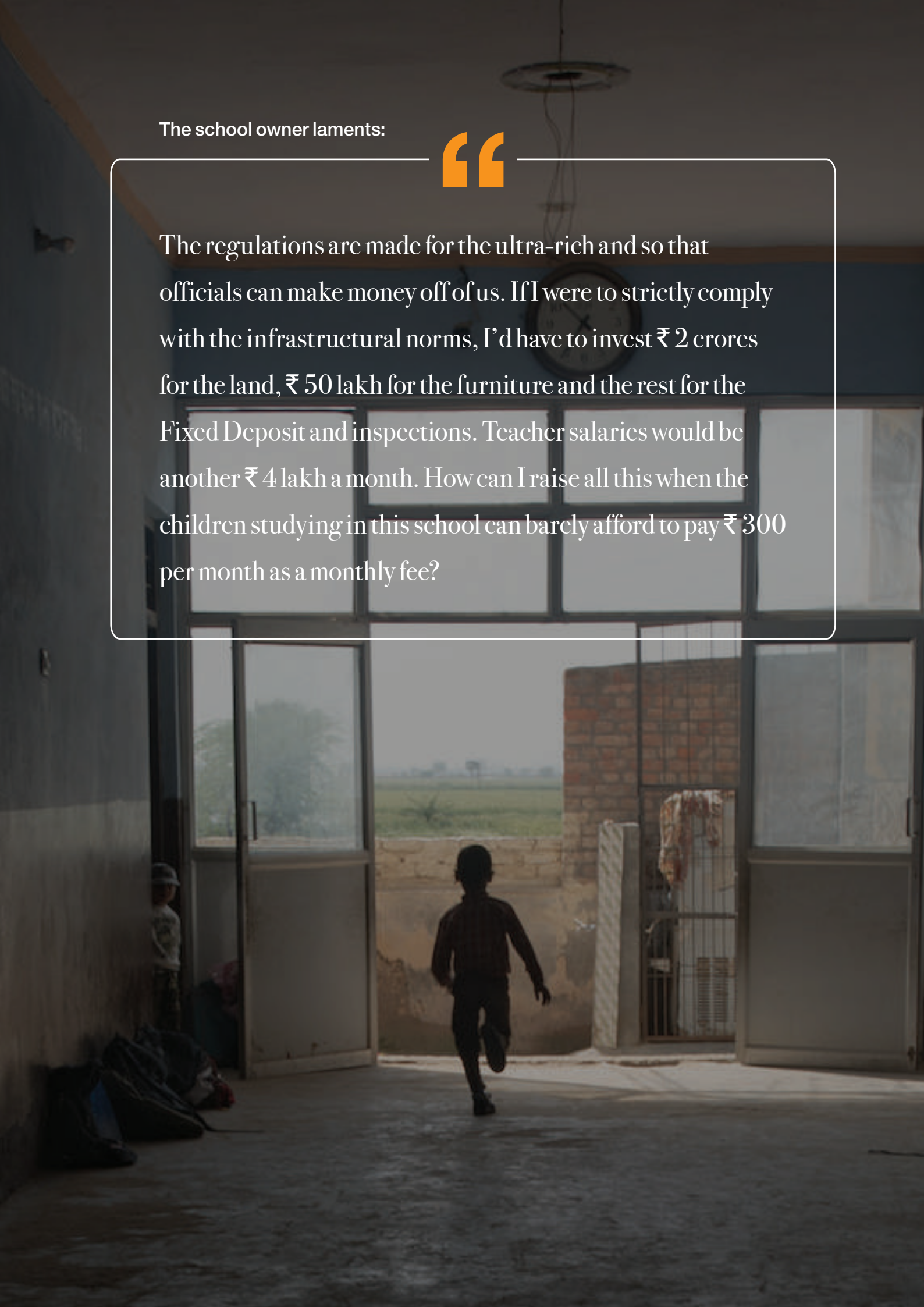
Under the current regulatory framework, however, his school would have closed down when it was still a single classroom school. The process of recognition took nearly a decade. “Nothing in the process made sense for a school catering to slum children in a slum area. Where could I get land here to meet the classroom size requirement? There were no qualified teachers in the area then, and no qualified teacher from outside was willing to come here to teach. Even the ₹ 20 lakh needed as a fixed deposit was difficult to raise,” he said.

At least 14 schools in the area are fighting closure notices by the city corporation in the high court, and the case has brought the scanner on the “legalities” of the other schools in the area. “The future of around 35,000 students is at stake here. Can the government accommodate them if they shut us all? How can the laws that govern schools in posh areas be the same as the laws for schools in slum areas?” the owner of the private school asks.

The school owner laments:



The regulations are made for the ultra-rich and so that officials can make money off of us. If I were to strictly comply with the infrastructural norms, I'd have to invest ₹ 2 crores for the land, ₹ 50 lakh for the furniture and the rest for the Fixed Deposit and inspections. Teacher salaries would be another ₹ 4 lakh a month. How can I raise all this when the children studying in this school can barely afford to pay ₹ 300 per month as a monthly fee?

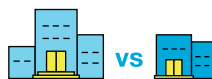


I. INTRODUCTION

As we have seen in the previous chapters, the growth of private schools in India has been driven by demand from parents and the supply of services by schools to meet this demand. In this sense, the private schooling sector forms a 'market' for educational services. A large body of economics research and evidence establishes that in a typical market, forces of choice based accountability from the demand side and competition between suppliers ensure that quality and/or efficiency progress in an upward spiral over time (World Bank 2017). However, research also suggests that education is not a typical market, due to a lack of transparency around the quality of learning, and barriers to switching for students (Chattopadhyay 2012).

Scholarship on regulation across sectors, from healthcare to labour, suggests that when markets don't work as expected, a few levers typically can work to correct them. These include market discipline exerted by social forces (for example, firms not cheating to protect their reputations), strengthened capacity of courts to enforce contracts, dispute management between private parties, and a regulatory authority that inspects and certifies goods or services, and occasionally penalises those who provide spurious services (Schleifer 2005).

How might this apply to education regulation? The key 'market failure' in education, supported by much evidence, is information asymmetry, which is to say that schools know much more about the quality of the product that they are providing compared to their customers - parents and children (Ferreyra and Liang 2012, Andrabi et al 2017). Asymmetric school quality information impacts parents' ability to identify higher-quality institutions around them.

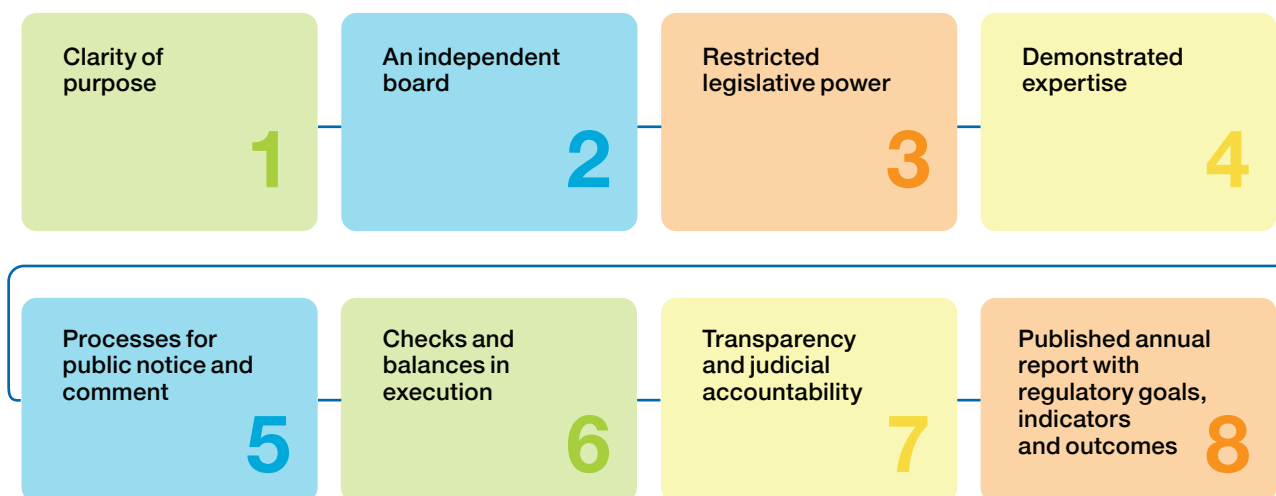


Because actual learning outcomes are difficult to compare across schools, more visible factors become important to parents. This also reduces their ability to improve their children's learning through traditional demand-side forces of choice and accountability. This is a significant problem in India, as 60% of private unaided schools end at grade 5 or 8 before their students sit for an independent board examination (U-DISE 2019). Equally importantly, lack of information also affects schools' ability to signal genuine improvements in teaching and learning - with school owners saying they do not believe improvements in quality will lead to financial gain (Jain et al 2018).

Education regulation should, therefore, attempt to make actual learning quality across schools more visible to parents, as a nudge to schools to innovate around improvement.

Yet there is no guarantee that the state or courts will be able to correct these failures in perfect ways, and there is scope for corruption as well as inefficiencies that arise from state action (Schleifer 2005). Effective regulation must, therefore, balance reducing harm and promoting good - and this framework applies to education too.

Figure 4.1
EIGHT ELEMENTS OF A HIGH PERFORMANCE REGULATOR
What does a quality regulator look like?



Source: Roy et al 2018

Given that the key priority of schooling is learning, as reinforced by the NEP Draft 2019, tackling market failures like information asymmetry that directly impact learning quality in private schools is a large gap in our current regulatory environment.

Many existing regulations are targeted at monitoring infrastructure, school finance, and teacher qualifications and salary. While the intent of these is understandable, we will see in this chapter that they may be ambiguous, create room for corruption, or be out of context for a fair proportion of schools while not focusing on learning outcomes.

This chapter reviews existing rules, norms and legislation around private schools, as well as evidence around their implementation. It also reflects the experience that private school founders have with navigating the existing regulatory framework, and attempts to understand their implications for learning improvement in private schools.

II. REGULATORY GOALS AND LEARNING

Does Regulation Focus on Learning?

Despite presumed goals to improve the quality of private schools, much regulatory legislation in education focuses not on measuring or improving learning quality but on school infrastructural inputs, finance, operations and governance, as seen in Figure 4.2.



Most regulations are focused around infrastructure, finances and governance, and far fewer around learning quality

Figure 4.2
SOURCES OF PRIVATE SCHOOL REGULATION

 Governance*	Societies Registration Act, 1860 or the Indian Trusts Act, 1882 <i>Central Legislation</i>	Right to Education Act (RTE), 2009 <i>Central Legislation</i>	State Education Acts** <i>State Legislation</i>
 Finance*	Societies Registration Act, 1860 or the Indian Trusts Act, 1882 <i>Central Legislation</i>	Fee Regulation Acts/Bills <i>State Legislation</i>	Multiple Court Judgements <i>Courts</i>
 Operations	Right to Education Act (RTE), 2009 <i>Central Legislation</i>	State Education Acts** <i>State Legislation</i>	
 Infrastructure	Right to Education Act (RTE), 2009 <i>Central Legislation</i>	State Education Acts** <i>State Legislation</i>	CBSE, ICSE, State Boards, NIOS <i>Boards</i>
 Learning Outcomes	CBSE, ICSE, State Boards, NIOS <i>Boards</i>		

KEY REQUIREMENTS

Societies Registration Act, 1860 or the Indian Trusts Act, 1882 *Central Legislation*

- Schools may only be registered as non-profit societies or trusts
- Limited audits, financial disclosure

* Additional sources include Companies Act, 2013 in Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Section 8 of Companies Act, 2013 in Maharashtra

** State Education Acts include State Acts, Rules, State RTE Rules and Government Orders on RTE norms

Right to Education Act (RTE), 2009 *Central Legislation*

Norms defined for recognition of schools, including:

- Infrastructure norms: One classroom per teacher, Specifications regarding playground, library etc
- Staffing and salary norms: Pupil-Teacher Ratio of 30:1 for primary schools, 35:1 for upper primary schools (including part-time teachers for Art, Physical Education, Work Education if the strength is over 100), qualifications and salary of private school teachers according to the state acts/rules
- Section 18 excludes government and aided schools from these rules

State Education Acts *State Legislation*

The scope of the state education acts varies across states, but commonly contains the below:

- Norms for recognition of schools
- Scope of the management of schools
- Terms and service conditions for teachers
- Certain specific infrastructural parameters, such as land requirements

Fee Regulation Acts/Bills (In 13 states) (NCPCR, n.d.) *State Legislation*

- States permitted to regulate fees, with several states creating fee regulation committees to determine if and how schools can charge or raise fees
- Fee caps may be determined through formulae around an increase in fees (varies by state from ~ 7%-15%), and may also vary with teacher qualifications or infrastructure available.

Multiple Court Judgements³² *Courts*

- Courts have ruled that education must be a not-for-profit activity
- However, private schools are permitted to make “reasonable surplus,” which the Income Tax Act, 1961, defines as 15%, to be reinvestment for development and expansion
- Multiple judgements rule that the collection of fees is legal, but states are authorised to set ceilings

CBSE, ICSE, State Boards, NIOS *Boards*

- Boards regulate curriculum through prescribed syllabi
- They conduct assessments (in most states, at the end of grades 10 and 12)
- Boards also have infrastructure and qualification requirements

³² The most notable are:

Miss Mohini Jain vs State Of Karnataka, 1992; T.M.A.Pai Foundation vs State Of Karnataka on 31 October, 2002; Unnikrishnan, J.P. vs State Of Andhra Pradesh on 4 February, 1993

a) Infrastructure Requirements

Private schools function under very specific and granular infrastructure requirements, coming from the RTE Act, 2009, state norms formed through this Act, and requirements stipulated by affiliating boards. Government recognition criteria for schools through the RTE Act, 2009 is the most extensive regulation, detailing numerous conditions of infrastructure, teacher training etc. that need to be followed.

Infrastructure requirements include stipulations like one classroom per teacher, playground, and library, among others for private unaided schools while excluding government and private aided schools from these norms.

Under the Act, private unaided schools were directed to comply with these norms within three years at their expense, or risk loss of recognition.

Board affiliations also impose infrastructure requirements. In the CBSE affiliation by-laws, the minimum land requirement varies based on location, affiliation grade and the number of sections in the school. The minimum land requirement for secondary schools is 1600 square meters in the metropolitan cities of Chennai, Delhi, Kolkata and Mumbai and goes upto 6000 square meters for other cities (Central Board of Secondary Education 2018). The by-laws list minimum sizes of laboratories and classrooms and teacher qualifications. These infrastructural requirements are granular and may not fit the context and investment capacity of low-fee schools.

Figure 4.3

LAND REQUIREMENTS FOR PRIVATE SCHOOLS



1600 m² building requirement in urban areas
For representational purposes only

Between states, infrastructural norms to be followed may vary - for instance, the size of playgrounds mandated differs across states. Schools in Karnataka are required to own or have a 30-year lease on lands to an extent of 2,000 m² to 4,000 m² depending on location and grade (Government of Karnataka 2018). In Haryana, land can be owned or have a 20-year lease and should be between 350 m² to 2,000 m² depending on whether the school has elementary or secondary classes and whether it is single-storey or multiple-storey (Government of Haryana, n.d.).

These norms may be unachievable for low-fee schools in space-constrained urban areas. An analysis of media articles (in the absence of public administrative data) between 2015 and 2018 found that 4,482 schools were under threat of closure, 13,546 schools were served closure notices by a government authority and 2,469 schools were closed in 14 observed states for non-compliance with RTE Act, 2009 norms (Centre for Civil Society 2019).

Further, much research in education shows that improvement in infrastructure inputs like buildings, toilets, electricity, etc., while undeniably important, is unlikely to have much direct impact on learning (Muralidharan et al 2013).

b) Finance and Governance Requirements

Though regulations mandate compliance with expensive infrastructure norms, many states restrict the capacity of schools to raise formal capital to meet them.

According to the State Right to Education Acts, the State Education Acts and Rules, and Model Rules under the RTE Act, 2009 private schools may only be registered as a non-profit society or trust, or under Section 8 of the Companies act 2013, which the courts have also reiterated through several judgements. This means that private schools are largely governed through the Societies Registration Act, 1860 or the Indian Trusts Act, 1882 that regulate schools' entity type, their accountability, membership, assets, and finances. Both the laws make it mandatory for the surplus in income or revenue collected to be used only to further charitable objectives, that is, in the case of schools, to further education. In turn, this affects the ability of entrepreneurs to raise institutional capital, since their legal documentation may not match their actual finances.



Governance through laws pertaining to charities is weak. A Planning Commission report finds that, due to the lack of a Central Act, states have varying charity commissions which are typically low on the list of regulatory priorities, with issues like inadequate staff, poor political commitment, delays, and lack of public information plaguing the system (Planning Commission 2004).

Only some states like Haryana, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh allow for other legal entities to open a school. Maharashtra allows for entities registered under section 8 of the Companies Act 2013 to open a school, whereas Haryana and Uttar Pradesh allow for companies registered under the Companies Act 2013 to start a school.

School finances are also subject to regulation in many states through fee regulation committees that cap increases in fees over time. Most major states (Uttar Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Haryana, Gujarat, and Delhi) have in place laws and committees that decide on whether schools can raise fees (NCPCR, n.d.). In these states, fee regulatory committees determine the limit of fee hikes, approve proposed hikes by schools, and deliberate on parent complaints. Regulatory committees comprise parents and school management representatives and are headed by a divisional commissioner. Currently, there is no central law around fees, nor is there a proposal to bring a law on fee regulations considering that education is a concurrent subject (MHRD 2018). Instead, federally, there is a legally-unenforceable guideline, “Model Framework for Fee Regulations of Unaided Private Schools” proposed by the National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR, n.d.). The guideline proposes district fee regulatory committees and a state appellate authority. While the guidelines acknowledge that fees could be linked to infrastructure, they set up a cap of fee hikes at 10% of the preceding level and fee revisions only once every three years, thus limiting school autonomy for managing sustainability of operations (NCPCR, n.d.).

Models of fee regulation differ across different states.



For example, the Uttar Pradesh Self Financed Independent Schools (Fixation of Fees) Act, 2018 applies to all schools in the state charging more than ₹ 20,000 annually (Government of Uttar Pradesh 2018). The maximum permissible hike is calculated as being the notified Consumer Price Index for the year plus an additional 5% increase in fees (which would, on an average year work out between a 7% - 8% hike in fees).

As per Educational Institutions (Regulation of Fee) Act, 2001 of Maharashtra, the state follows a blanket rule: schools can propose fee hikes of 15% once every two years; or, provide valid reasons for hikes beyond this with the approval of a three-fourths majority of the parents/ parent teacher association executive committee (Government of Maharashtra 2014). The Tamil Nadu Schools (Regulation of Collection of Fee) Act, 2009 has led to the formation of committees that can decide a fee for three years based on the locality of the school, size, infrastructure requirements (having infrastructure above the prescribed minimum is also taken into account) (PRS Legislative Research, n.d.). Rajasthan Schools (Regulation of Collection of Fee) Act, 2013 adds the requirement of teacher qualification as a determinant of fee structure (Centre for Civil Society 2014). The fee regulation acts in the aforementioned states have hampered the financial autonomy of the private schools.

In general, the literature on price controls from various other sectors has established very clearly that it has significant negative unintended consequences, including lowered entry, innovation, investment and quality (Nguyen and Whalley 1990, Jenkins 2009 and Moreno et al 2017). In order to protect parents from arbitrary fee raise the government should focus on active disclosure by schools to ensure fee predictability for parents. A private school should proactively disclose the fee details and an estimated annual hike for the rest of their school tenure to the parents seeking fresh admission of their wards to any class, grade, or level in the school (Law Commission of India 1984).

c) Learning and Quality Improvement

Learning oriented requirements are largely input-driven and focus on the numbers, qualifications and salaries of teachers - factors which may not be linked to actual outcomes.

Section 23 of the RTE Act 2009 makes it compulsory for all teachers to be trained and for their salaries to be fixed according to prescribed norms - which could bring private schools' teachers' salaries in parity with either government school teachers or State-specific acts that mandates minimum wages for teachers (Government of Karnataka 2005, Ravishanker 2019 and Baruah 2019). Further, the RTE Act, 2009 mandates the number of teachers to be hired depending on student enrolment with mandated pupil-teacher ratios of 30:1 for primary schools and 35:1 for upper primary schools (including part-time teachers for Art, Physical Education, Work Education if the strength is over 100).

Private schools are also required to be affiliated to boards, which prescribe syllabi, conduct terminal assessments, and may also regulate other aspects of school functioning like teachers' qualifications or infrastructure. State Examination Boards set their own syllabus and examinations, while national and international boards like the CBSE, the ICSE, and the International Baccalaureate are also permitted to prescribe syllabus and examinations to their affiliate schools (Kingdon 2007).

Though regulations around teacher qualifications and salaries may be intended to improve quality, the literature on the effectiveness of such measures in the Indian context is weak. Qualifications may not be indicative of actual skills - the majority of graduates who sit for the government Teacher Eligibility Test fail to demonstrate the basic skills required of a teacher (UNICEF, n.d.). Further, regulation stipulating government teacher salary as a benchmark for private school teacher salary may also have limited impact on improving learning outcomes. Private teacher salary scales are currently determined by the demand and supply of educated persons in the local labour market, and the capacity of the school to raise additional fees from low-income parents to meet salary stipulations is low (Kingdon 2017). A study conducted in government schools reveals that factors like teacher qualifications or across the board salary hikes are found to have no or small effect on student outcomes. At the same time performance-linked salary incentives to teachers have been found to impact learning significantly, even when they were as small as 3% of the teacher's salary (Muralidharan and Sundararaman 2011, Muralidharan and Sundararaman 2019, and Ree et al 2016). The fact that a uniformly high salary for private school teachers may not provide the same incentives for improvement is also indicated by observation - government school teachers are paid 7 to 9 times more than private school teachers, but are more likely to be absent (Kingdon 2017).

III. CHALLENGES WITH REGULATION IMPLEMENTATION

Figure 4.4
REGULATORY DESIGN AND IMPACT

1. CHALLENGE: Conflict of Interest and Unclear Responsibilities

Implementation Gaps³³

1. Delegation of powers to officials through geographic distinctions, not specific functions
2. One official holds two positions across government and private schools, for e.g., Govt. school principal and inspector of private school
3. Multiple agencies regulate private schools without coordination, for e.g, Commissions for Protection of Child Rights, Board
4. Inspection proformas have yes/no answers to subjective questions, for e.g., "How thought-provoking were the teachers' questions?"

Consequences³⁴

- Delays or unexpected refusals of recognition, requirements beyond the RTE Act, 2009
- Policies to streamline opening of aided/unaided schools are delayed
- Allowing parents to avail the benefit of seats for students from Economically Weaker Sections under the RTE Act, 2009 only when all seats in government schools in the area are occupied
- Property tax increases only for private unaided schools
- Reimbursement under Section 12(1)(c) of the RTE Act, 2009 to private unaided schools delayed or pending

³³ Centre for Civil Society. 2019. "Anatomy of K-12 Governance in India: Evidence from States on Regulation of Private Schools." Friedrich Naumann Foundation. <https://ccs.in/sites/default/files/Anatomy-of-K-12-Governance-in-India.pdf>

³⁴ Analysis of media articles on private schools, Centre for Civil Society, forthcoming

2. CHALLENGE: Limited State Capacity

Implementation Gaps

1. Government officials claim that understaffing leads to low task completion, estimate that department operates at 40% capacity
2. A process spanning 2-3 days is stipulated for each inspection as per Delhi state guidelines (DSEAR 1973), yet notice to schools only requires 2-3 hours for inspection

Consequences

- As a consequence, there can be 2-8 years between inspections for schools
- Though annual inspections are stipulated, only 3.4% schools are inspected in a year
- The entire inspection process can take upto 919 days, as inspection team goes through a 68 point checklist
- Inspection report can be shared after upto 573 days after the inspection

3. CHALLENGE: Lack of Accountability

Implementation Gaps

1. Inspection Reports not publically available
2. Opaque mechanism for complaint resolution for parents and schools
3. Long and costly judicial pathway

Consequences

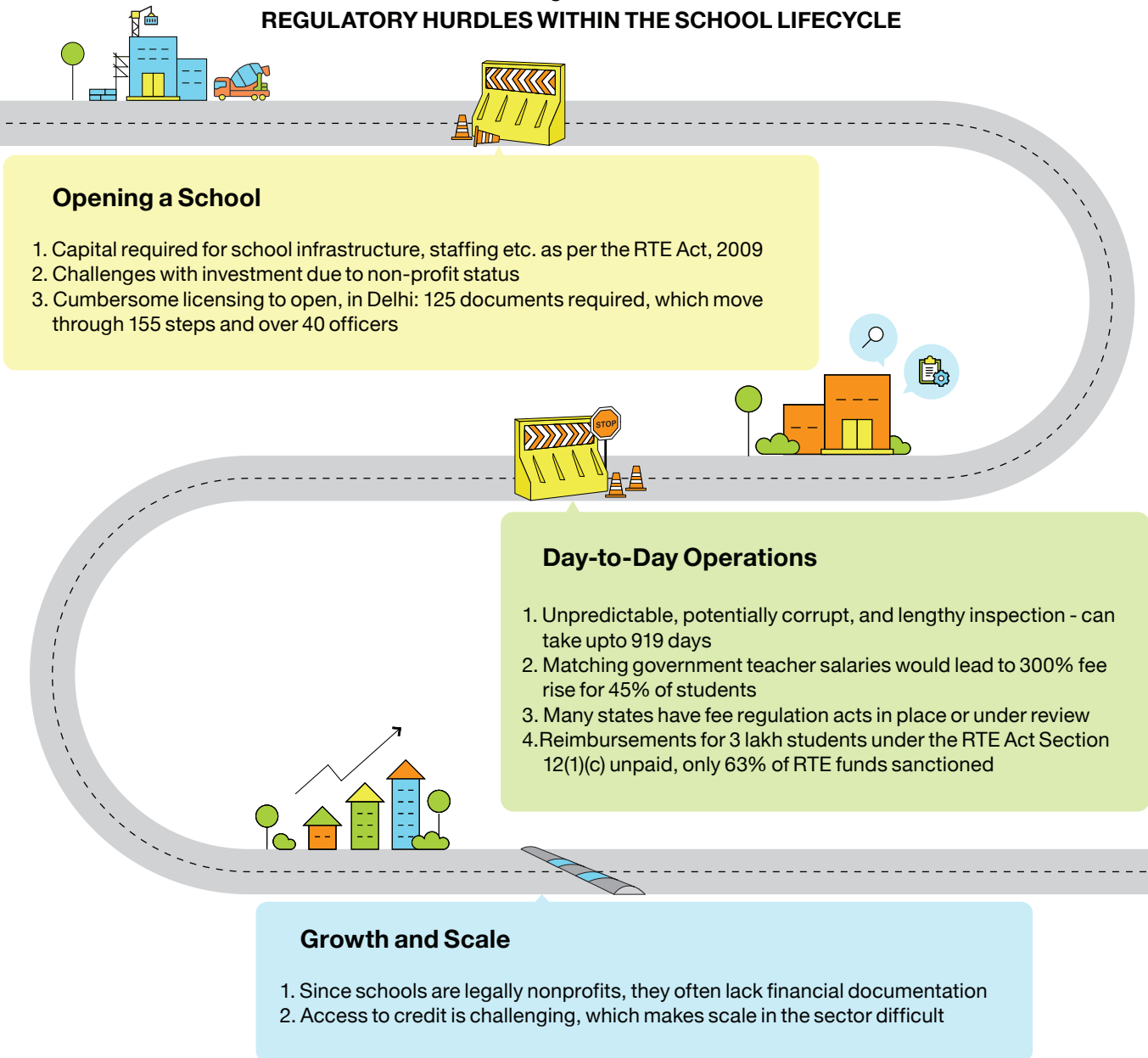
- Non-standardised judgements on inspections cannot be challenged
- Many school owners informally admit to “facilitation payments” to inspectors, suggesting high levels of graft
- Parents cannot use inspection information to drive accountability

IV. REGULATORY CONSEQUENCES FOR SCHOOLS

Regulations may differ greatly in their execution on the ground due to gaps in state capacity to execute them, and their applicability within the context. Through evidence of the experience that schools and school leaders have had with regulations along their lifecycle of opening, day-to-day operations, and growth, we chart out the implications of executing the laws, rules and norms described above.

Figure 4.5

REGULATORY HURDLES WITHIN THE SCHOOL LIFECYCLE



These challenges are explored in greater detail below.

a) What is required to open a low-fee private school?

1. Funding to Start



A healthy sector would be one in which new, more innovative suppliers can easily enter, and existing suppliers keep innovating because they know new competition can emerge. This may not be the case at present with schools, at least in part due to the entry barriers set up through the regulatory ecosystem. The individual must have the capital to start a school as a trust or society and meet various infrastructure, staffing, and salary requirements without support through credit or investment.

2. Licenses and Permissions

Private schooling is a highly-regulated sector, and processes to open a school vary from state to state, city to city, urban to rural areas, and between affiliating boards - and can be extensive.



An illustrative example is given in the figure below, which lists (non-exhaustive) licenses needed to open a private unaided school in Delhi.

At the core are Essentiality Certificates (to prove the need for a school in the area and that the creation of a new school will not impact other schools in the area), Scheme of Management Certificates (approval of the management of the school) and Certificate of Recognition (approval for infrastructural, academic and managerial requirements).



In all, there are 125 documents, which as a whole move through at least 155 steps within the Directorate of Education and pass through the hands of over 40 officers. The documents are scrutinised with a checklist of 136 points (Centre for Civil Society 2019).

The mandated time is eight months for essentiality and recognition certificates. However, the process can take upto 73 months. The delay has a ripple effect, as water test reports lapse after six months while fire safety is valid for 1-3 years. These may need to be redone by private schools (Centre for Civil Society 2019).

These requirements result in school owners having to face a significant bureaucratic tangle (Centre for Civil Society 2019). Anecdotaly, complex red tape leads to delays in procurement of licenses and leads to a process where corruption and use of influence are seen as viable ways to cut through the clutter of multi-layered bureaucracy.

Figure 4.6
OPENING UP A PRIVATE UNAIDED SCHOOL IN DELHI

Registration Certificate



Office of the Registrar
of Societies



Delhi Societies
Registration Act (1860)

7 Documents
Required

Essentiality Certificate



Department of
Education



Delhi Education Act
(1973)

29 Documents
Required

Certificate of Recognition



Department of
Education



Delhi Education Act
(1973)

82 Documents
Required

Certificate of Upgradation



Department of
Education



Delhi Education Act
(1973)

31* Documents
Required

Certificate of Affiliation



Central Board of
Secondary Education



CBSE Affiliation
Bye-Laws

18* Documents
Required

MCD Certificate



Municipal Corporation Delhi

**Affidavit Regarding the Proper
Purchase of Land and no Violation of
Master Plan in the Land Used**



Municipal Corporation Delhi or Delhi
Development Authority

**Site Plan of the Building/
Sanctioned Building Plan**



Municipal Corporation Delhi or Delhi
Development Authority



Building
by-laws

Building Fitness Certificate



Municipal Corporation
Delhi



Building
by-laws

Health Certificate



Municipal Corporation Delhi

Fire Safety Certificate



Delhi Fire Services

Water Testing Report



Delhi Jal Board

Completion Certificate



Municipal Corporation
Delhi

Scheme of Management



Department of
Education



Delhi Education Act
(1973)

14 Documents
Required

No Loan Certificate against FD issued by the bank



Bank

Land Use Permitted Certificate (in case of rented land)



Landlord



**Opening a
School**

* indicative of the requirements to be followed, which may entail more than one document (Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, n.d., FICCI 2014, Wadhwa, n.d., Department of Education: Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi, n.d., and Central Board of Secondary Education, n.d.)

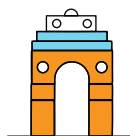
b) How is day-to-day operation affected by regulation?

1. Inspection and Auditing



Regular inspections from the Department of Education are mandated by state laws. The frequency of these inspections depends on the state. Continuing from the example of Delhi provided above, schools have to be inspected annually. The inspections cover the functioning of the managing committee, payment of teachers, financial accounts, and teaching quality, among others (Centre for Civil Society 2019). However, in 2018 just 60 schools had been inspected - five private schools per district - due to capacity constraints in the government (Centre for Civil Society 2019). Further, inspections are sometimes carried out by government school principals or other staff, who may be likely to have seen private schools as competition (Centre for Civil Society 2019).

As part of the regulatory mechanisms, private unaided schools are required to submit an Annual Administrative Report (AAR) and annual reports every financial year. This is often violated, with the state having little manpower to enforce rules. In Delhi, up to 40% of private schools did not submit their annual returns, and returns were not checked by the department of education (Government of National Capital Territory of Delhi 2012). In Telangana, the CAG observed that none of the over 3,700 schools in the studied three districts submitted these accounts. In its study of inspections in 11 states, the CAG notes massive shortfalls and an inability of the state departments to cover even the minimum mandated number of inspections (Government of India Ministry of Human Resource Development 2017).



In Delhi, the entire inspection process can take upto 919 days, as the inspection team goes through a 68 point checklist, making it cumbersome and ambiguous for schools as well (Centre for Civil Society 2019).

It is clear that current regulatory mechanisms are just not able to cope with the demands of inspection schedules and the rigorous norms set up by the regulatory framework. Instead, with multiple rules to be followed, there is a real possibility of a persistent culture of bribes and corruption which further dilutes the efficacy of these laws (Tooley and Dixon 2005, and Centre for Civil Society 2019).

2. Fee Regulations



The fee distribution in India is heavily skewed towards lower fees - the number of schools charging very high fees, is likely small given that 70% of parents pay below ₹ 12,000 per annum.

Fee capping through Fee Regulation Acts may affect quality in low-fee private schools. Research suggests that price control results in entrepreneurs and talent from that sector migrating to other sectors, reducing competition and constraining the price incentive to improve quality (Morton 2001).

Tight budgets and the inability to raise fees (through law or through the risk of losing students who might not be able to afford higher fees) to meet the infrastructure requirements laid out in various regulations have made private schools, and in particular low-fee private schools, susceptible to policy shocks. School compliance with RTE Act, 2009 norms would result in a multi-fold increase in fees.

In Delhi, for instance, compliance with the RTE norms could result in a 590% increase in fee (Centre for Civil Society 2019).

In Patna, adhering to increased teacher salary norms would lead to an increase in average fees of 560% for schools charging students under ₹300 per month, an increase of 286% for schools charging under ₹500 and an increase of 173% in fees for schools with monthly average fees above ₹500 (Rangaraju, Tooley and Dixon 2012).

3. Teacher Salary and Staffing Regulation



Even if an individual can make philanthropic investments in capital expenses like land and infrastructure while setting up the school, recurring expenses like teacher salaries affect the operations of private schools. Section 23 of the RTE Act mentions the salary and allowances payable to, and the terms and conditions of service of teachers shall be such as may be prescribed by the government. In Delhi, the High Court has asked the private schools to pay teachers as per the 7th Pay Commission (Baruah 2019). This would mean schools once again have few options but to retrieve additional fees from parents -- likely making schools unaffordable for parents who would have preferred to send their children there.



Pay Commission Salaries and Fee Implications

If private school teachers were paid as per Pay Commission salaries for government school teachers, the total annual salary cost for an average school with 9 teachers would be ₹ 357750.³⁵ Therefore, just to cover teacher salaries, in an average enrolment private unaided school with 246 students (U-DISE 2019), each student would have to pay ₹ 18,536 annually in fees. This amounts to at least ₹ 1,454 per month in fees, nearly tripling the ₹ 500 or less in fees that 45% of private unaided school students currently pay, and requiring a fee increase for 70% of students in private unaided schools who pay less than ₹ 1000 per month.

Unsurprisingly, non-compliance with these rigorous norms has led to threats of closure to private schools or, in a large number of cases, outright closures of these schools.



Between April 2015 and March 2018, at least 13,546 schools have been sent notices. Of these, 2,469 schools were shut, and an additional 4,482 schools have received official closure notices across the country (Centre for Civil Society 2019).

4. RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) Reimbursements

Section 12(1)(c) of the RTE Act, 2009 perhaps one of the most contentious sections of the Act, mandates non-minority private unaided schools to reserve 25% of their seats for the socio-economically disadvantaged sections. In return, governments will reimburse schools with school fees or government per-child expenditure, whichever is lower. The annual reimbursement for students varies in states according to the Per Pupil Expenditure of state government on students. For instance, in Tamil Nadu, it was over ₹ 28,000 annually, while in Uttar Pradesh it was just ₹ 5,400 and without revisions over the past five years (Kingdon and Muzammil 2018). However, delays in reimbursement are commonplace and states do not get the amount demanded from the Centre (Centre for Civil Society 2019). In 2018-19, 57% of the Rs. 2,339 crore asked by states for RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) reimbursements were cleared by the Project Approval Board (PAB) of the Ministry of Human Resources Development (Kumar et al 2018).

³⁵ The average school for a private school operating from grades 1-12 and that teachers are paid salaries according to the 7th Pay Commission, total teacher salaries for a K-12 school would be as described: trained primary teacher salary ₹ 35-37k, ₹ 43-47K for trained graduate teachers and ₹ 46-48K for post-graduate teacher per month (Government of India 2017). This calculation assumes that teachers are distributed across schools in the same ratio as enrolment - so, for an average school with 9 teachers, 4.5 teach in the primary section, and 2.25 in upper primary and secondary.

In 2019-20, just 63.78% of the ₹ 1,725.3 crore asked by 12 states for RTE reimbursement was sanctioned by the PAB (Kumar et al 2018). For the academic year, this would mean that reimbursements for over 3.11 lakh students in these 12 states were not approved.³⁶

Reimbursements are often delayed for months or years, leading to stresses on private school finances.³⁷ A few private schools have threatened to boycott admissions through the RTE Act, 2009 until reimbursements are cleared (Dongre et al 2018). In some cases, these delays have led to an increase in fees for other students in the school (Mehendale et al 2015).



VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Impact of Late Reimbursements

“We don’t really have a problem with the Right to Education Act. It allows poor students to come to our school. We have 149 students here and they are doing well. But what are we to do when the government does not reimburse for it? We have not got fees for the past four to five years. In fact, we got the reimbursement for the 2014 batch only in 2018. This has affected our finances. We try to make do with the Rs. 8 lakh we collect monthly as the fee from other students. But, sometimes, we are forced to pay teacher salaries very late,” said a Sion-based School Principal.

³⁶ Reasons for non-approval include: states not submitting relevant documents, proposal for anticipated expenditure rather than actual expenditure; pre-primary admissions are being claimed

³⁷ For more information about this: Indian Institute of Management – Ahmedabad, Central Square Foundation, Accountability Initiative (Centre for Policy Research) and Vidhi Centre for Legal Policy, “State of the Nation: RTE Section 12(1)(c),” (March 2015), https://accountabilityindia.in/sites/default/files/state_of_the_nation_-_section_12_1_c_csf_march_2015.pdf; Ritu Sharma, “Education CAG Slams Gujarat Govt for Deficiencies in implementing RTE,” *The Indian Express*, (September 2018), Kumaran P, “RTE reimbursement delay hinders audit at schools,” *Bangalore Mirror*, (March 2019), <https://bangaloremirror.indiatimes.com/bangalore/others/rte-reimbursement-delay-hinders-audit-at-schools/articleshow/68541256.cms>; DNA Correspondent, “Poor utilisation of RTE funds by Gujarat, says CAG,” *DNA*, (September 2018) <https://www.dnaindia.com/ahmedabad/report-poor-utilisation-of-rte-funds-by-gujarat-says-cag-2665786>

c) Can good schools scale up?

1. Lending and Scale



How easy is it for a well-operated school to grow - to be able to serve more students, or to form a chain - which research suggests have better learning outcomes in several cases than standalone schools (Crawford and Hares 2019)?



The barriers of documentation and collaterals make borrowing from the formal sector difficult for many low-fee schools. Many schools are pushed to borrow money from the informal sector at high interest rates.³⁸

For trusts in many states, loans must be approved in advance by the charity commissioner (ICNL 2019). Secondly, for schools to build scale in a sector which has high capital and operating expenses, may require greater entry of equity capital.

One unintended consequence of regulation mandating the non-profit nature of education is that it has curbed investor interest in directly funding private schools.

Simultaneously, multitudinous laws make it hard for public-spirited philanthropy to set up schools (NEP Draft 2019). The Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) regime allows for 100% investment in education through the automated route (without needing approval), and also 100% investment for construction development activities in the education sector. However, trusts and societies cannot receive FDI while establishing schools under Section 8 of the Companies Act, as the law prohibits profit. This, along with a complex regulatory mechanism, has deterred any foreign investment (Desai 2018).

³⁸ Interviews with private school owners.

Based on the data gathered on equity deals between 2010 and 2016, Indian education enterprises have attracted around USD 52 million from impact investors globally, with a little more than half of the investment going towards school management consulting services (Malani n.d). Mainstream investors have pumped in as much as 215 million USD, but a large part of it goes to social entrepreneurs who have developed profitable revenue models by selling services to schools. As explained earlier, direct investments in schools are not incentivised since returns cannot be made legally.

The education sector remains high in priority for domestic philanthropists and companies donating under Corporate Social Responsibility (Bain Philanthropy Report 2018). Between 2013-2017, nearly ₹5000 crore – or 33% of total philanthropic funds – were donated for the education sector (OECD 2019). This expenditure largely focuses on educational policy and training (vocational, teacher and managerial training).

d) Do existing regulations aid the delivery of quality education?

Complex, non-contextual regulatory regimes such as the existing de jure environment in our country, sap time and money, and discourage quality entrants, affecting learning negatively.





VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Is the road to adopting existing regulatory norms also the road to quality?

Shishir (name changed) is the owner and HM of a low-fee private school in Hyderabad which recently achieved the status of a recognised private school, meaning that the school now supposedly adheres to the regulatory norms set forth by the government. Shishir laments that the process of achieving recognition was a long and difficult process for him, especially since he saw no value addition to his school except the permission to expand his school from elementary to secondary grades. Some of the regulations like the requirement of hiring B.Ed. qualified teachers or the presence of a playground seem impractical to him, especially since the inspector in-charge doesn't check for these in his annual inspection. He says, "I spent ₹ 4-5 lakh to get recognition for this school. That is money I could have spent on improvement projects, and time I could have spent dealing with problems in the school and not running around behind someone. Recognition in itself does not have any effect on the quality of learning in the school," suggesting that the adherence to regulations and the status in itself has no bearing on learning quality. This also suggests that schools which might not have the means to bear the unstated costs associated with this process might be at a disadvantage. He goes on to say "Government expects us to hire teachers with B.Ed. qualifications. But, when they release the DSC notice (for Govt. Teacher jobs), all these teachers take leave to study for the exam. Who will teach our children? Hence, we hire graduates with B.A. and BSc. degrees or 12th pass teachers for primary. If regulations are practical, we can follow them. Similarly, if there is no lab or playground, they should punish us, not just take money and settle the matter."

Some of the existing regulations might not be easy for a private school owner to implement and compliance may not have any bearing on learning quality, as expressed by another school owner in Haryana, who is in the process of getting his school recognised by the government. Aside from expressing the difficulty he faces in implementing regulatory requirements, he goes on to add "Recognition doesn't matter at all in terms of quality, but it matters for our brand. If the school is recognised, enrolment numbers would go up because parents value this and trust the government, but ultimately, the quality of our school will depend on our experience and efforts every single day and not on recognition or whether my teachers have some qualification or my school has some library. I will say this even after I get recognised." He further compares schools in his village and comments that many unrecognised schools are worse off than his school, as are many recognised schools.

The headmaster explains:



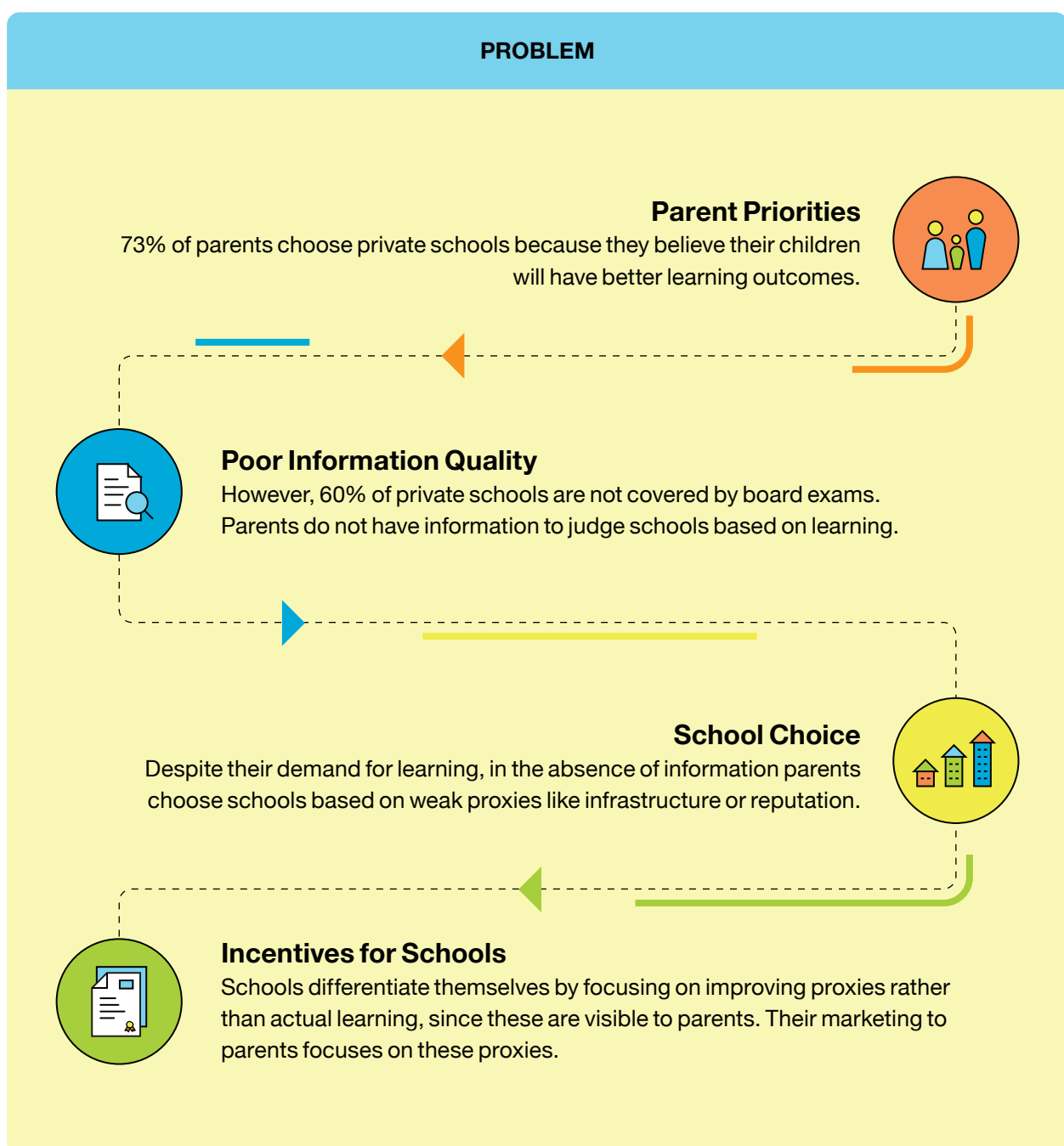
The ability to follow regulatory norms isn't connected with better learning, however, it does signal to parents that the school can continue upto grade 10 and that it won't shut down suddenly." While parents may use 'recognised school' as a proxy for a better school, this isn't necessarily true considering that learning outcomes are low across recognised schools



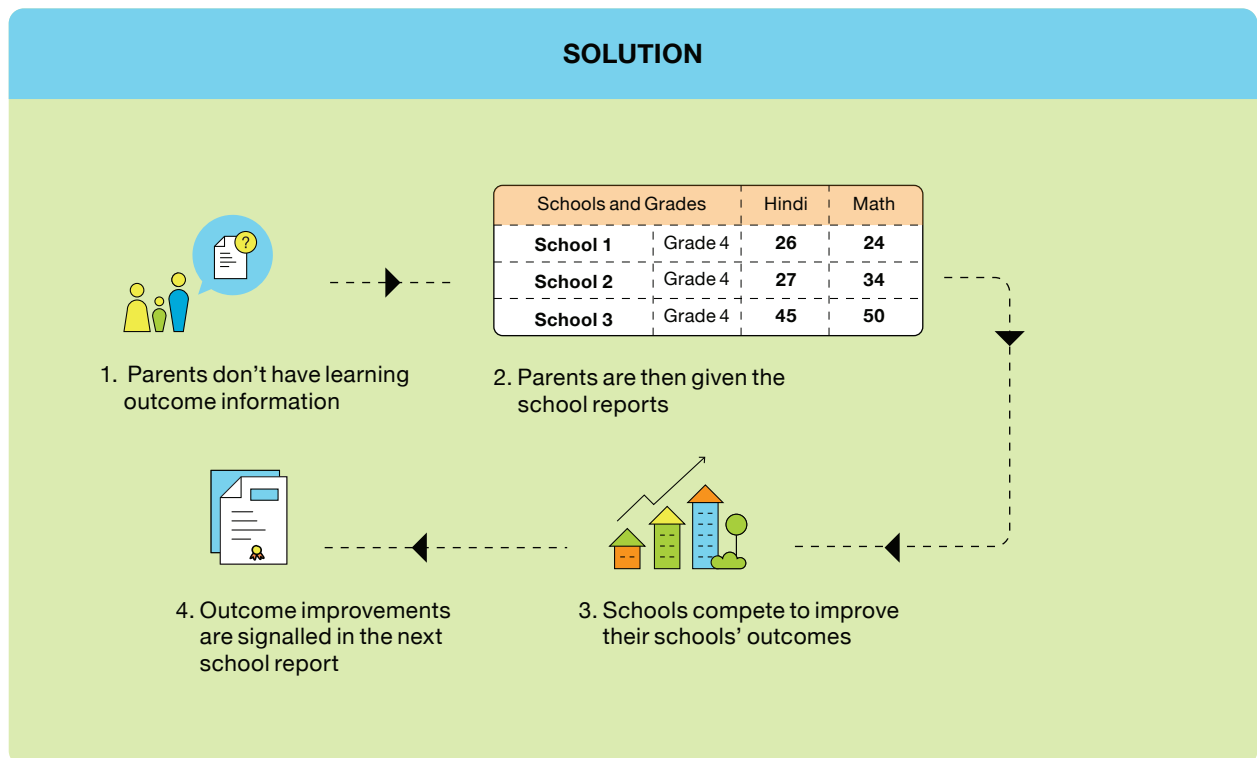
V. REGULATION FOR LEARNING IMPROVEMENT

As argued in Chapter 2, evidence shows that there is much to be done to improve learning outcomes across the board, irrespective of the school management. This is despite the fact that private schools seem more accountable to parents than government schools around visible factors like teacher presence. Parents likely have a hard time judging learning outcomes, and so schools lack the incentive to improve them constantly. As we have seen in this chapter, the existing regulatory system likely does not aid learning improvement either.

Figure 4.7
INFORMATION ASYMMETRY AND LOW LEARNING



Therefore, a key regulatory activity should be providing useful and accurate learning information to parents on their school choices. This has been attempted at a national scale in Chile, as well as in smaller experiments in South Asia, and each finds that learning outcomes across schools improve significantly when such information is distributed.



Source: Afridi et al 2017



Figure 4.8

EVIDENCE ON FIXING INFORMATION ASYMMETRY

Different forms of learning-based information to parents and kids

Indian Statistical Institute

An experiment in rural Ajmer, Rajasthan, provides interesting insights on how the provision of school quality information to parents helped them choose better schools (Afridi et al 2017).³⁹ Different combinations of learning-based information provision to schools and parents found that comparative information on schools is more effective than student or school-level information. This was perhaps due to greater pressure on schools to perform as well as increased parent involvement in their child's educational progress.

The study also found that parents with children in private schools were more likely to exercise better school choice and there was an increased probability of children being shifted to higher-ranked schools. However, there was little impact on learning scores when either only the schools or only parents were given information on their school's or child's performance - as is typically done through student report cards.

The LEAPS Program, Harvard Evidence for Policy Design

The multi-year Learning and Education Achievement in Punjab Schools Project (LEAPS) programme (Andrabi et al 2017, and Akmal 2017) finds similar results. Providing report cards on the child's learning and school quality to parents and schools, based on a learning assessment, saw an increase in test scores and enrolment that sustained over 8 years. There was also a general decline in private school fees, particularly among low-performing schools.

Impact of distributing comparative school quality information within a village to parents

National school rating system with widespread information dissemination

Chile, Ministry of Education

Learning gains were seen when an information dissemination system was set up in Chile at a national scale. Though learning outcomes were initially stagnant, Chile has been amongst the fastest-improving countries globally in the PISA test for the period between 2005-2016 (Neilson 2018).

³⁹ The field consists of 159 schools, 5,157 students in 72 villages. Of this, parents of 1,499 randomly selected students were given "report cards" of varying information levels.

Given this range of evidence, perhaps the most promising way in which the state can intervene to improve quality in private schools is by measuring learning in a standardized, independent, and highly reliable way across all schools and at younger grades. This should be supplemented by devising ways to distribute information about schools' performance to parents.

V. CONCLUSION: RESTRUCTURING REGULATION

We see in this chapter that learning in private schools is under-regulated, while inputs and entry are over-regulated, and this needs to change. However, the highly heterogeneous nature of the sector, low state capacity for enforcement, the possibility of corruption, and the burden complex regulations pose for the entry and smooth running of private schools has to be kept in mind. Accordingly, the basic principles of good regulation suggest that it is important for states to set up an independent regulator that can be in charge of facilitating the measurement and dissemination of learning markers. The independent regulator should also create a school accreditation ecosystem and mandate information disclosure. This might simplify the regulatory process by doing less better (Shah and Kelkar 2019) and allow parents to more effectively judge whether a school is right for them based on their context, priorities, and ability to spend.



Child Safety in Schools

Children's safety - physical, psychological, and social - should be a priority for schools, as well as for regulators. States could facilitate the formulation and publication of local, context-specific norms for child safety (including services like counselling for students, as well as physical norms around fire safety).

Such norms should also bear in mind the massive heterogeneity in the sector. An effective way of doing this could be through graded norms and third-party evaluation of standards of schools and public dissemination of these evaluations. The state can accredit/license third party agencies specialising in measurement, testing, and evaluation of safety standards to conduct assessments of safety standards for schools, and assign grades based on their offerings. Schools will be required to disclose the degree of compliance to safety standard assessments with parents and display the same on the schools' notice boards, website, portal. This will help facilitate transparency to parents, for whom this issue matters the most.

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A photograph of a classroom in a developing country. In the foreground, a young boy in a green shirt sits at a wooden desk, smiling and resting his chin on his hand. He has a book open on his desk. To his left, a girl in a green dress looks towards the camera. Behind them, several other children are seated at desks, some looking towards the camera and others looking away. In the background, a chalkboard is visible with some faint writing, and a poster on the wall contains text in a local language. The lighting is natural, and the overall atmosphere is one of a typical classroom setting.

CHAPTER 5

Global Experiments in Private School Governance

KEY TAKEAWAYS

1



Global experiments in private school governance include the provision of learning outcome-based information to parents, regulation based on outcomes, ensuring regulatory independence and expanding access to private schools



Dissemination of reliable, granular data on schools' and students' learning quality is an essential component of systems that improve learning - as in Chile, which has been one of the fastest-improving countries globally in the PISA test



Learning outcome-based regulation through disclosure of school learning levels, targeted support to weak schools, and outcome-linked incentives for good performers have improved outcomes and transparency in Chile, the UK, and Dubai



Expansion of access to private schools through a voucher system has risks of worsening inequality. However, there is the possibility of substantial gains in learning for the poorest children under the right conditions, as seen through iterated programs in Chile



Bolstering regulatory independence through mechanisms such as Uruguay's **independent assessor and regulator** seem promising while inspection-led systems in the United Kingdom and Tanzania have encountered challenges

I. INTRODUCTION: PRIVATE EDUCATION AROUND THE WORLD

India's experience with private schools mirrors the increases seen in enrolments in private schools globally, particularly in the developing world. A 2018 World Bank analysis of UNESCO Institute for Statistics data of enrolments shows that globally, 17.5% of all primary school children study in private schools.⁴⁰ It also shows that 26.46% of all secondary school enrolments are in private schools (UIS 2020).⁴¹ This is an increase of seven percentage points for both classes of education since 1970.

The global south is driving this expansion, as access to education in low-income nations increases. Between 1990 and 2010, primary net enrolment increased from 55 to 80 percent in low-income nations and subsequently, in these countries, private school enrolment shot up by 11 percentage points. In comparison, middle-income and high-income nations saw private schooling increase by less than 2 percentage points (World Bank 2014).

In South Asia, India's neighbours are seeing higher enrolment into private schools. Pakistan has 34% private school enrolment in the primary stage, with secular, co-educational and for-profit private schools becoming widespread in both urban and rural areas. Bangladesh has 94% enrolment in private secondary schools. In Malaysia, private school enrolment grew from just 1% in 2002 to over 15% in 2013, largely to cater to the needs of urban middle classes (Emerging-Strategy 2019). In Nigeria, the flight from the public education services has been due to lack of funding of public schools and frequent teacher strikes (Härmä, n.d.). In China, private schools were not allowed until the early 1990s. However, powers of administration of public schools were given to local bodies, who could also recruit and fire teachers - in effect, sharing characteristics with private schools.

Given this global spread, many countries have pondered over how to tap into the opportunities, and address the challenges posed by the rise of the private school sector. In this chapter, we have divided a non-exhaustive list of countries and programs from middle and low-income countries into governance themes around outcome measurement and regulation, inspections, and voucher schemes. For India, these are models for consideration as governance and regulation of private schools are improved.



⁴⁰ School Enrolment, Primary, Private (% of Total Primary) - China

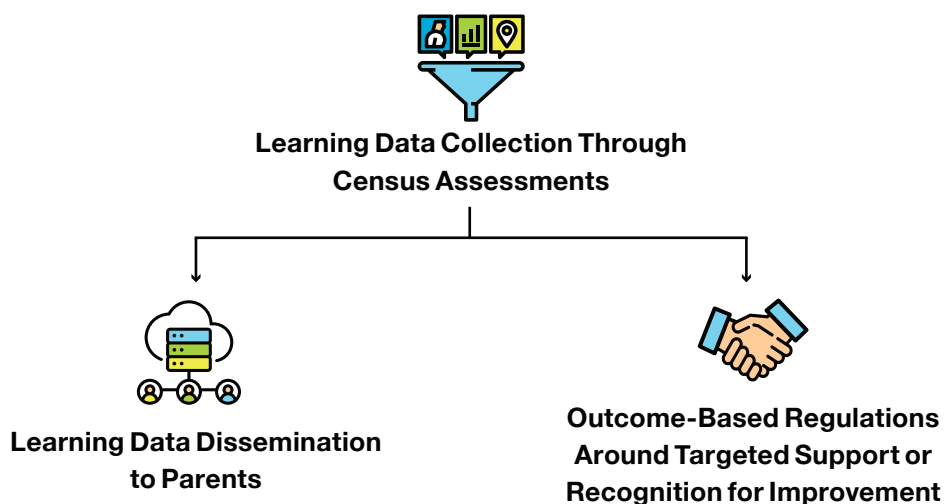
⁴¹ School Enrolment, Secondary, Private (% of Total Secondary)

II. LEARNING OUTCOME MEASUREMENT, DISCLOSURE AND USE

As seen in previous chapters, a shift towards regulations focusing on learning outcomes might be a more effective approach to deliver quality education than one that is based on a qualitative list of inputs such as infrastructure and teacher qualifications. One of the prerequisites of such a shift is credible information on learning outcomes, comparable at the level of schools. Globally, this information has typically come from standardised census assessments. For teachers and schools, census assessments provide a metric to compare their strengths, weaknesses and areas of improvement.

For parents and students, a census-based assessment covering all schools provides an assessment not only of the students' strengths and weaknesses but also that of schools - thus aiding in better-informed school choice (Vegas and Petrow 2007).

Figure 5.1
UNIVERSAL LEARNING INDICATOR



a) Learning Data Collection



Chile has become a model, in Latin America and the world, for assessing learning outcomes.

Its national learning outcome assessment system (Sistema de Medición de Calidad de la Educación or SIMCE) covers all schools, both public and privately-managed.

Introduced in 1988, SIMCE is a census-based assessment system that allows for the generation of individual student, school and system performance reports.



The data these assessments collect is comprehensive - across grades, subjects, and testing cycles. While students in grade 4 are assessed every year in Mathematics, Spanish, the Natural and Social Sciences; grade 8 and grade 10 (Mathematics and Spanish only) students are assessed every alternative year (Meckes and Carrasco 2010). Socio-economic characteristics of schools are also measured through questionnaires to parents, teachers and principals. Altogether, this is a sizeable task - at least 22,500 test supervisors and external administrators are directly involved in the field operation (Ramírez 2012). The Ministry of Education converts raw student scores into a complex index reflective of school socio-economic background and certain non-academic outcomes to rank schools. They then use a multi-pronged mechanism for information dissemination which covers various stakeholders aside from parents, including teachers, principals, policy-makers, journalists and the general public. Each mechanism of dissemination has a different purpose - whether specific feedback to a teacher or school, building awareness and public involvement in education progress, or, crucially, information distribution to parents to drive informed choice (Ramírez 2012).



SIMCE groups schools by socio-economic backgrounds of its students to attempt to ensure there is fairness in comparison of school quality. The complex system also accounts for “educational context” which considers variables such as the vulnerability of the student’s home, mother’s schooling, and geographic location, among other aspects. Chile’s Education Quality Assurance Agency (ACE) categorises schools using learning results (as measured under SIMCE) and achievements in Other Indicators of Education Quality which comprises eight indices related to the personal and social development of students. These indices include: academic self-esteem and school motivation, school coexistence climate, citizenship participation and training, healthy life habits, school attendance, school retention, gender equity and technical-professional qualifications (OECD 2016). Eventually, based on their performance, schools are grouped into four performance categories: Insufficient, Medium-low, Medium and High.

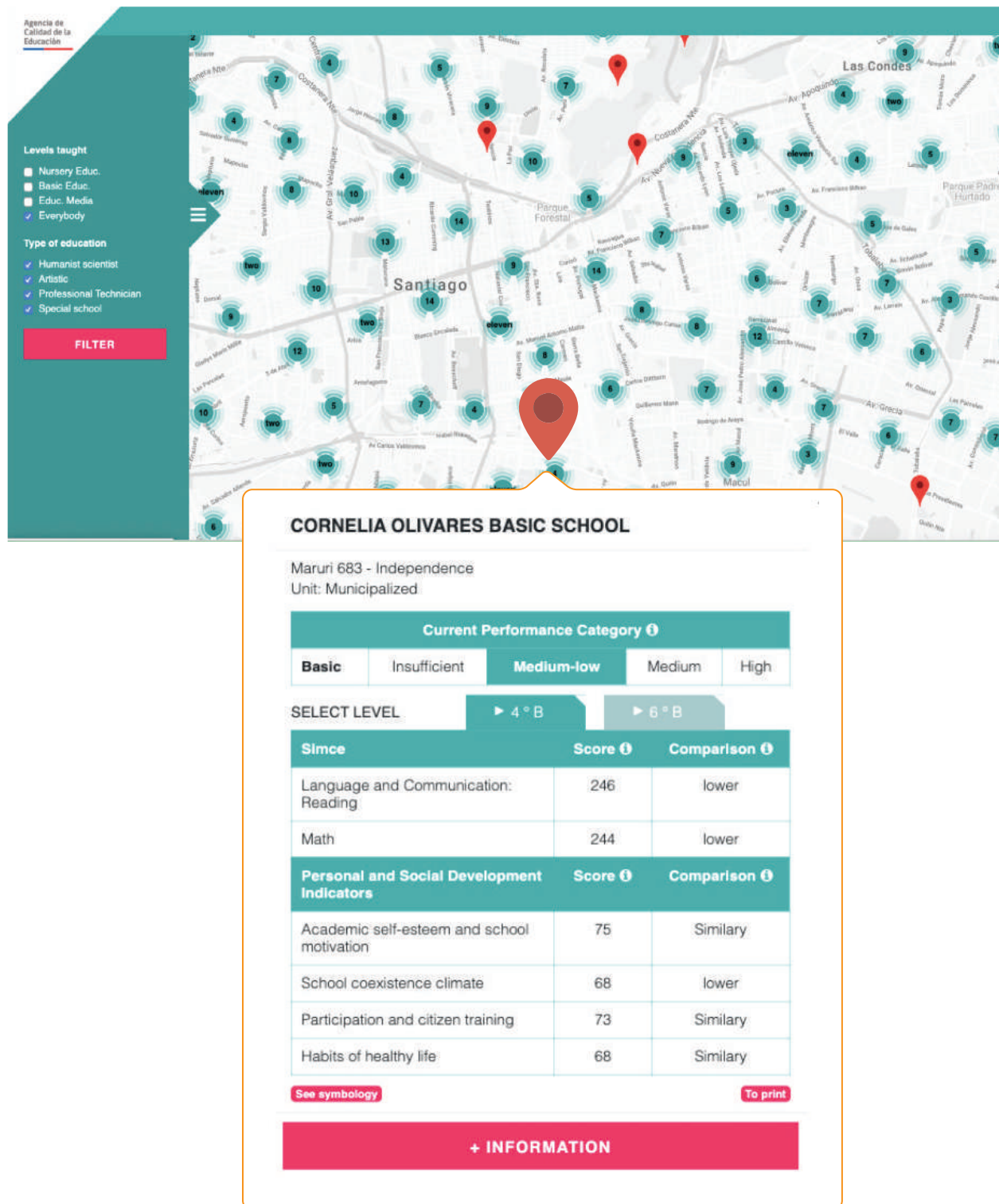


Bangladesh too has a certification census examination at the end of primary school, known as the Primary School Certificate. This is an assessment of all grade 5 students in public and private schools in six subjects. Like SIMCE, the data is used for various purposes -- student certification, teacher support, school accountability and competition, and subnational administrative planning and targeting (UNESCO 2017).

b) Learning Data Dissemination

School quality data as collected in Chile through SIMCE is used in two ways. First, it is made publically available to build parent awareness, and second, being ranked at the bottom of the scale for over four years can result in loss of recognition for the school.

SIMCE has been long recognised as one of the top performers in the region, and a key reason for this is the quality of dissemination (Vegas and Petrow 2007). Apart from parent booklets, mass media is a target audience for SIMCE. Journalists are involved in the dissemination process through explainers, special reports on the main findings, free flow of information and preparation of a list of experts who can be interviewed to analyse the results. SIMCE not only has the greatest political impact, but Chile is perhaps one of the few countries where results are well covered in the media (Meckes, Carrasco 2010). Since 2005, the Education Ministry has decided to assign one day of the school calendar each year for the analysis of results within each school to ensure that the results can be understood and acted upon.



Source: From SIMCE website (<https://localizar.agenciaeducacion.cl/>)



Overall, these strategies have worked, with more parents becoming aware of SIMCE scores over time (Hofflinger et al 2019). After information dissemination about quality, school proximity was found to be the most important aspect driving school choice, followed by school quality.



In addition to school quality, religious education and other factors such as discipline, peer group, siblings in the same school also account for school choice. School quality -- which is driven by SIMCE scores -- accounts for 19% weightage for admissions in elementary schooling, 14% for middle school, and 20% for high school (Hofflinger et al 2019). Range and flexibility in terms of choice are also dependent on income - families from poorer socio-economic backgrounds are more constrained in the choice of school for their children (Amador et al 2019).

Figure 5.2 lists the information given to parents and the general public under SIMCE.

Figure 5.2

SIMCE'S MECHANISMS TO INVOLVE PARENTS IN SCHOOL ACCOUNTABILITY AND SCHOOL CHOICE



Source: Ramírez 2012

c) Outcome-based Regulation Models

There are several global models as to what countries do based on outcomes. In Chile's case, SIMCE has led to wide-ranging policy measures such as teacher incentives based on scores. A preferential subsidy was introduced in 2008 for students from socio-economically weaker backgrounds, to deal with social stratification in private schools in the country (Meckes and Carrasco 2010).



Uruguay's approach to assessing national learning outcomes differs significantly from Chile's, since the former is focused on feedback rather than public accountability. For one, the tests are conducted at longer intervals and remain low-stakes; detailed information on the performance of each classroom and schools in absolute and comparative terms is only provided to teachers and principals in booklets. There are no direct punitive implications of the assessments for schools.



In **Britain**, an adverse report from the inspectorate, Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted), can lead to the forcible conversion of poorly-performing schools to sponsored academies. This transfers the control over the functioning of the school to businesses, universities, other schools, faith groups or voluntary groups - which have prior experience running a school - via an academic trust.

The belief is that if poorly-performing schools are sufficiently funded, overall achievement rates would go up (Machin and Vernoit 2010).

Schools placed under "special measures" - which signifies poor performance - can lead to more frequent Ofsted inspections and government intervention in the form of dismissal of current staff (Ofsted 2018).



In the case of the city-state of **Dubai**, learning outcomes are directly linked to the regulation of school fees providing private schools with an incentive to improve quality. In 2012, the Knowledge and Human Development Authority (KHDA), which was formed in 2007 to regulate education in Dubai, introduced the School Fees Framework (KHDA, n.d.). The explicit objective of the legislation was to protect students and parents, and to create a favourable environment for private investors in the education sector.

The concept of an Education Cost Index (ECI) was introduced and was envisioned as accounting for any variation in the cost of provision of educational services determined through economic indices.

Interestingly, the Education Cost Index linked school fee hikes to inspections by the Dubai School Inspection Bureau which measures school quality on various parameters, including learning outcomes. Schools were thus incentivised to perform.

Inspections would place schools in categories of performance: Very Weak, Weak, Acceptable, Good, Very Good, Outstanding. For instance, if a school maintained the same rating as the previous inspection, the school management could increase fees for that year. This increase in fees would be determined by the ECI. If the bottom three categories moved up a notch, they could increase their fee by twice the ECI amount. For Good to Very good, it was 1.75 times the ECI; and Very Good to Outstanding it was 1.5 times the ECI. If a school performed badly and was relegated to a lower rank, then it could not hike fees.

Parents could access information about school category changes and fee structures emboldening their school choice (Westley 2017). The incentive seemed to have worked, with schools displaying upward mobility in performance categories between 2012-13 and 2017-18 (Westley 2017).

III. INDEPENDENT REGULATORS AND THEIR DESIGN

As seen in previous chapters, an independent regulator is critical for oversight that is needed to improve learning in public and private schools. To recall Chapter 4, India's education system currently has no separation of powers between regulation and provision of government education - which raises the potential for conflict of interest. A separate, independent regulator, as envisioned by the NEP Draft 2019, would ensure a separation of powers that could improve service delivery and increase institutional accountability for outcomes.

a) Independent Regulators



In this section, we look at three international examples of institutional regulations where the regulatory or inspection function is separated from the government's education department.

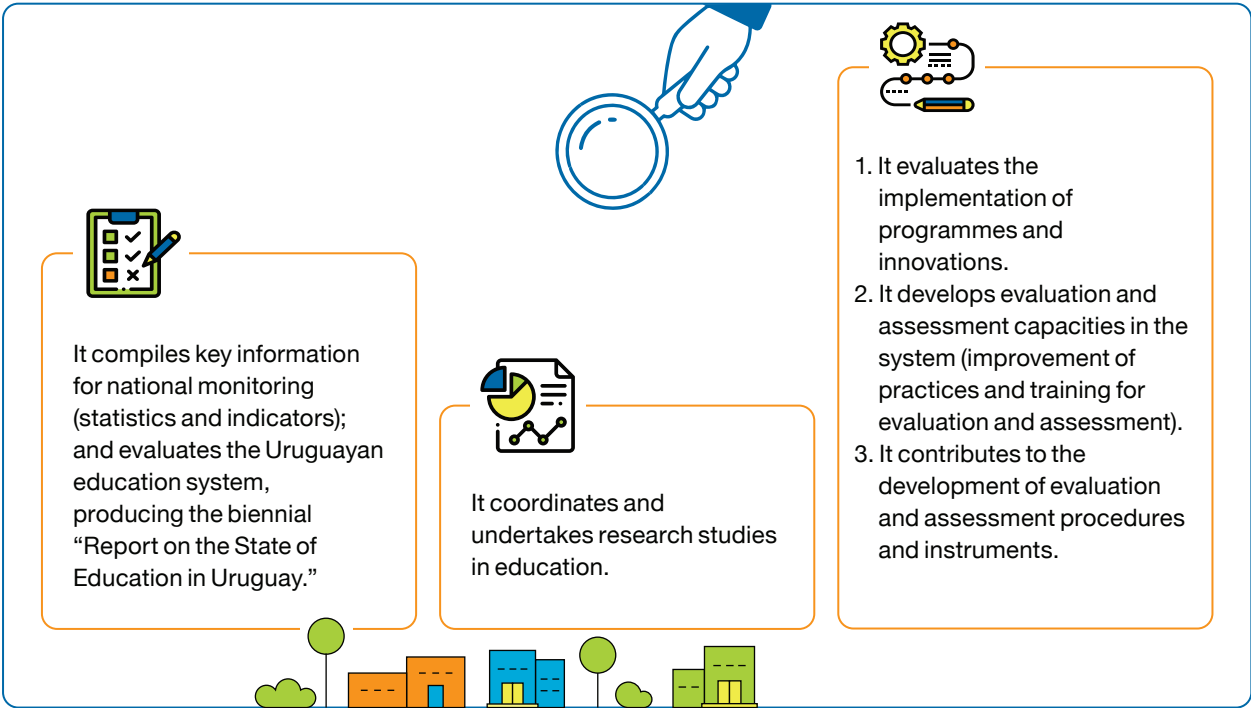
While India's education system has been inherited from Britain, the latter has since introduced an independent regulatory body to shore up the quality of its schools. This body is independent of both the Department for Education (DfE) and the private schooling system and can neutrally evaluate each. Created in 2005, the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills has several roles including ensuring accountability, ensuring compliance with national regulations, informing consumer choice among others (Jones and Tymms 2014).

Schools are graded in four categories (Outstanding, Good, Requires Improvement and Inadequate) and depending on the grade, schools are monitored once in 18 months (Inadequate) to five years (Good/Outstanding) (Roberts 2015).

While Ofsted focusses on schools with government funding, a subsidiary organisation, the Independent School Inspectorate (ISI) checks whether private schools comply with regulations laid down by the DfE. The work of ISI is monitored by Ofsted, creating a chain of accountability between private schools and the DfE that is largely insulated from conflict of interest (Independent Schools Inspectorate 2018). While the ISI determines the inspection framework and timings of the inspection, they send their reports to the DfE. It is the DfE which considers the judgments of ISI inspectors and other evidence before coming to a decision on the grading of schools.

An independent regulatory office does not necessarily take the form of an inspectorate. In Uruguay, the recently created autonomous regulatory institution, the Instituto Nacional de Evaluación Educativa (INEEd), which was formed to evaluate the education system autonomously, performs the following functions.

Figure 5.3
FUNCTIONS OF URUGUAY'S INDEPENDENT EVALUATOR



Source: OECD 2016

According to an OECD report on school resources in Uruguay, INEEd “brings an authoritative and autonomous voice” through its technical leadership in statistics and assessment design, its ability to build evaluation skills across the system through training, and its focus on evidence-building towards the assessment of policy impact and system performance.

One crucial way in which the institution's independence is maintained is through the creation of a board with representation across stakeholders. It is supervised by a governing board with six members: two nominated by ANEP-CODICEN (the state agency responsible for planning, management and administration of the public school system), two nominated by the Ministry of Education and Culture, one nominated by the Universidad de la República (Uruguay's oldest public university) and one nominated by a representative of private school providers (OECD 2016). Though an evaluation of this board does not exist, the OECD report indicates that room for vested interests remains, suggesting that the process of checks and balances required to create independent structures merits greater experimentation (OECD 2016).

b) State Capacity for Inspection



Another independent school evaluation system noteworthy of comparison is from **Tanzania**. Tanzania has a per capita income less than half of India's and has had an independent inspectorate since 1978. Here, the inspectorate has three roles: firstly, monitoring, assessing and evaluating the quality of schools; secondly, disseminating information on accepted practices and innovation; and thirdly, encouraging and supporting school projects (Ehren et al 2017).

Prompted by persistently high failure levels among students in secondary schooling, the National Audit Office of Tanzania conducted an audit of the inspection system. The audit revealed that due to the shortage of personnel and lack of transport, a majority of schools are not inspected annually as mandated. Moreover, the inspection focuses on school infrastructure and buildings rather than on pedagogy or a focus on the poor performance of the students (Uwazi InfoShop at Twaweza, n.d.). Another problem is seen in Sub-Saharan Africa, where inspections lead to curtailing of official private schools and instead leads to the spawning of unofficial private schools. In 9 out of 18 studied Sub-Saharan countries, educational policy mandates regular inspections of schools. Sanctions can be imposed for underperforming schools. However, this has led to potential opportunities for ad hoc enforcement and political graft (Baum et al 2017).



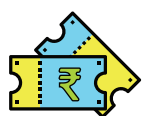
The failings of the system in Tanzania also come with insights for India, should the country choose to establish its independent regulatory inspectorate.

Independent inspectorates are a common, powerful feature in improving school quality and facilitating school choice in high-income countries (Rothman 2018). The caveat is that inspections can be expensive. For instance, taking the British model to cover the significantly higher number of schools in the USA would cost between \$1.1 billion to \$2.5 billion (Rothman 2018). For India, with its 15.59 lakh schools, this could be much more expensive (U-DISE 2019).

IV. EXPERIMENTS WITH EXPANDING ACCESS TO PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Finally, countries have adopted several strategies to combine choice for parents with free provision. Experiments in different countries range from voucher programs, like those in **Chile** and the **Netherlands**, to states contracting the management of some schools to private players, as in **Liberia**.

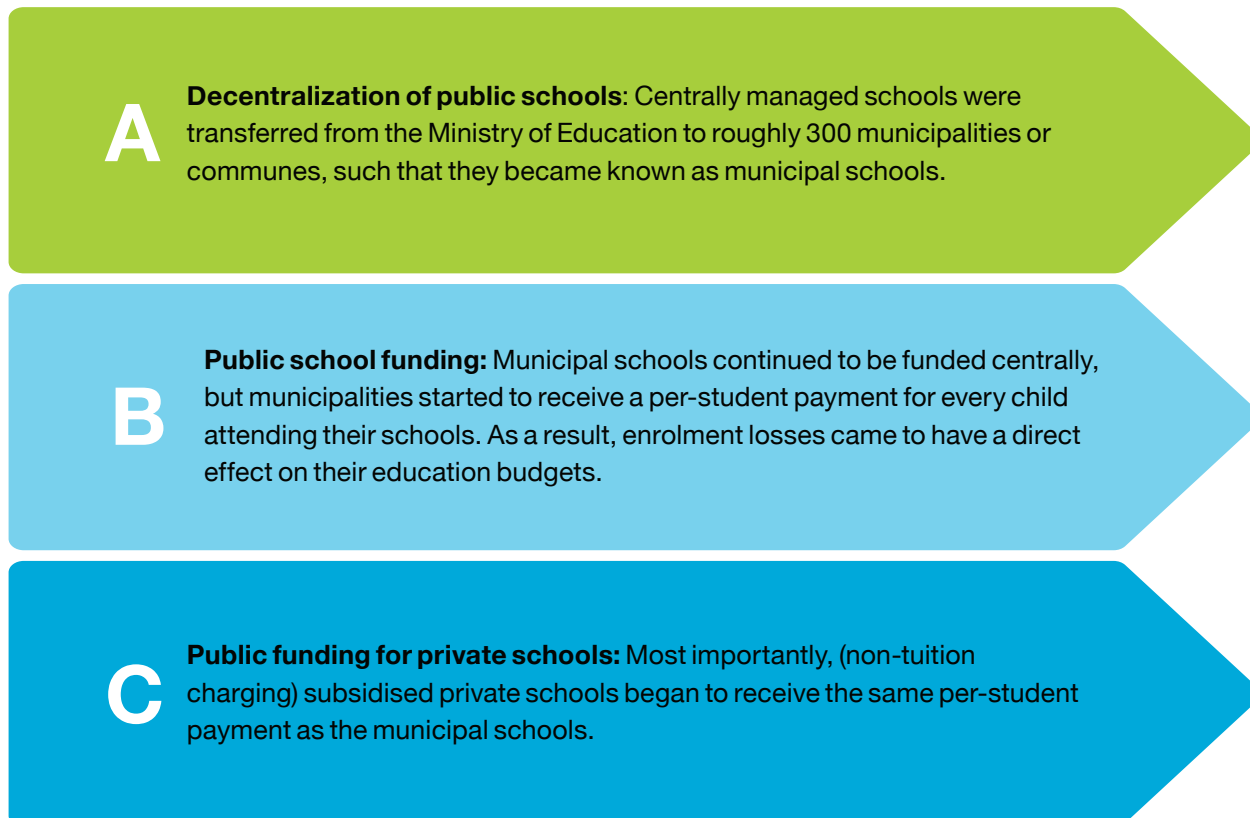
a) Per-pupil Funding: Vouchers, Equity and Quality



In most countries, the freedom of school choice is often constrained by income. To counter this, different governments around the world have employed different strategies to expand choice for poor families. Part of Chile's whole system reform included restructuring its entire education system to facilitate this choice through vouchers - financial instruments facilitating per-pupil fees reimbursements to privately managed schools.

Figure 5.4

CHILEAN REFORM STRATEGY



Source: Hsieh and Urquiola 2006

In response to this, more than a thousand private schools entered the Chilean private school sector, and the private enrolment rate increased from 12% in 1981 to 45% by 2006, particularly registering rapid growth in urban areas.

These new entrants generally attracted students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. For example, students in the new voucher schools came from families with less schooling and lower incomes, and had lower test scores than those in the previously existing state-subsidised schools, which were typically religious institutions (Hsieh and Urquiola 2006).

Despite this, due to aspects of the design of the voucher programs (including schools being permitted to screen admissions), schools became increasingly stratified by household income. Most private school selections were based on “ability” and socio-economic status – and often, students who scored highly on test scores were from richer households and with more highly educated parents. Public schools consequently had more students from lower socio-economic households, who achieved lower test scores. This led to a strong political pushback against the design of the system (Coenen 2013). In response, in 2008 Chile passed the Preferential School Subsidy (SEP) law where vouchers provided to the bottom 40% students based on household incomes were worth 1.5 times the cost of vouchers provided to students from wealthier families. Schools were incentivised with additional bonuses for taking in priority students - per-pupil costs were no longer equal. In addition, participating schools were prohibited from rejecting applications based on academic scores. Chile also made schools accountable for the use of financial resources and student test scores. Low-performing schools were required to spend on technical assistance to increase student scores (Murnane et al 2017).

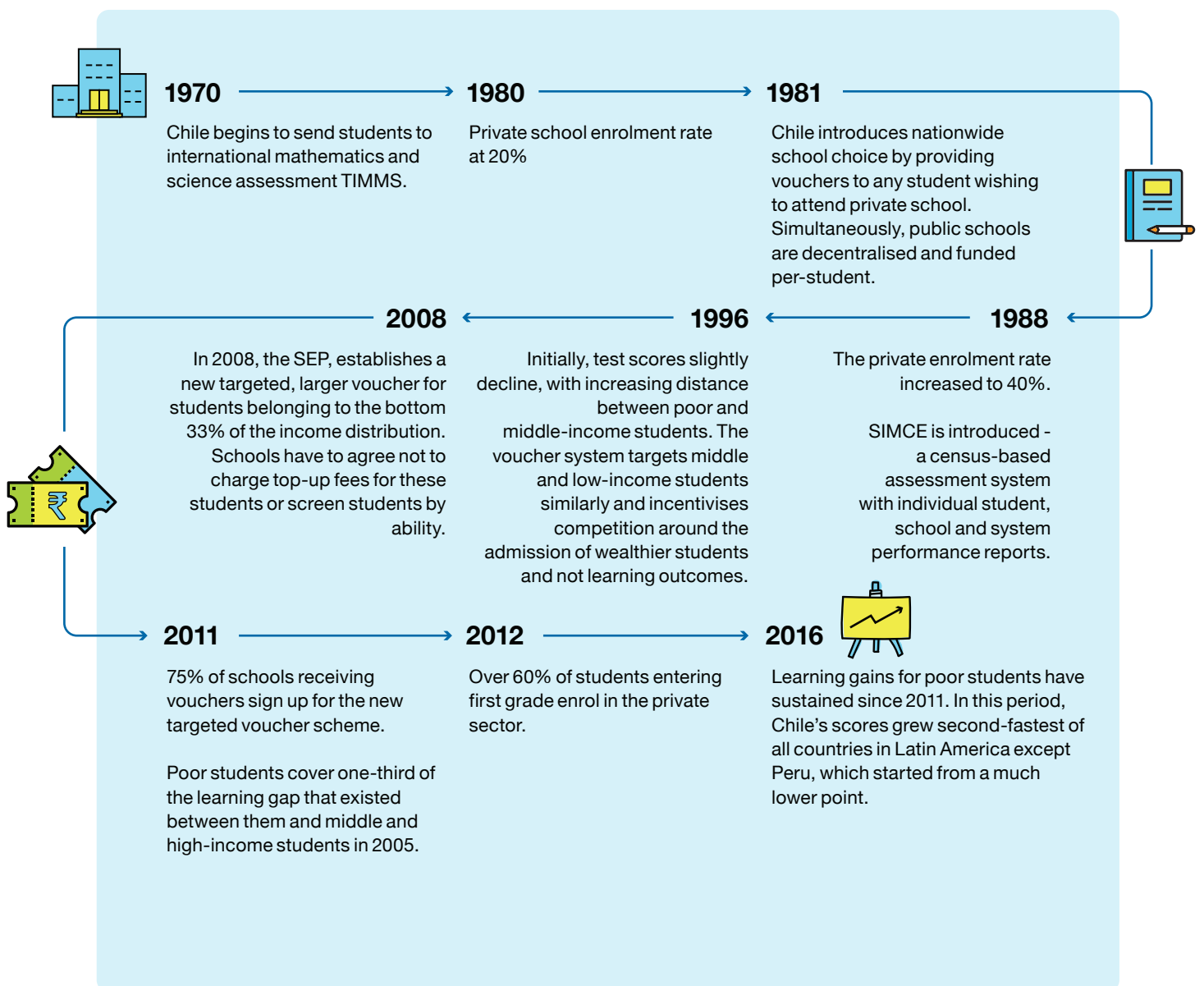


Though student overall test scores saw a slight drop initially, there was a dramatic increase in scores after the Preferential School Subsidy reforms, particularly among schools that did not charge fees and among low-income students. Student scores increased by 4.6 percentage points per annum in public schools, by 3.8 percentage points in private not-for-profit schools and by 5 percentage points in for-profit private schools.

Schools that charged fees before the introduction of SEP saw between 1.6 to 2.5 percentage point increase in test scores annually (Murnane et al 2017). Further reform has tweaked institutional capabilities and extended support (financial and technical) to low-performing schools.

In the last decade, Chile has been among the fastest-improving countries globally in the PISA test (Nielson 2017).

Figure 5.5
CHILE'S REFORM TIMELINE



Source: Hsieh and Urquiola 2006, Nielson 2017

b) Public-Private Partnerships



One common form of public-private partnership in schooling is charter schools. These schools are private, but are funded by the government. Charter schools have a significant history in the **USA**, where learning outcomes have seen mixed results. While

many studies showed an increase in learning outcomes in charter schools in urban areas, others found no impact or decrease in learning outcomes in charter schools (Muralidharan 2019). What sets this type of school apart from India's private aided schools is the degree of autonomy that charter schools are conferred. Here, we review the approach of a low state capacity country in which a significant proportion of enrolled students were transferred into publicly funded, privately managed schools - the Partnership Schools for Liberia (PSL) program for school management, launched by the Government of Liberia.

Liberia, in the Western Coast of Africa, has seen private school enrolment among preschoolers and primary students touch 50%. However, total student enrolment was just 38% in 2014. Low learning levels and broad inequities plagued the system (Romero et al 2017). It is in this context that the PSL was launched, wherein the government contracted private operators to run 93 existing public schools. Operators were given funding on a per-pupil basis and the daily management of schools would be outsourced to these operators (Romero et al 2017). The characteristics of a public school remained: the schools charged no fee, there was no selection or admission process. Government teachers continued to work, but poor-performing teachers could be removed. This re-shuffling of teachers resulted in PSL schools having younger and less-experienced teachers, who are more likely to have worked in private schools in the past (Romero et al 2017). Providers were free to select teaching materials, and set up training and managerial oversight of the schools' day-to-day operations.

An evaluation of this system found that learning outcomes improved, but there was significant heterogeneity across providers. Some providers improved outcomes, some expelled students to reduce class size, and some did not deliver on outcomes at all.

Incentives for enrolments had resulted in the partnership schools having more students, and a greater probability of students attending class. These charter schools were more likely to be in session and had longer school days that resulted in 3.9 additional hours per week of instructional time. Teachers were significantly less likely to be absent, spent more time in class and more time on instruction and teaching. Students were more likely to find school "fun", and in effect, were more satisfied with the education received (Romero et al 2017).

V. CONCLUSION: LESSONS FOR INDIA

Global experiences with private schools should inform Indian policy while keeping in mind our own context. Important lessons include the focus on key stage census assessments (which provide a universal learning indicator for schools), as well as experiments in disseminating this information widely to families in Latin America. Key concerns include data reliability and ensuring last-mile data delivery. We also see that independent inspection-led systems may not translate well to the developing world due to weak state capacity, but regulatory independence is still a crucial goal. Finally, evidence from large-scale voucher schemes across the world show a positive impact on learning but require specifically designed, targeted vouchers to ensure school competition is focused around outcome delivery, and not student sorting.



International Examples of For-Profit Private Schools

While rigorous evidence on the links between for-profit schools and learning quality of education systems is hard to find, for-profit schooling is legally permitted across the developing world and in many developed countries. Countries that allow for-profit schools include the USA, China, Japan, Germany, the UK, Brazil, Canada, Sweden, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand, Vietnam, Indonesia, Dubai, Abu Dhabi, Qatar, Oman, South Africa, Egypt, Kenya, Morocco, and Uganda (EY Parthenon 2019).

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इसबजगह सुखी रह सकता है ।

CHAPTER 6

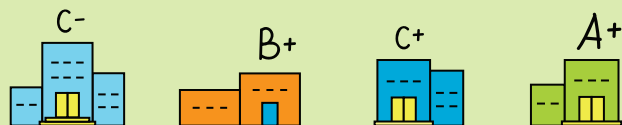
Policy Implications for Learning in Private Schools



Given the findings of the report, our aim should be to enable improvement in outcomes by aiding demand-side decision making, while allowing for ease of entry, operations, and innovation. To do this, our synthesis of the research and evidence suggests that policymakers should consider the following:

a) Create a universal learning indicator to help parents compare learning performance across schools and make informed decisions

- 1 Since all choice decisions are made at the school level, a census assessment of all schools may be required at earlier grades, like grade 5 and grade 8 to measure learning consistently
- 2 Evidence suggests that the key challenge of data reliability for census assessments can be addressed by independent invigilation, tech-based assessments, and community involvement
- 3 Effective, consistent information sharing strategies are required to disseminate school quality information to parents widely. There is scope for philanthropic and nonprofit efforts to develop effective, localized, and scalable outreach mechanisms to empower parents through media campaigns, parent training sessions, etc.

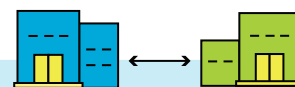


b) Develop a pragmatic accreditation framework that factors in constraints of low fee schools and state capacity to implement while focussing on learning outcomes and child safety

- 1 Since schools are very heterogeneous, their infrastructure and services may vary according to fee level and geography. An accreditation system that grades schools on safety, infrastructure, and governance, etc. would allow for this heterogeneity while balancing the rights of parents and children
- 2 Widespread and verified disclosure of accreditation information to parents is required so parents can choose schools based on their context and priorities
- 3 Given low state capacity for inspection, private accreditors may be systematically empanelled by the regulatory agency to grade schools



c) Establish an independent regulatory agency for the private school sector

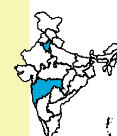


- 1 To limit conflicts of interest, the regulatory agency should be separate from the Department of Education, which oversees the provision of public education
- 2 This independent body should oversee implementation and publication of school assessments, accreditation, the empanelment of accreditors and reliable distribution of information on learning quality in the state

d) Review non-profit mandate and existing fee regulations to attract investment and enable easy access to credit for schools



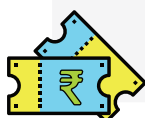
- 1 In 1978, private schools served only 3.4% of students. Given that the sector has expanded considerably since then, a review of the current sectors' needs and functioning should shape regulatory decisions
- 2 The literature on price control suggests that fee regulation may cause providers and employees - schools and teachers - to leave the sector over time. Parents should instead be assured fee stability so that when they choose a school, they are informed about the expected fee changes over their child's schooling
- 3 Mandated non-profit status makes governance poorer, access to credit more challenging, and creates obstacles to entry for high-quality providers as well as to growth for existing schools
- 4 These factors may lead to adverse selection, or the decision of high-quality providers not to enter the sector
- 5 Certain states, like Haryana, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh have allowed schools to register through the Companies Act, under which governance and transparency are stronger. Exploration of corporate governance structures for private schools may lead to greater transparency, and classification as micro, small, or medium enterprises may aid credit availability



e) Strengthen RTE Act Section 12(1)(c) which mandates 25% reservations for underprivileged children to ensure more robust targeting and fee reimbursements



- 1 To create stronger transparency and political pressure around fee reimbursement, structure it as a direct transfer to parents rather than to schools
- 2 Improve targeting mechanisms to ensure voucher recipients are students who would not have otherwise been able to pay for private schooling



ECOSYSTEM IMPLICATIONS

a) Service Providers

Once schools' incentives are aligned towards quality improvement through the dissemination of universal learning indicators for schools, market forces are likely to further promote the demand for learning improvement tools that various service providers have developed. This includes training and management solutions for teachers, lesson planning and assessment support, etc.

b) Investors and Philanthropists

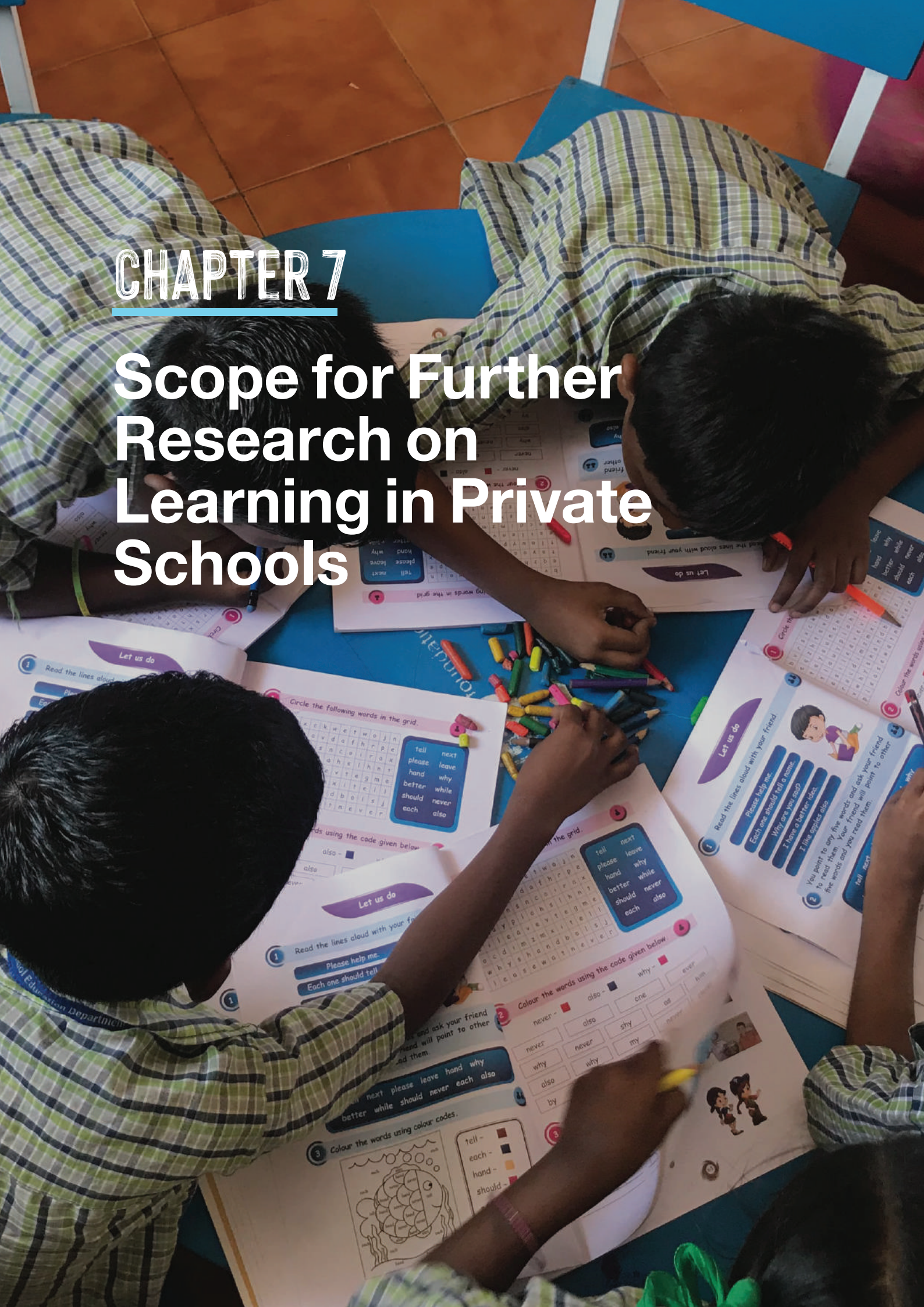
When the demand side for quality is unlocked, a scalable and high-quality ecosystem of service providers offering pedagogical or management support is much more likely to flourish, and investors should consider supporting contextualized and evidence-backed service providers. Greater investments into schools themselves may be more feasible after review of mandated society or trust-based, non-profit structures.

c) The Public School System

Evidence suggests that some part of the demand for private schooling from poor parents emerges from distrust in the government system. Across state education systems, as experiments with accountability, system reform, and capacity-building yield greater success, the bar will rise for the private sector. Global evidence suggests that a well-functioning private school system, similarly, may catalyse improvement in the public system.

CHAPTER 7

Scope for Further Research on Learning in Private Schools



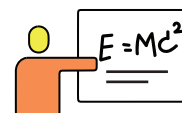
1) Private School Data Quality, Verification, and Use



One of the key sources for information on private schools is U-DISE, the Government's census database of all schools from which school numbers, enrolment information, and infrastructure information can be extracted. This database was originally intended as a transparency and disclosure system on schools for parents, but now functions largely as an administrative resource (Bordoloi and Kapoor 2018). Better evidence and experimentation could be generated around three aspects of this database's functioning: first, inquiry into the reliability of information the DISE collects, second, the comprehensiveness and validity of the data DISE collects, and third, ease of utility of this information for parents to guide school choice decisions.

Reliability could be tested through independent sample based verification at the state level, especially to clarify key ambiguities around the extent of unrecognised schools, the magnitude of inflation or deflation in the data, double counting, and possibly insights into the type of schools (by size, geography, or fee level) for which data is least likely to be reliable. The **comprehensiveness** of the database could be expanded through the inclusion of details that are likely to vary for private schools - teacher qualifications and years of experience, fees, and board examination average scores where applicable. **Communication** and design of the information sourced from this database, that can help parents in school choice, also requires experimentation around both channels and communication products.

2) School-Level Constraints to Learning Quality



More research is required on the relationship between school inputs and learning, including, the challenges schools face with the teacher labour market, parent demand for English-medium instruction when English is not the home language, and the relationship between management expertise and learning quality. This evidence may better inform service-providers, school owners, and parents for accurately assessing and improving learning quality.

3) Linkages between School Competition and Learning Quality



Understanding the impact of competition, and the number of schools operating within a market (not just private but all types of schools) may shed light on market-level factors that drive learning. Examining learning quality across different markets, the process for market-entry, the impact of fee regulations, and the willingness of investors to fund scale may all contribute to a deeper understanding on the way competition drives learning quality.

4) Impact of Regulations on the Private School Sector



It is necessary to study the regulations on the private school sector from their inception to the end. This would include the norms that drive private school sector regulations to studying/evaluating the impact of regulations on the sector along with analysing if they are adequately catering to the current requirements of the education system. This would aid in understanding the impact of the regulations on school and student level outcomes and move towards evidence based policies and regulations for the sector.

5) Contextual Best Practices around Child Safety in Schools



Identification of pragmatic and child-focused regulations around safety that are supported by child protection literature as well as are contextually appropriate for schools across the fee spectrum and in different geographies is required.

6) Promoting Inclusion in Private Schools



Further research into the instances, grounds, and frequency of discrimination is necessary to guide regulation around inclusion in private schooling, particularly in religion- or caste- affiliated schools.

Andrabi, Tahir, Jishnu Das, and Asim Ijaz Khwaja. 2017. "Report Cards: The Impact of Providing School and Child Test Scores on Educational Markets." *American Economic Review* 107. <https://doi.org/10.1257/aer.20140774>.

Bordoloi, Mridusmita and Varun Kapoor. 2018. "India: Using open school data to improve transparency and accountability." UNESCO. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000265933>.

APPENDIX

Figure 1

IN THE TABLE BELOW, WE LIST SOURCES OF KEY INFORMATION TYPE WITHIN THE REPORT

<p>Unified District Information System for Education (U-DISE)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of schools • Enrolments by management • Enrolments in urban and rural areas • Enrolments by grades • Inter-state variation in enrolments • Caste/community-based enrolments
<p>All India School Education Survey</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical growth of schools and enrolments
<p>Key Indicators of Household Social Consumption on Education in India by National Sample Survey Organisation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Average expenditure on education, parental demand and school choice
<p>India Human Development Survey</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to private schools, equity in private schools, learning achievements of students in private schools and government schools
<p>Periodic surveys including Annual Survey of Education Report (ASER), National Achievement Survey (NAS)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning achievement of students in private and government school, parent demand
<p>State and Central legislations, Supreme Court judgments, circulars, notifications</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regulation of private schools sector
<p>Nearly 150 peer-reviewed papers</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insights into the private schools ecosystem in India and globally

Figure 2
SNAPSHOTS INTO LEARNING

	ASER Annual Status of Education Report	NAS National Achievement Survey	IHDS Integrated Human Development Survey
What is it?	Annual Status of Education Report (ASER) in India has been conducted and published by the Non-Governmental Organisation Pratham since 2007 (with a break in 2015).	Conducted by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT), the NAS has been assessing subject-wise learning for classes 3, 5, 8 and 10 since 2001. It was only in 2015 that NAS was extended to cover private (unaided) schools in Class X.	IHDS is a nationally representative, multi-topic survey, conducted by University of Maryland (the USA) and National Council of Applied Economic Research (New Delhi). It was first conducted in 2004-05 and after that in 2011-12.
Why is it important?	ASER provides reliable, independent data since 2005 to measure learning outcomes through one-on-one tests of students on basic reading and arithmetic abilities between classes 1 and 8.	It is one of the tests led by a Central government agency to gauge learning outcomes. The survey describes itself as the health check up of the country's education system.	IHDS surveys collect information about multiple topics, including education, and allows researchers to find cross-linkages between various parameters of development.
How is it conducted?	Nation-wide household survey/test covering about 600 households in each rural district or about 3,00,000 (3 lakh) households at the all-India level.	The tests were conducted on a sample of examination 2,77,416 students in 7,216 schools across 33 States /Union Territories (UTs) and Boards.	IHDS 2004-05 covered 41,554 households in 1503 villages and 971 urban neighbourhoods across India. The second round in 2011-12 re-interviewed most of the households and covered 42,152 households in all. They administered ASER-developed tests to children between 8 and 11 years.
What are the caveats in using the data?	ASER clubs private (unaided and/or unrecognised) and private (aided) schools into one category. Moreover, the survey only covers rural India, while urban India, where private (unaided) schooling is the dominant form of school management, is ignored.	NAS covers only recognized private (unaided) schools that have been affiliated to education boards. With raw data unavailable to the general public, there has been little independent research into these findings.	IHDS provides only two snapshots into learning over time.

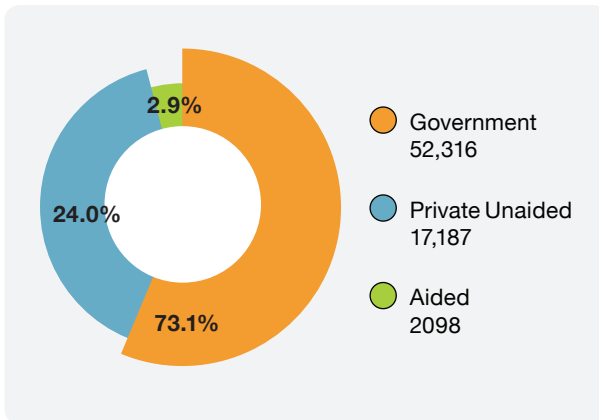


Private Schools in India: State Factsheets

Private Schools in Andaman & Nicobar Islands

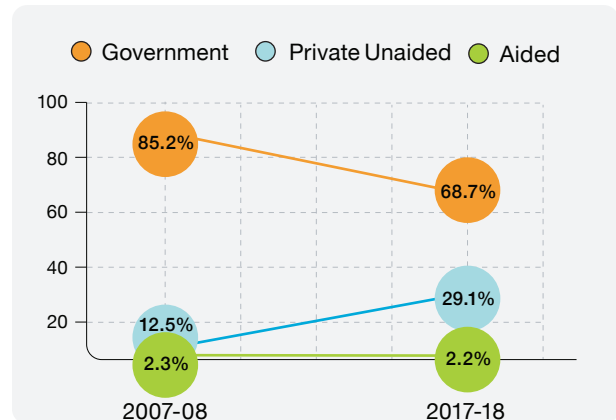
Growth of Private Schools

1. **24%** of students in Andaman & Nicobar Islands attend private schools. Andaman & Nicobar Islands rank 27th of all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



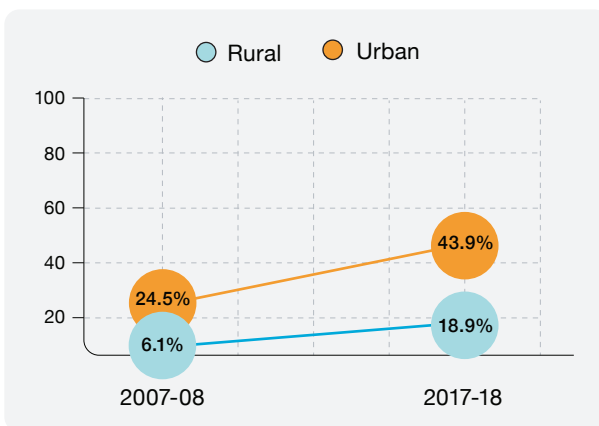
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



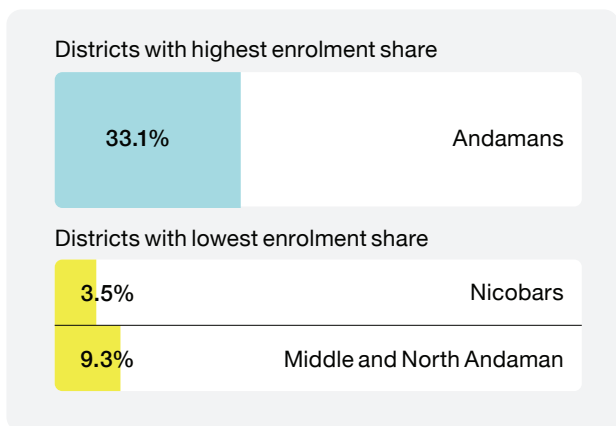
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

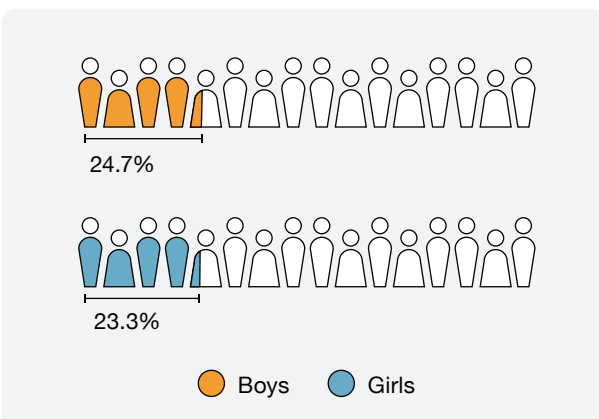
4. Among districts, **Andamans** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Nicobars** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

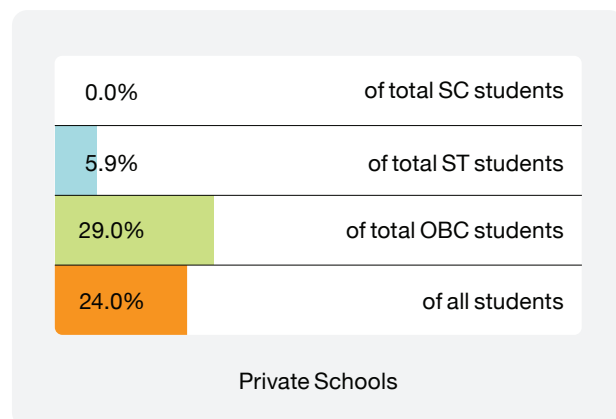
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **23.3%** girls attend private schools, while **24.7%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

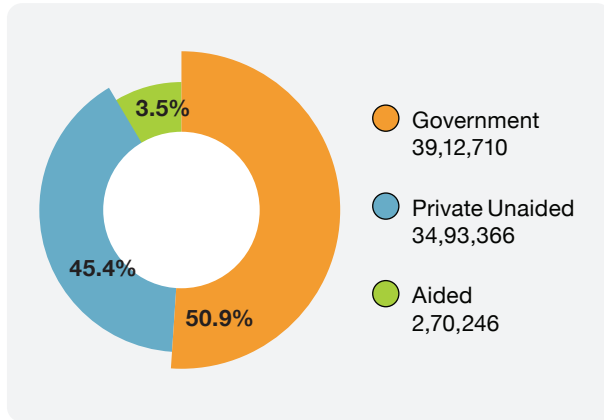
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).

Private Schools in Andhra Pradesh

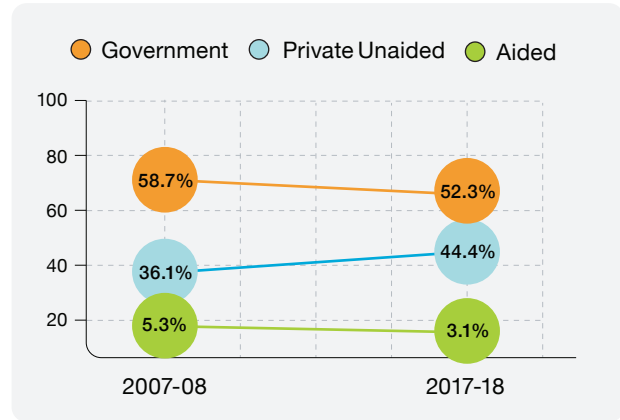
Growth of Private Schools

1. **45.42%** of students in Andhra Pradesh attend private schools. Andhra Pradesh ranks 10th among all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



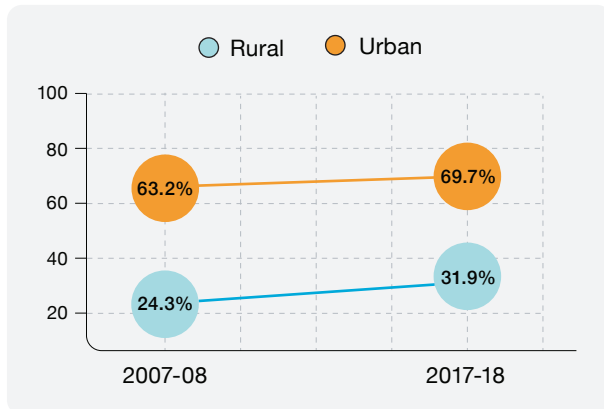
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



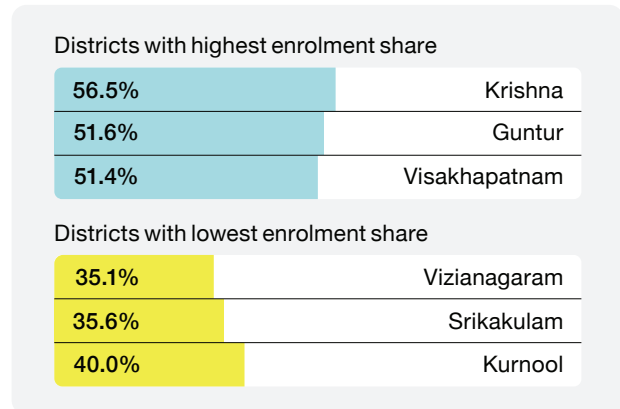
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

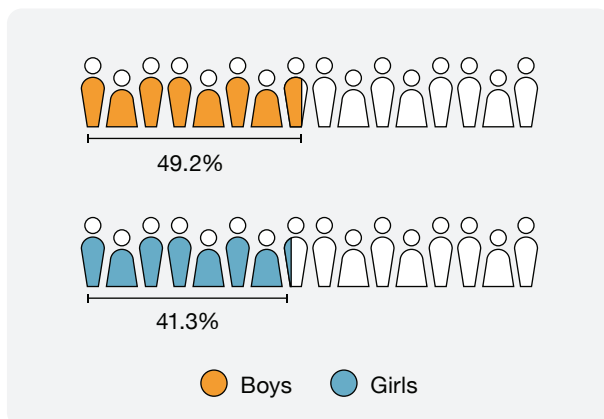
4. Among districts, **Krishna** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Vizianagaram** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

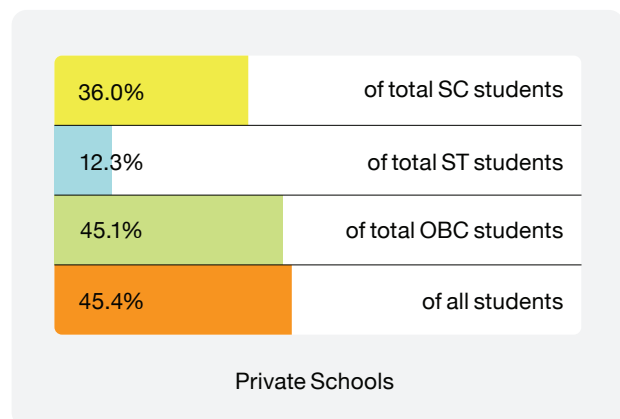
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **41.3%** girls attend private schools, while **49.2%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

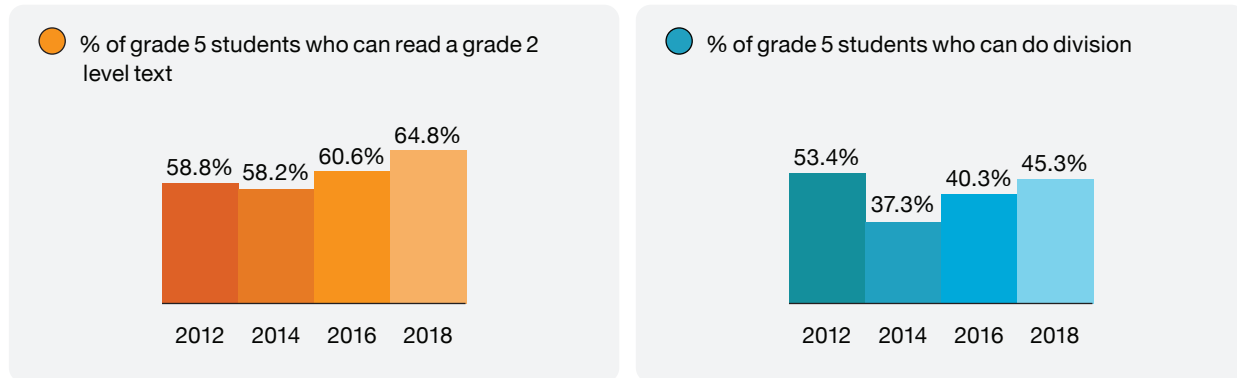
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

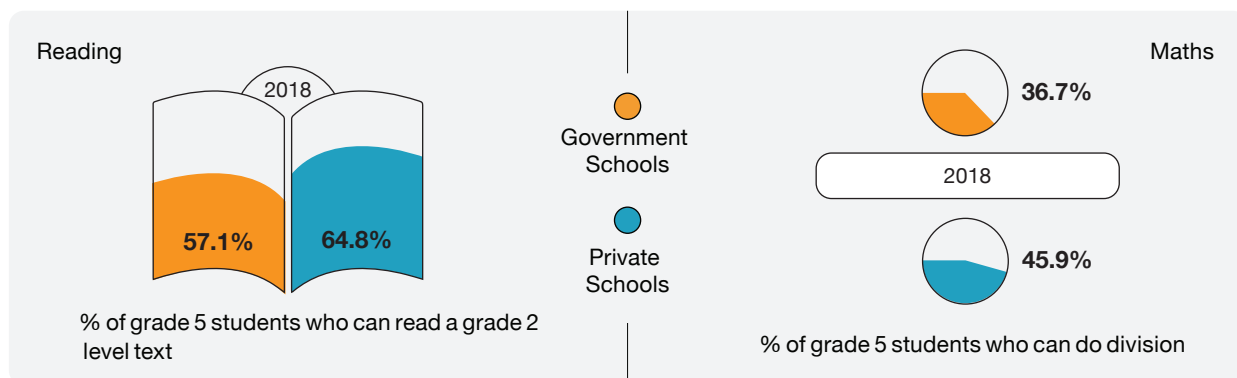
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading in Andhra Pradesh' rural private schools improved, while maths worsened.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Andhra Pradesh's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Andhra Pradesh Education Act, 1982	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Andhra Pradesh School Education (Community Participation) Act, 1998	✓	✓		✓	
Andhra Pradesh Educational Institutions (Establishment, Recognition, Administration and Control of Institutions of Higher Education) Rules, 1987	✓			✓	
Andhra Pradesh Educational Institutions (Establishment, Recognition, Administration and Control of Schools under Private Managements) Rules, 1993	✓				
Andhra Pradesh Study of Languages in School Education Rules, 2003	✓			✓	
Andhra Pradesh Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2010	✓				
Andhra Pradesh Educational Institutions (Regulation of Admissions and Prohibition of Capitation Fee) Act, 1983			✓		

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

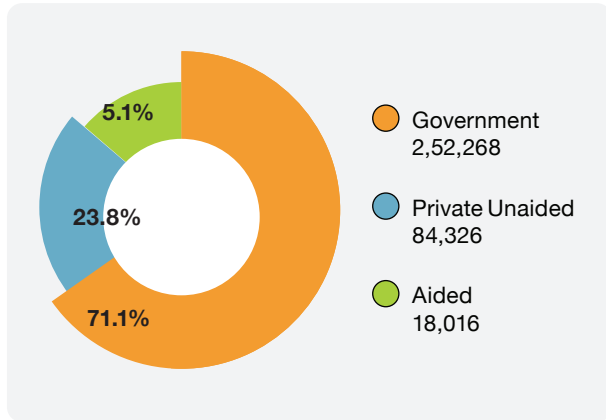
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Arunachal Pradesh

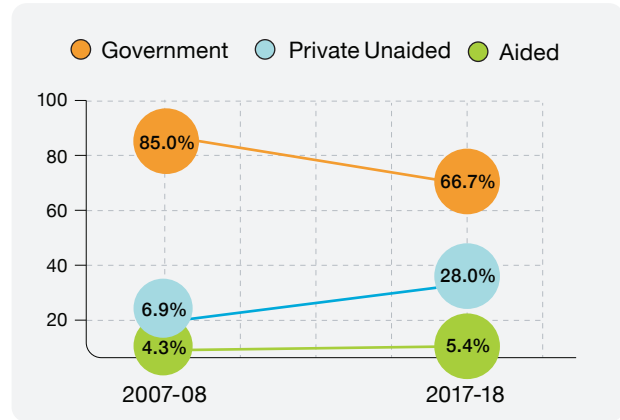
Growth of Private Schools

1. **23.8%** of students in Arunachal Pradesh attend private schools. Arunachal Pradesh ranks 28th of all states/UTs in terms of private enrolment share.



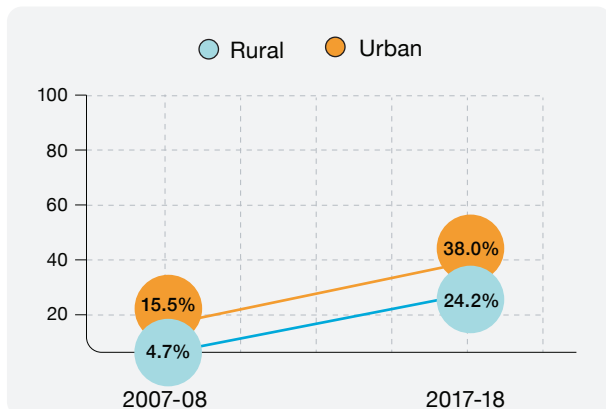
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



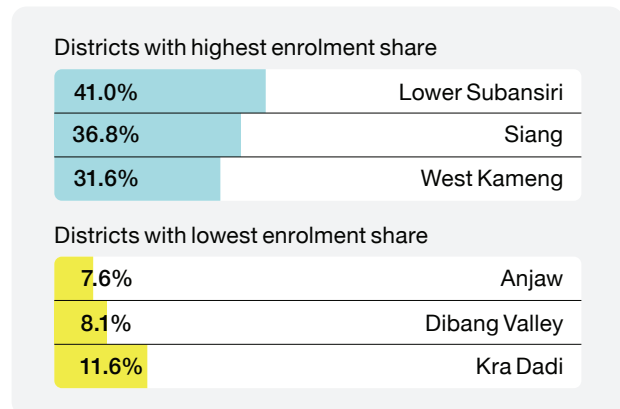
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

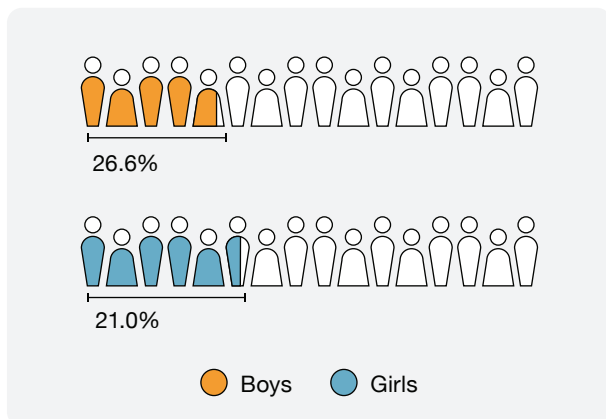
4. Among districts, **Lower Subansiri** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Anjaw** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

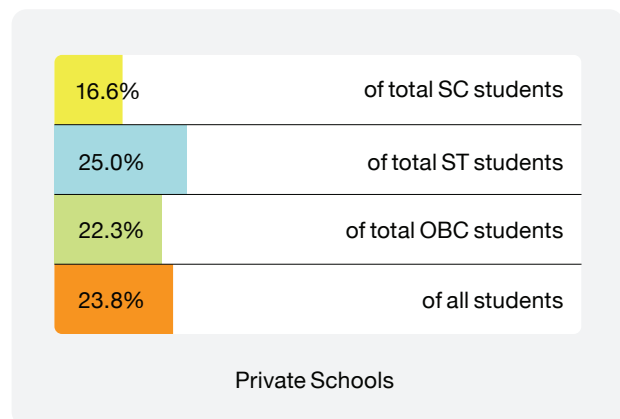
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **21.0%** of girls attend private schools, while **26.6%** of boys attend private schools



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A higher share of STs, but a smaller share of SC, and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Arunachal Pradesh Education Act, 2010	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Arunachal Pradesh Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2010	✓	✓		✓	

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

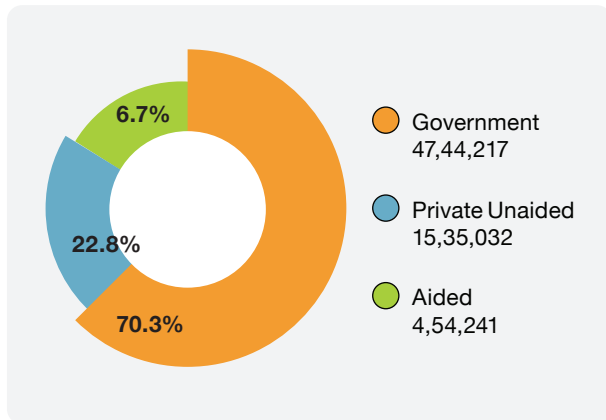
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Assam

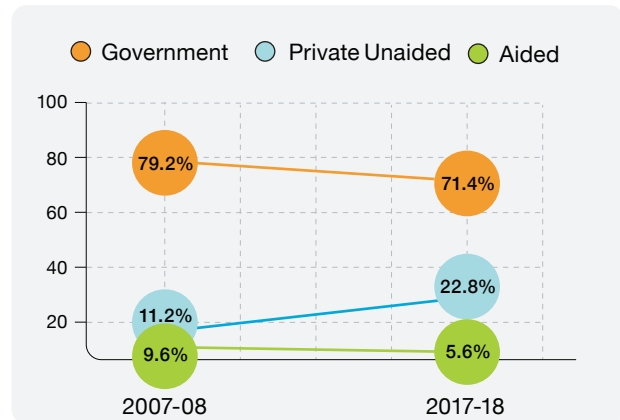
Growth of Private Schools

1. **22.8%** of students in Assam attend private schools. Assam ranks 29th of all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



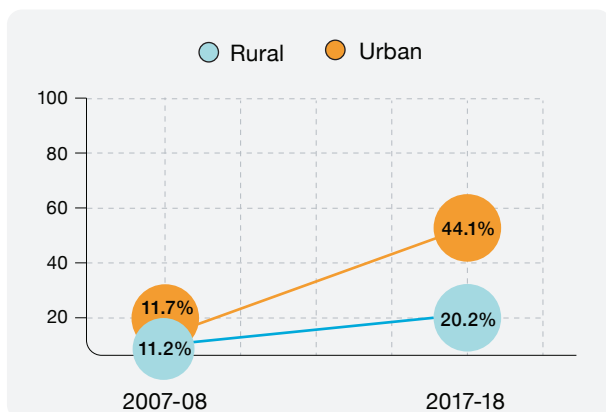
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



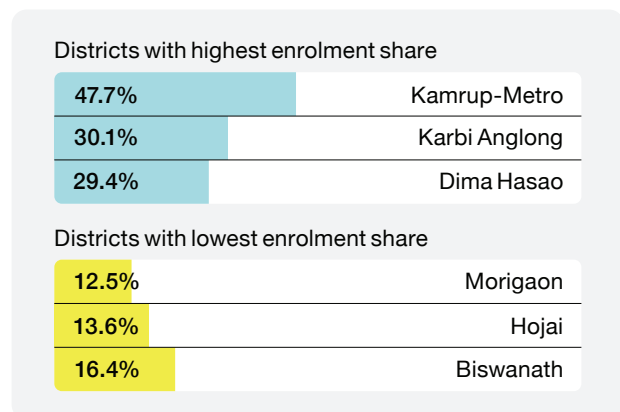
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

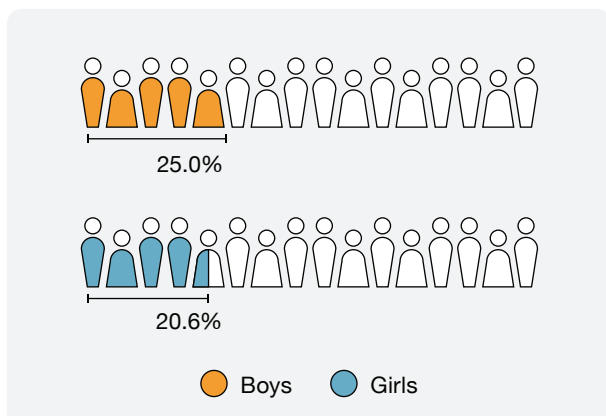
4. Among districts, **Kamrup-Metro** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Morigaon** the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

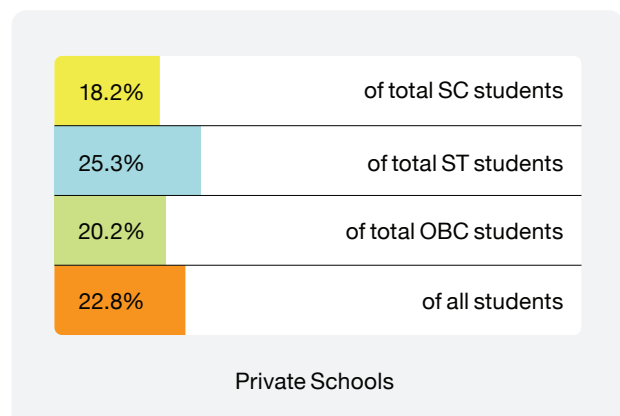
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **20.6%** girls attend private schools, while **25.0%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

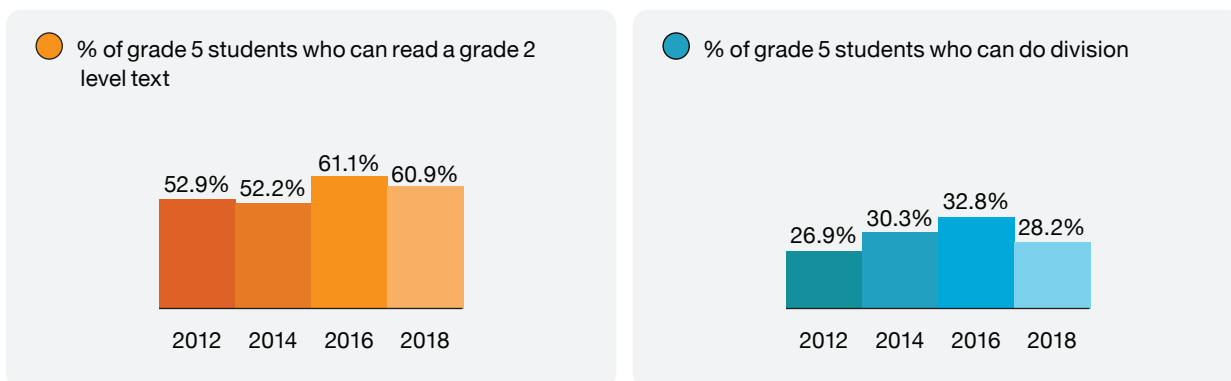
2. A higher share of STs, but a smaller share of SC and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

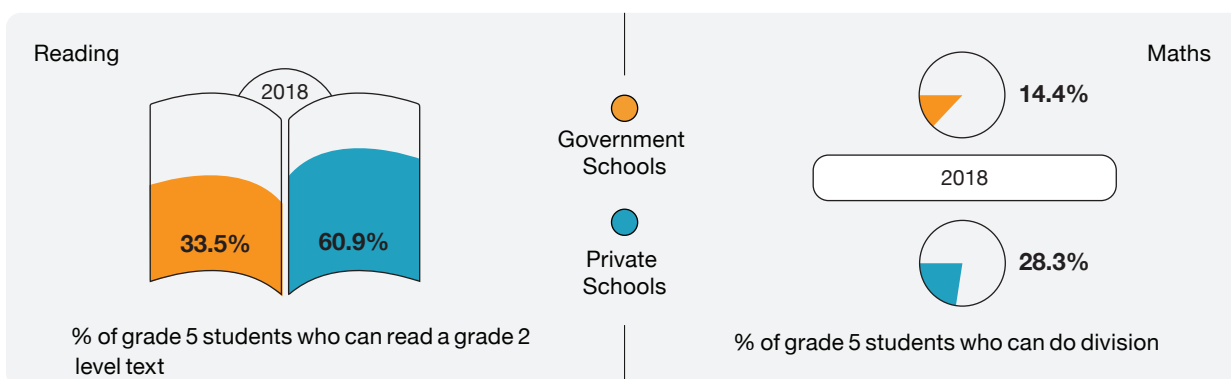
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Assam's rural private schools have improved.



Source: **ASER Centre**

2. Assam's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at all levels in reading and math.



Source: **ASER Centre, 2019**

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Assam Non-Government Educational institutions (Regulation and Management) Act, 2006	✓				
The Assam Non-Government School and College Employees Centralised Provident Fund Scheme Act, 1969		✓			
Assam Non-Government Educational Institutions (Regulation of Fees) Act, 2018			✓		
Assam Secondary Education Act, 1961				✓	
Assam Higher Secondary Education Act, 1984				✓	
Assam Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			
Assam Education Department Rules and Orders	✓	✓			

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

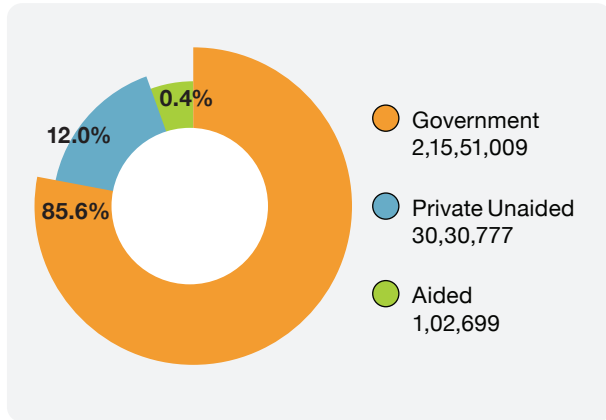
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Bihar

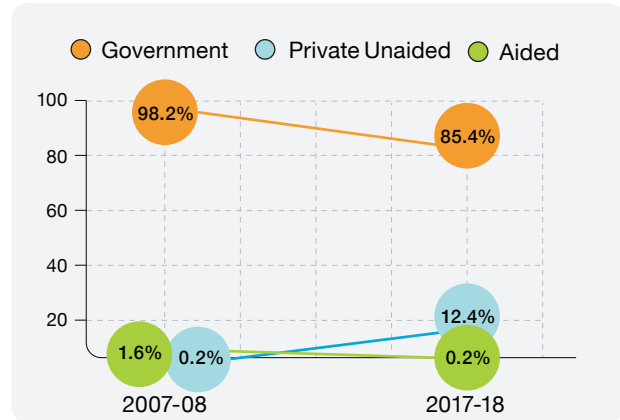
Growth of Private Schools

1. **12.04%** of students in Bihar attend private schools. Bihar ranks 33rd of all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



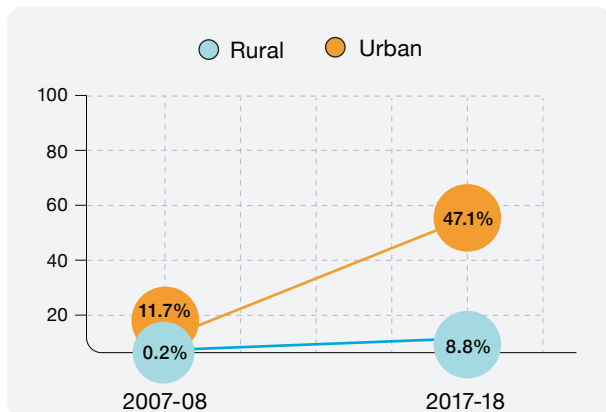
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



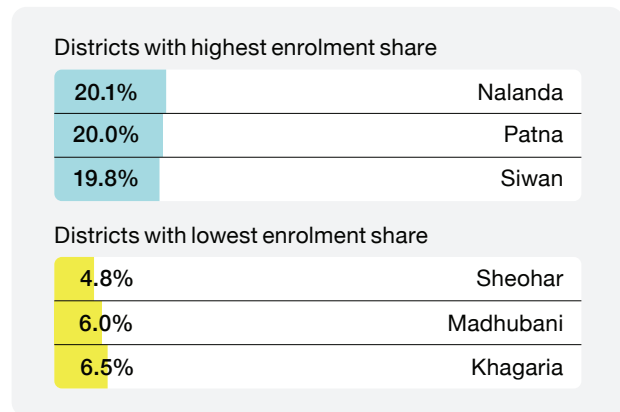
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

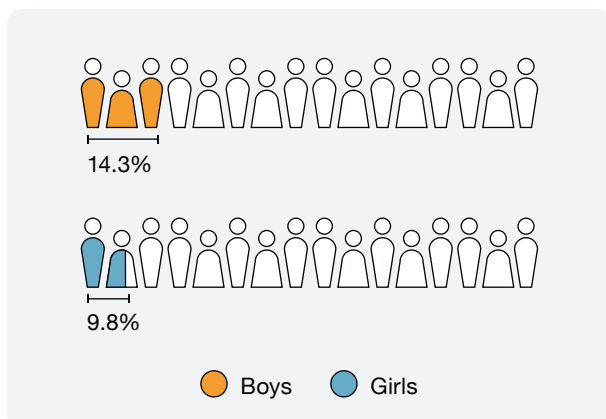
4. Among districts, **Nalanda** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Sheohar** the lowest



Source: U-DISE 2019

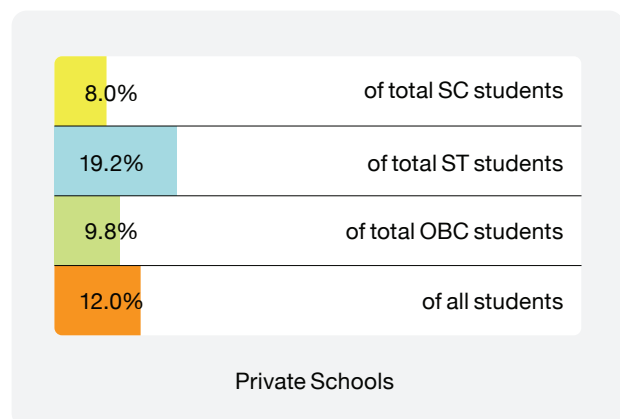
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **9.8%** girls attend private schools, while **14.3%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

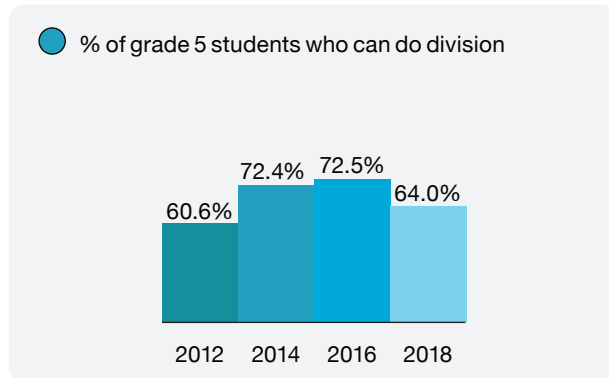
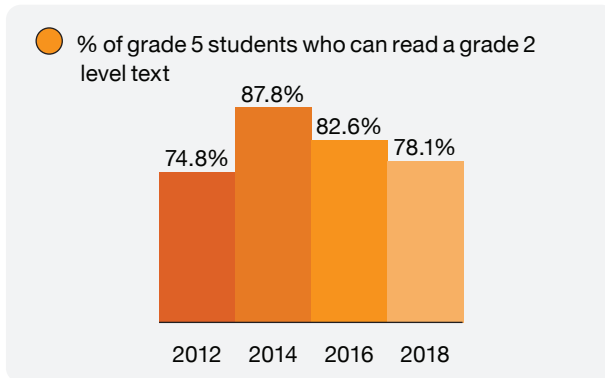
2. A higher share of STs, but a smaller share of SC and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

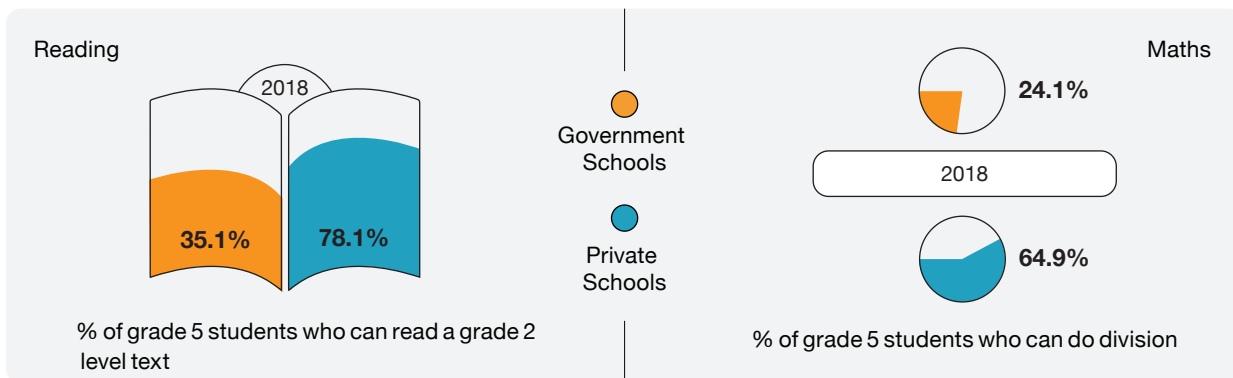
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Bihar’s rural private schools have improved.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Bihar’s private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Bihar Education Code, 1961				✓	
Bihar Private Schools (Fee Regulation) Act, 2019			✓		
Bihar Non-Government Elementary Schools (Taking Over of Control) Act, 1976				✓	
Bihar Non Govt. Secondary School (Taking over of Management and Control) Act, 1981				✓	
Bihar Private Educational Institution (Taking Over) Act, 1987				✓	
Bihar School Examination Board Act, 1952				✓	
Bihar Elementary School Education Committee Act, 2011		✓			
Bihar Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			
Bihar Non-Government School Employees		✓			
Bihar Taken over Elementary School Teachers' Promotion Rules, 1993				✓	
Bihar School Examination Board Regulations, 1964				✓	

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

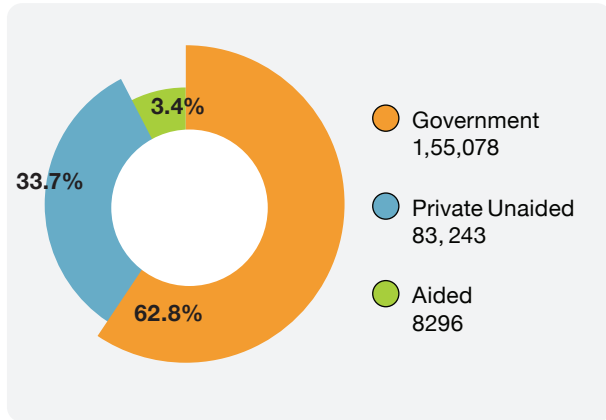
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Chandigarh

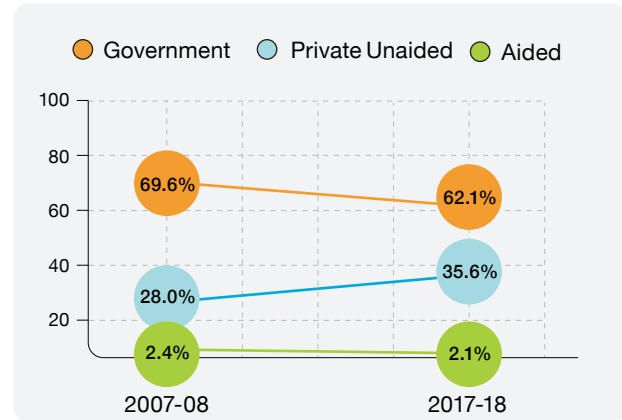
Growth of Private Schools

1. **33.7%** of students in Chandigarh attend private schools. Chandigarh ranks 20th of all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



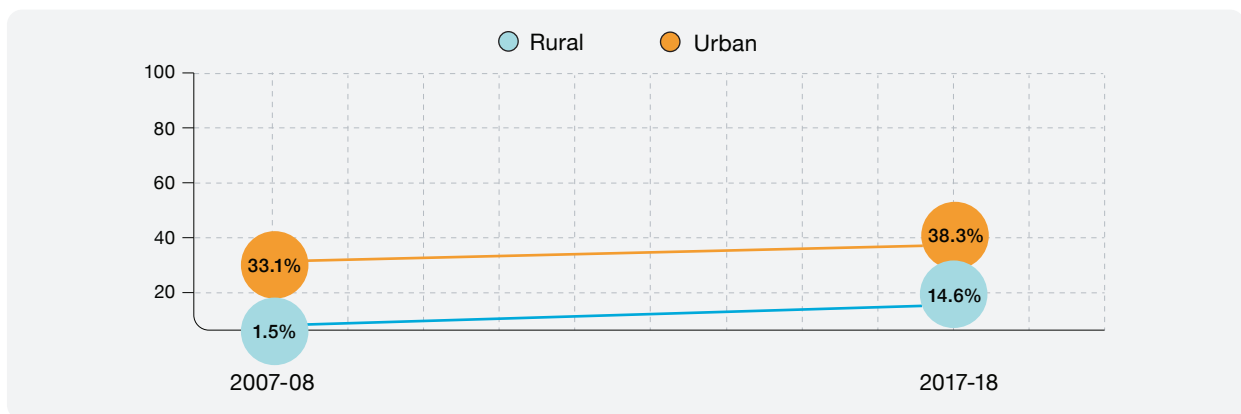
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

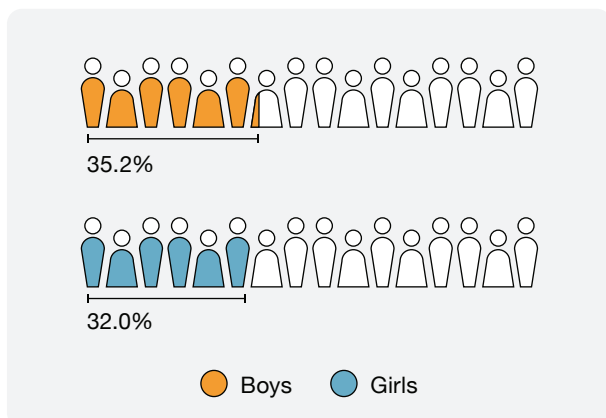
3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

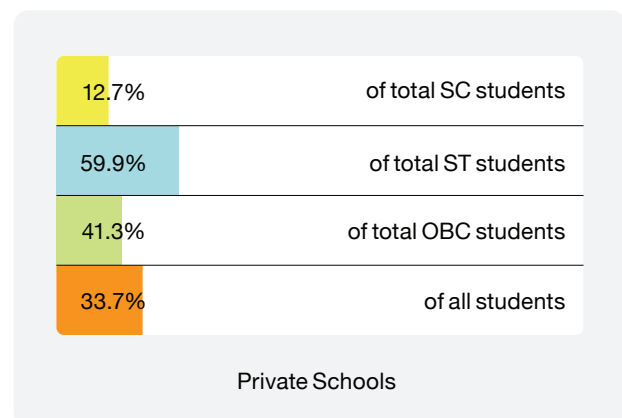
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **32.0%** girls attend private schools, while **35.2%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A higher share of STs, but a smaller share of SC and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
The Punjab Regulation of Fee of Unaided Educational Institutions Act, 2016			✓		

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

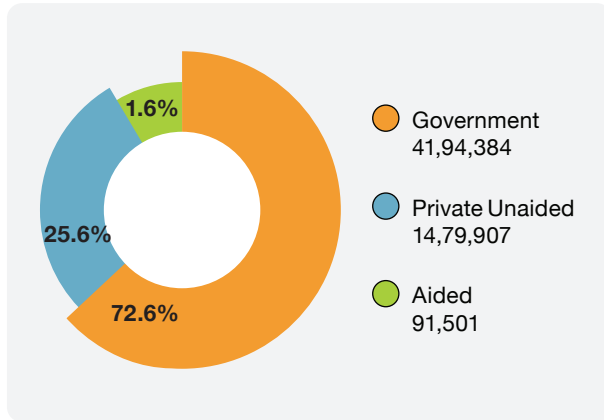
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Chhattisgarh

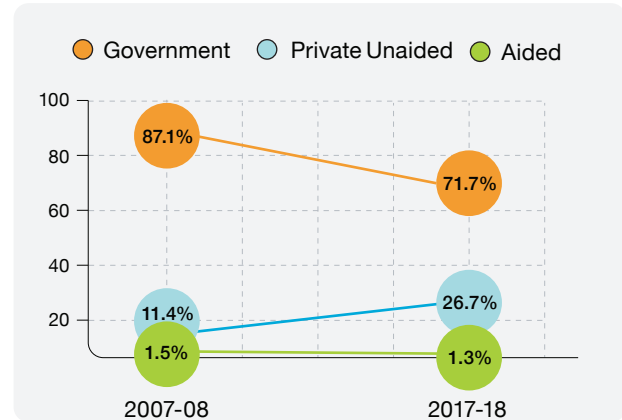
Growth of Private Schools

1. **25.6%** of students in Chhattisgarh attend private schools. This ranks 25th amongst the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India.



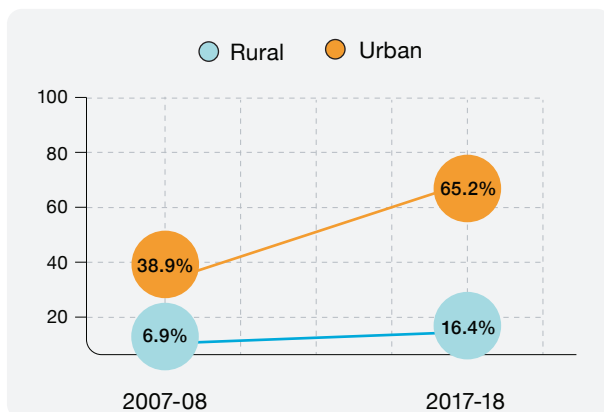
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade



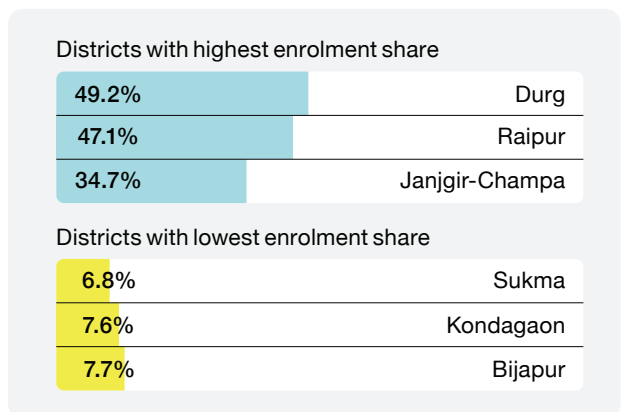
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

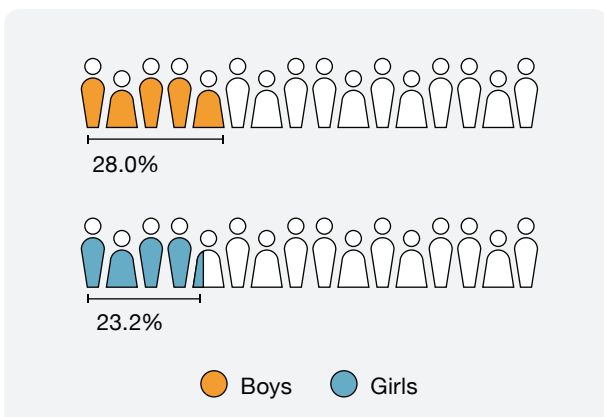
4. Among districts, **Durg** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Sukma** the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

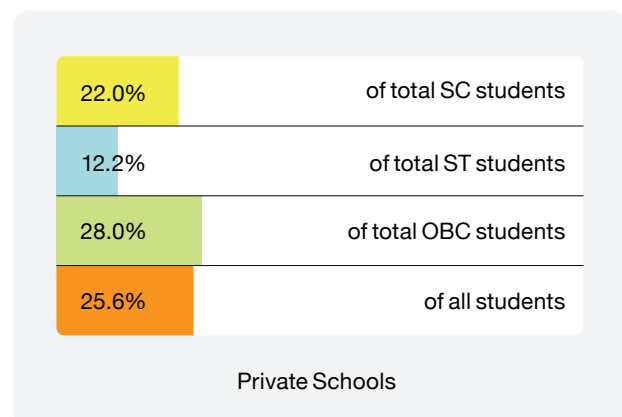
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **23.2%** girls attend private schools, while **28.0%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

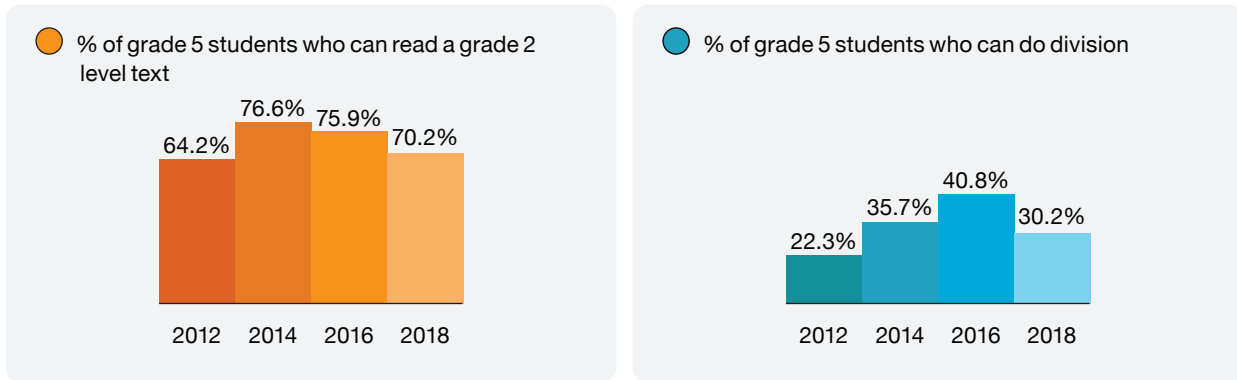
2. A higher share of OBCs, but a smaller share of SCs and STs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

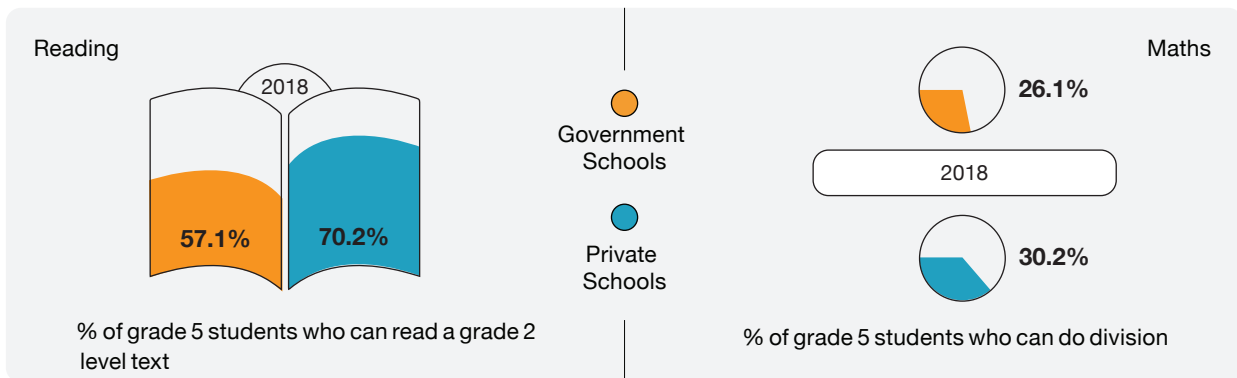
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Chhattisgarh's rural private schools have improved.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Chhattisgarh's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at all levels in reading.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Chhattisgarh Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2010	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

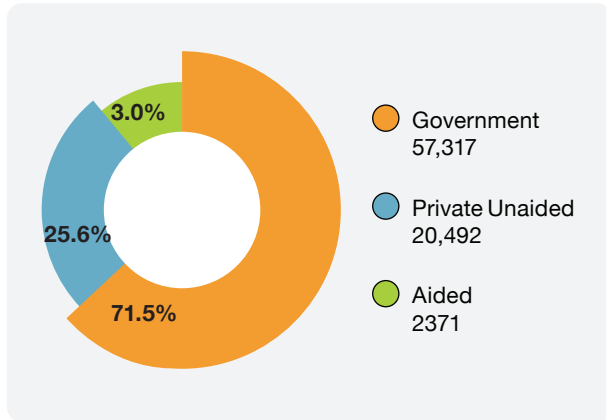
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Dadra and Nagar Haveli

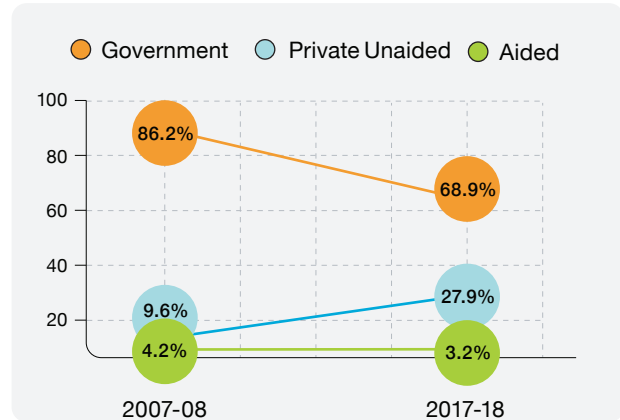
Growth of Private Schools

1. **25.6%** of students in Dadra and Nagar Haveli attend private schools. Dadra and Nagar Haveli ranks 26th of all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



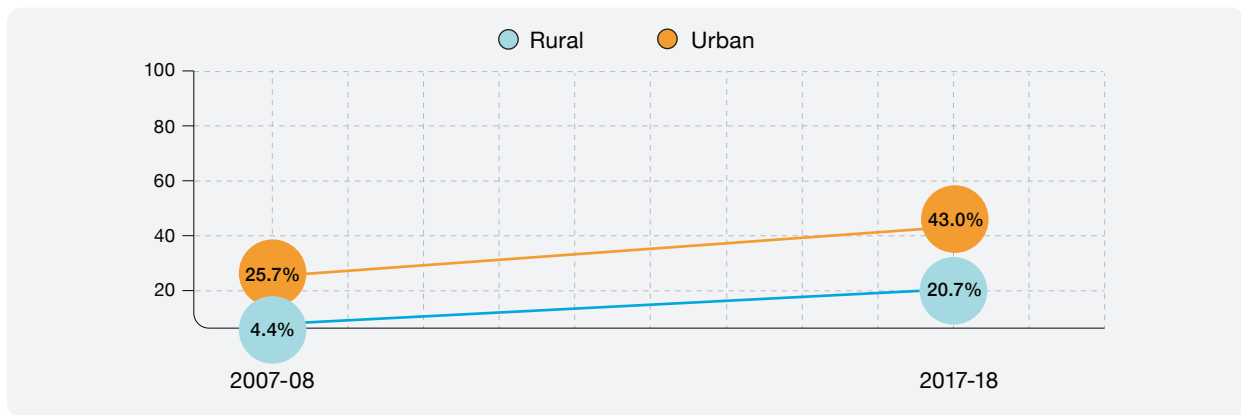
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

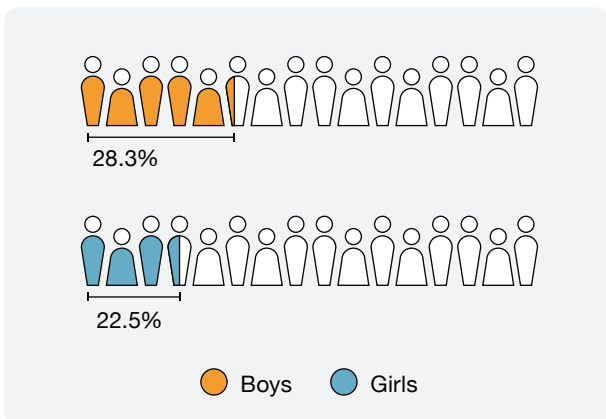
3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

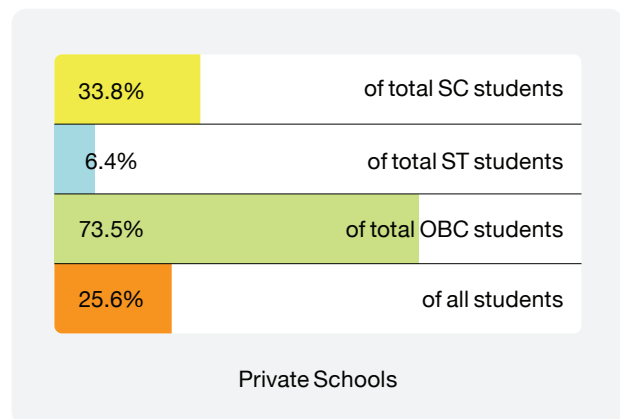
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **22.5%** girls attend private schools, while **28.3%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A higher share of SCs and OBCs, but a smaller share of STs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

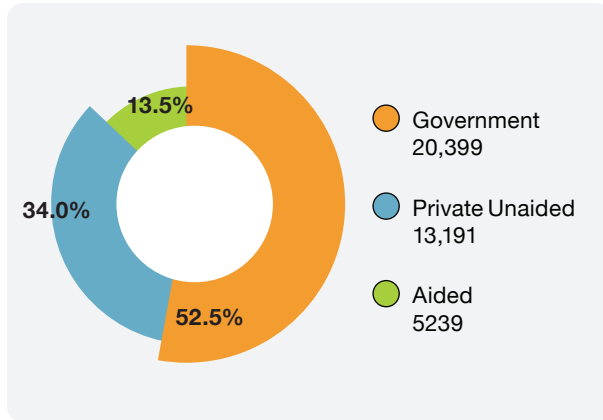
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).

Private Schools in Daman and Diu

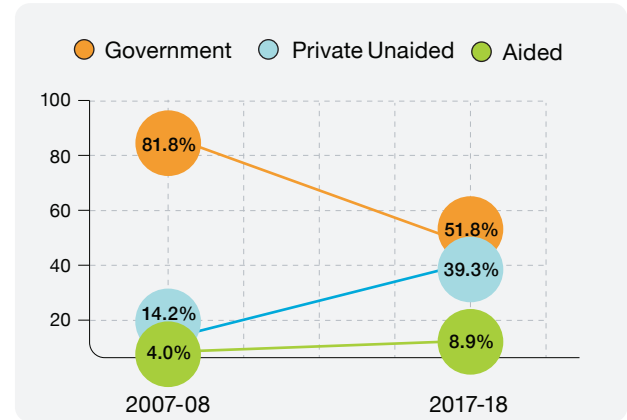
Growth of Private Schools

1. **34.0%** of students in Daman and Diu attend private schools. Daman and Diu ranks 19th of all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



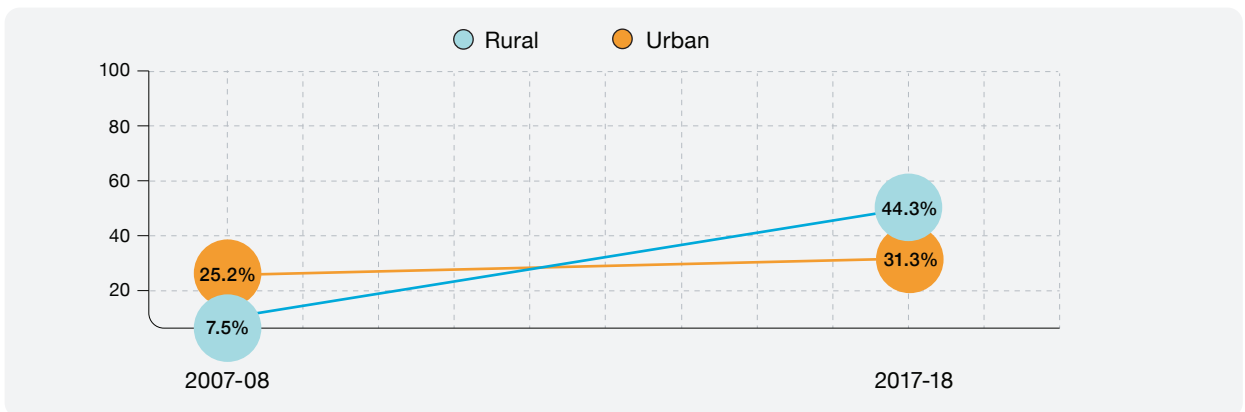
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

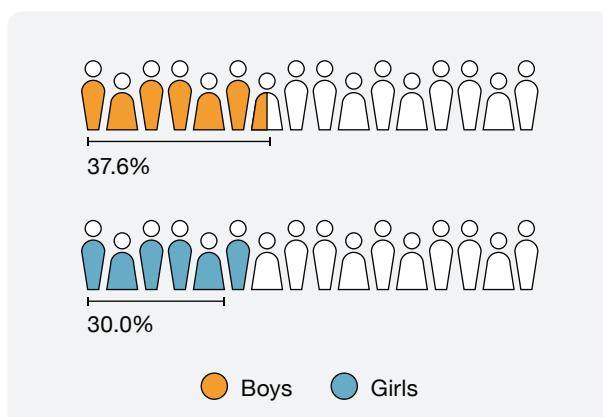
3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

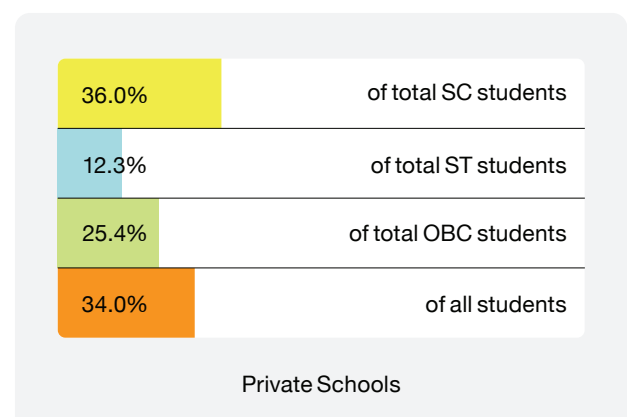
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **30.0%** girls attend private schools, while **37.6%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A higher share of SCs, but a smaller share of ST and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Goa, Daman and Diu School Education Act, 1984	✓	✓		✓	
Goa, Daman and Diu Secondary and Higher Secondary Education Board Act, 1975				✓	
Goa, Daman and Diu School Education Rules, 1986	✓	✓		✓	

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

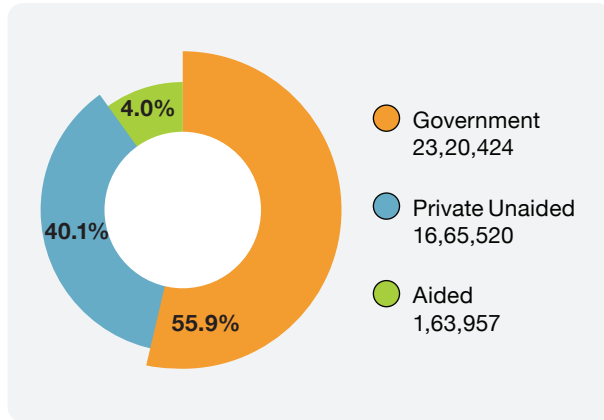
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Delhi

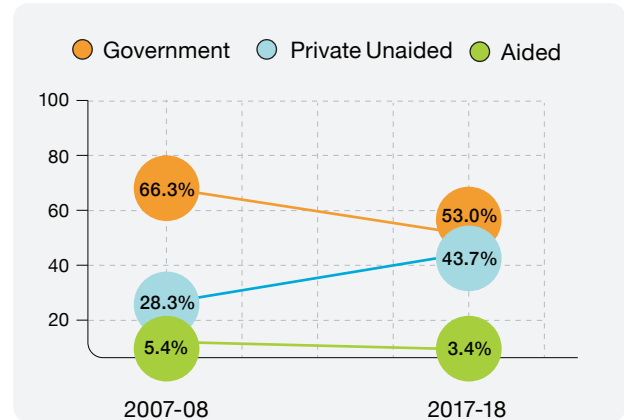
Growth of Private Schools

1. **40.1%** of students in Delhi attend private schools. This ranks 15th amongst the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India



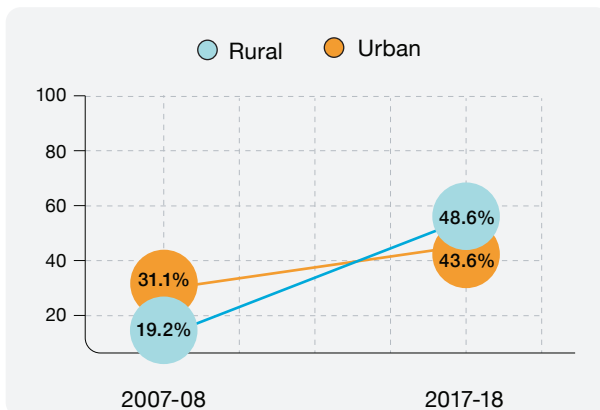
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



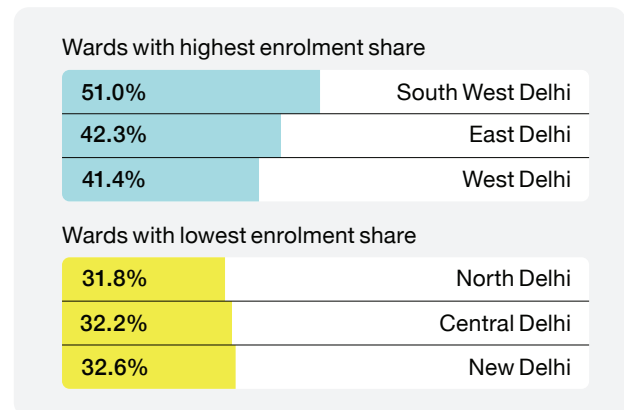
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

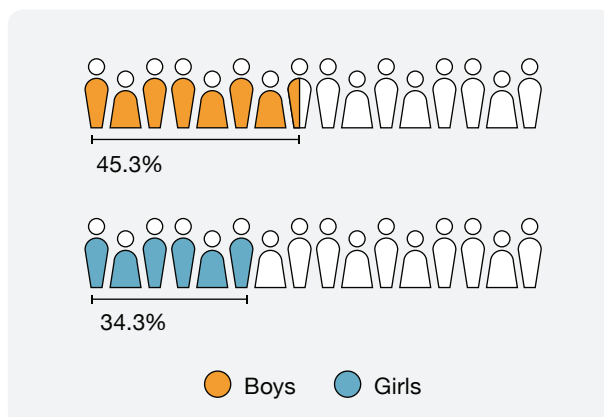
4. Among wards, **South West Delhi** has the greatest private enrolment share and **North East Delhi** the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

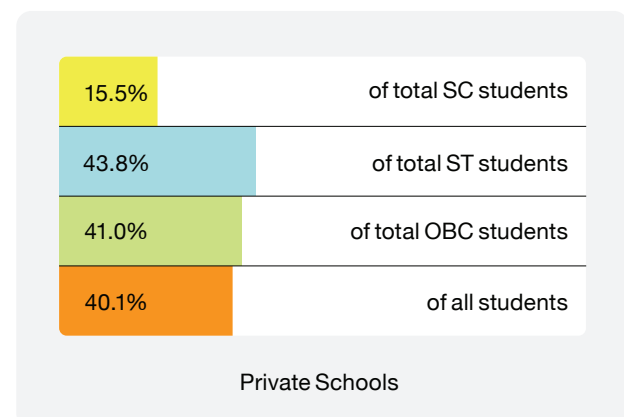
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **34.3%** girls attend private schools, while **45.3%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A smaller share of SCs, but a higher share of ST and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Delhi School Education Act, 1973	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Delhi School Education Rules, 1973	✓	✓			
Delhi Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

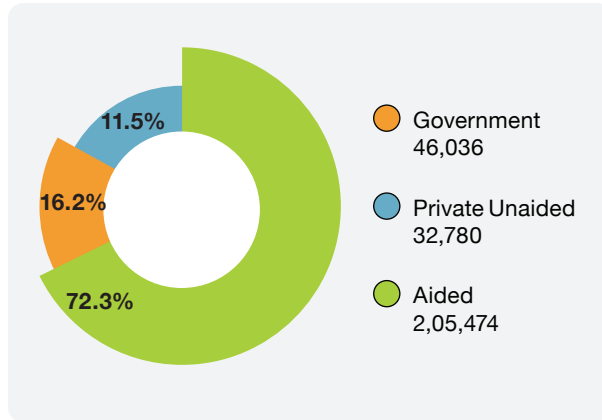
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Goa

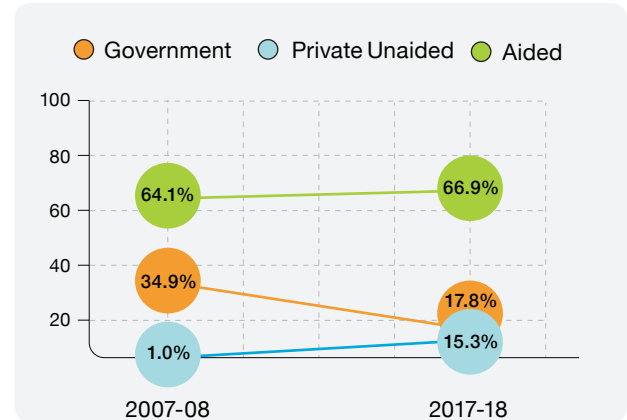
Growth of Private Schools

1. **11.5%** of students in Goa attend private schools. This ranks 34th amongst the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India.



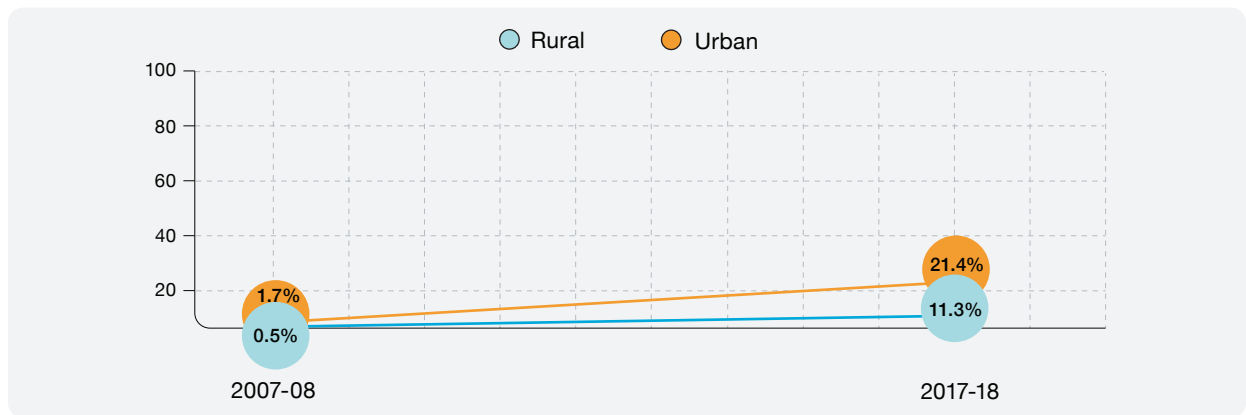
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

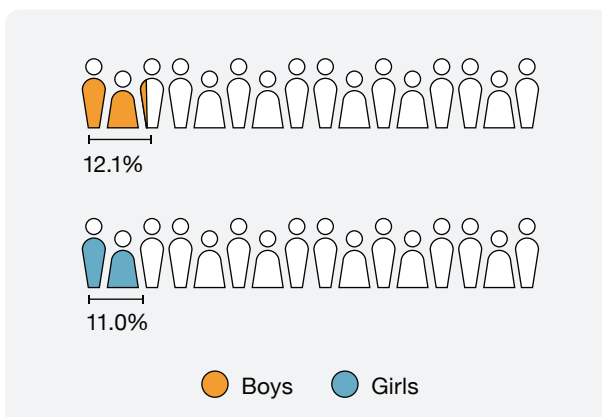
3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

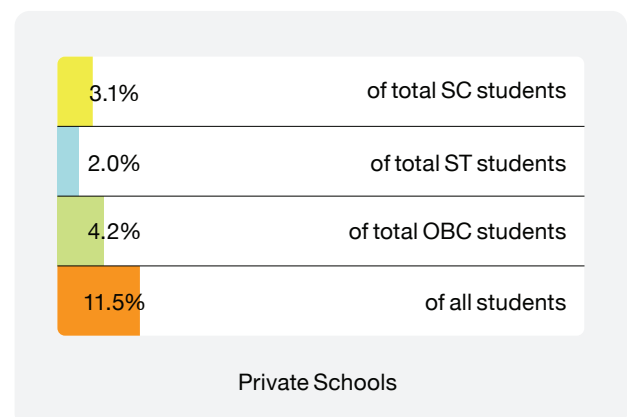
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **11.0%** girls attend private schools, while **12.1%** of boys attend private unaided schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Goa, Daman and Diu School Education Act, 1984	✓	✓		✓	
Goa, Daman and Diu Secondary and Higher Secondary Education Board Act, 1975				✓	
Goa, Daman and Diu School Education Rules, 1986	✓	✓		✓	
Goa Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2012	✓	✓			

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

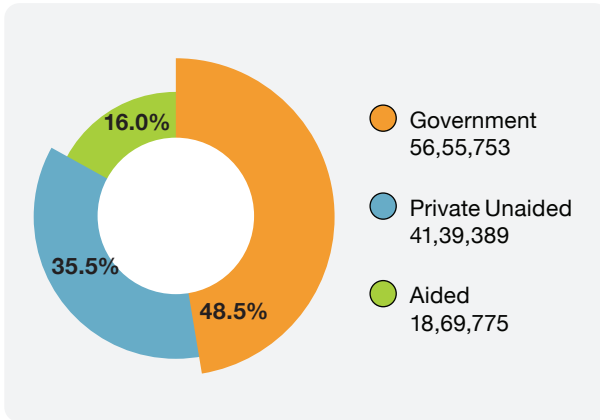
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Gujarat

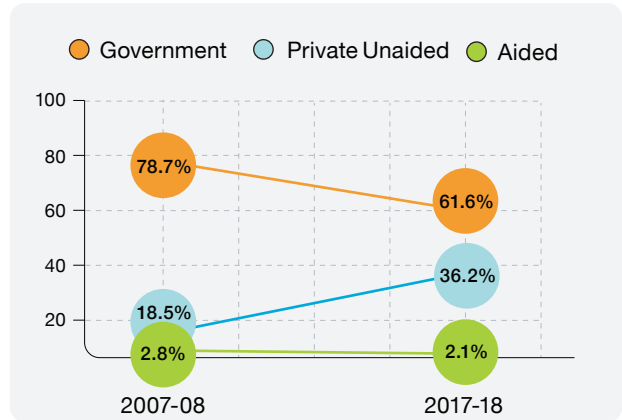
Growth of Private Schools

1. **35.5%** of students in Gujarat attend private schools. Gujarat ranks 18th among all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



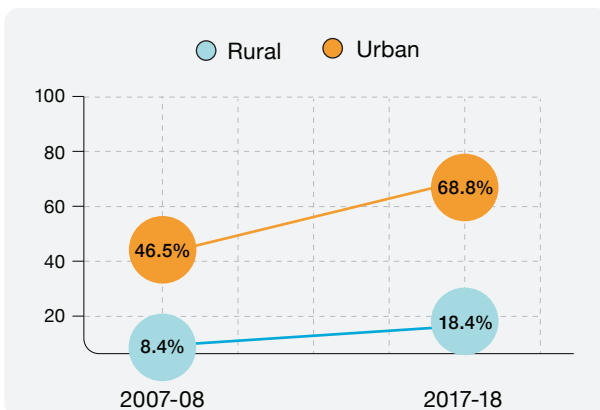
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



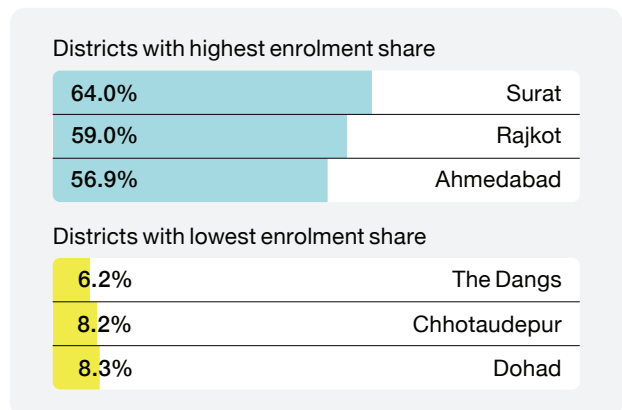
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

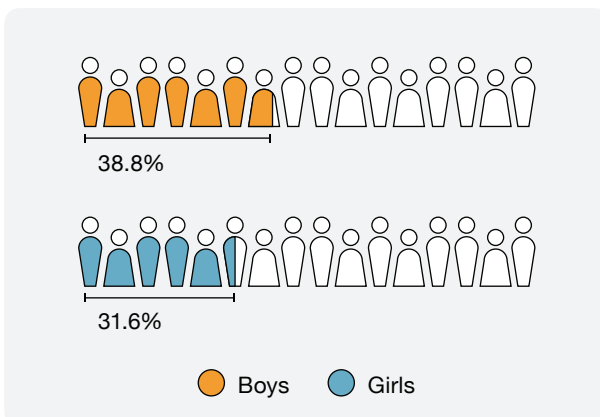
4. Among districts, **Surat** has the greatest private enrolment share and **The Dangs** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

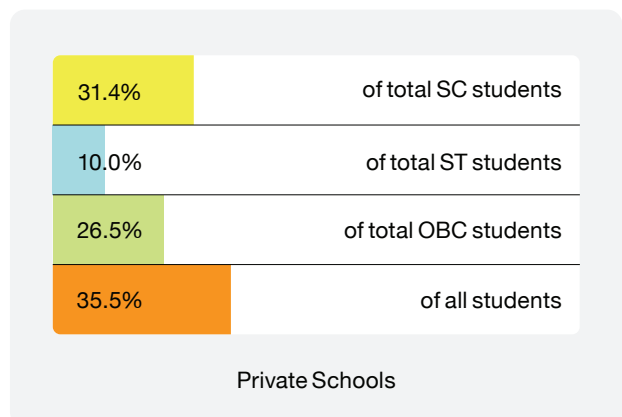
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **31.6%** girls attend private schools, while **38.8%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

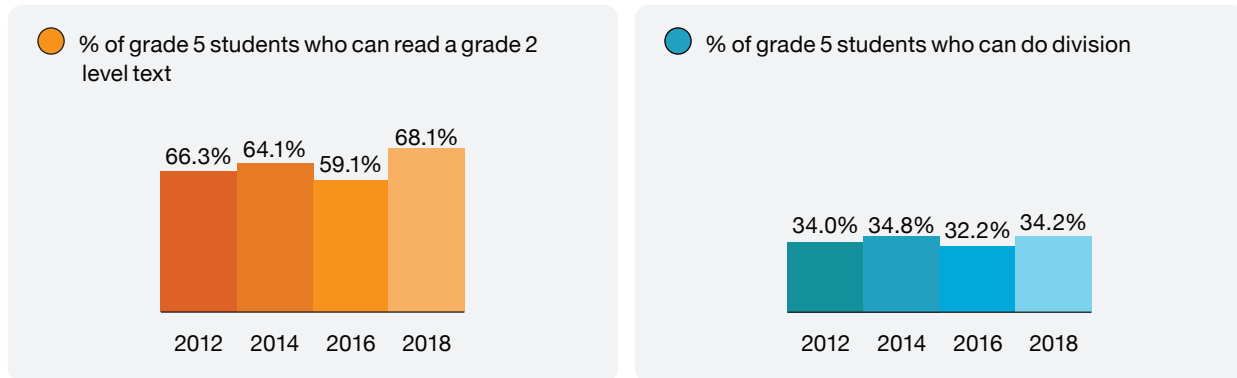
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

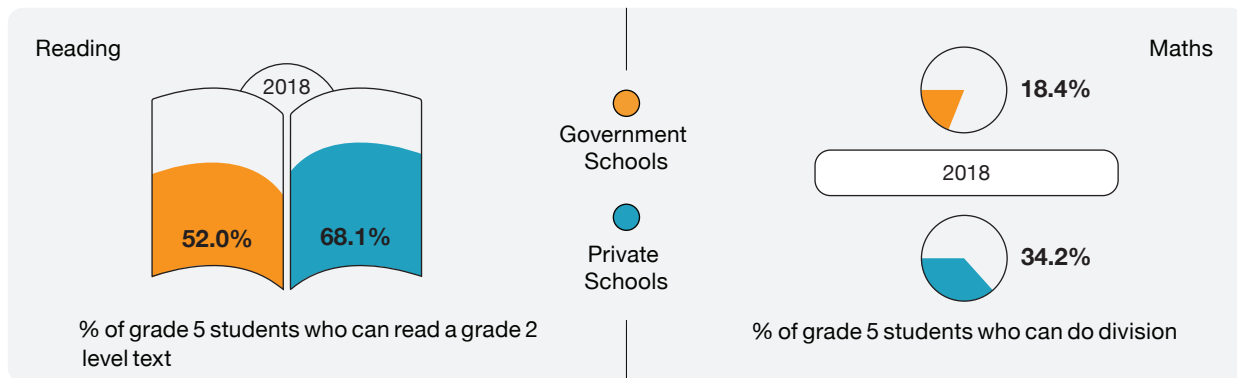
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Gujarat's rural private schools has very slightly improved.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Gujarat's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
The Gujarat Educational Institutions (Regulation) Act, 1984	✓	✓			
Gujarat Self financed Schools (Regulation of Fees) Act, 2017			✓		
Gujarat Secondary and Higher Secondary Education Act, 1972				✓	
Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2012	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

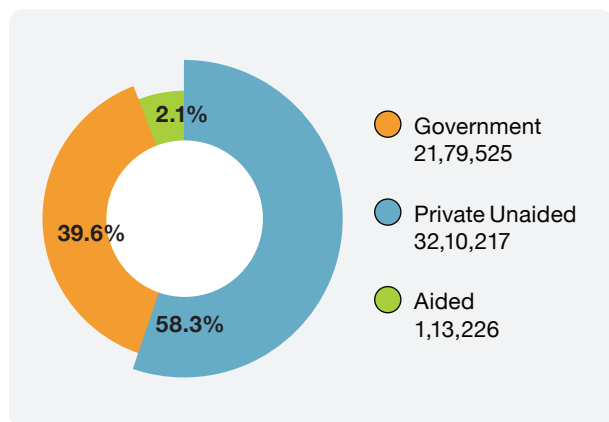
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Haryana

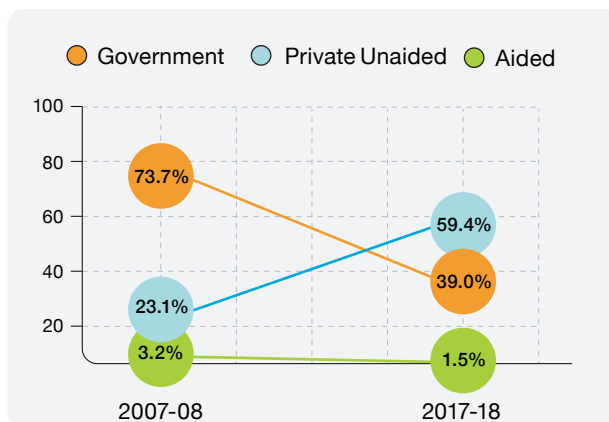
Growth of Private Schools

1. **58.3%** of students in Haryana attend private schools. This is the 3rd highest private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.



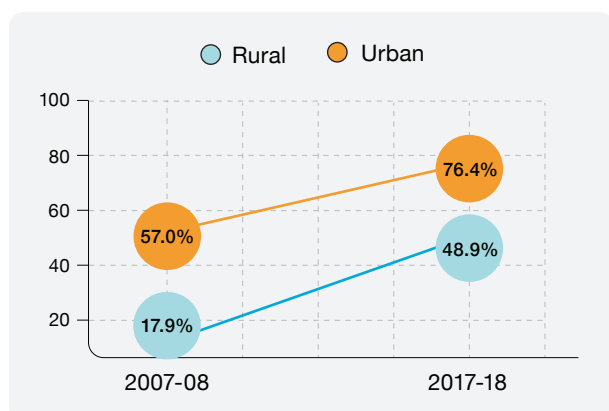
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



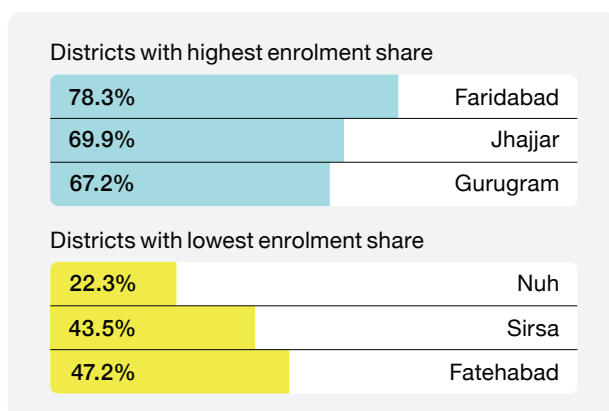
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

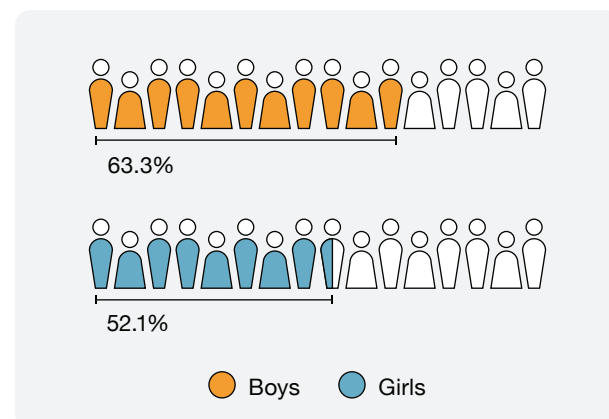
4. Among districts, **Faridabad** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Nuh** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

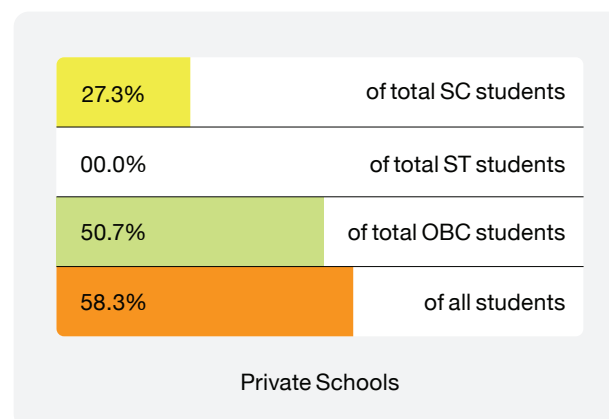
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **52.1%** girls attend private schools, while **63.3%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

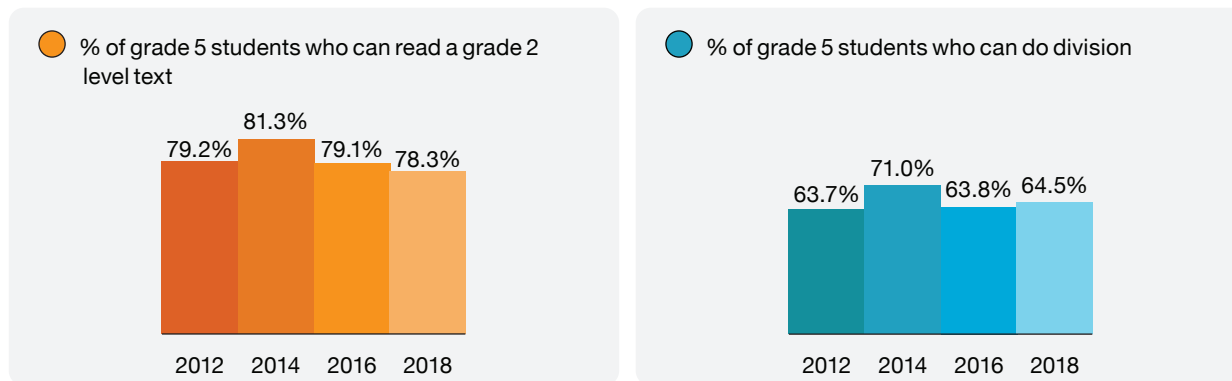
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private unaided schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

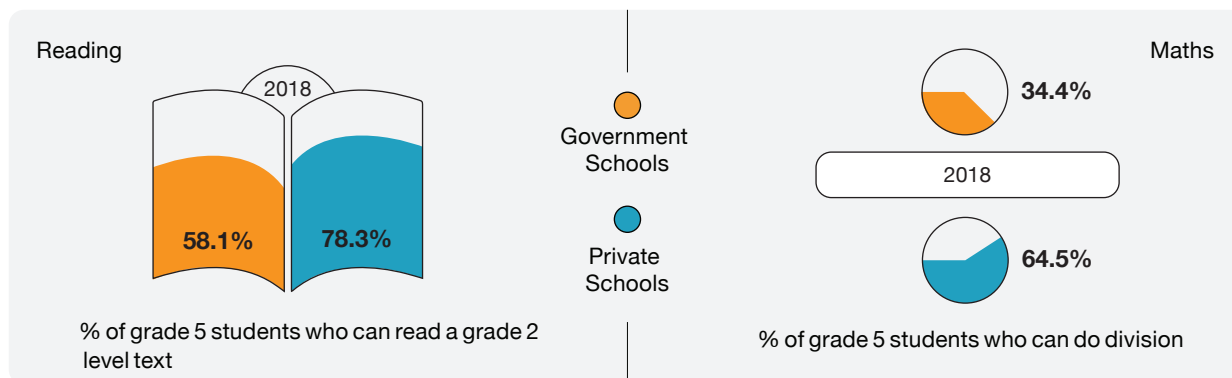
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Haryana’s rural private schools has remained same.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Haryana’s private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Haryana School Education Act, 1995	✓	✓	✓		
Haryana Board of School Education Act, 1969				✓	
Haryana School Education Rules, 2003	✓	✓	✓		
Haryana Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

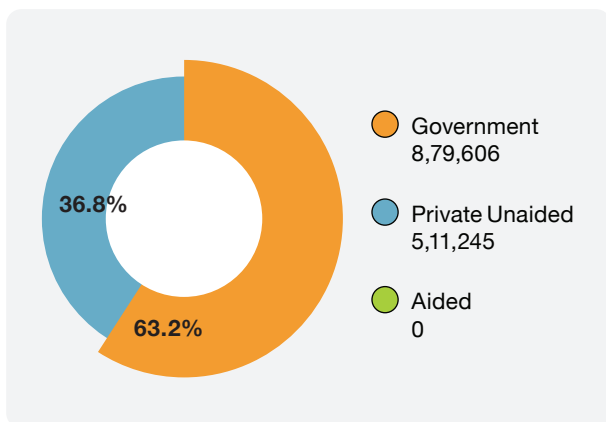
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. “Unified District Information System for Education” (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Himachal Pradesh

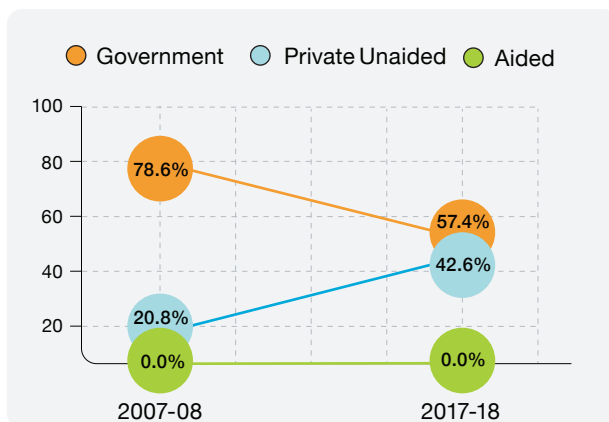
Growth of Private Schools

1. **36.8%** of students in Himachal Pradesh attend private schools. Himachal Pradesh ranks 17th amongst all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



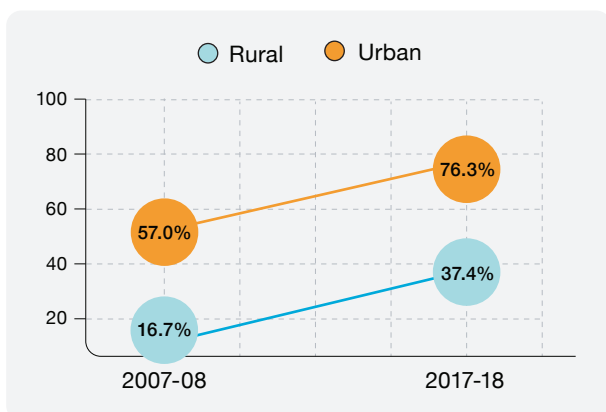
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



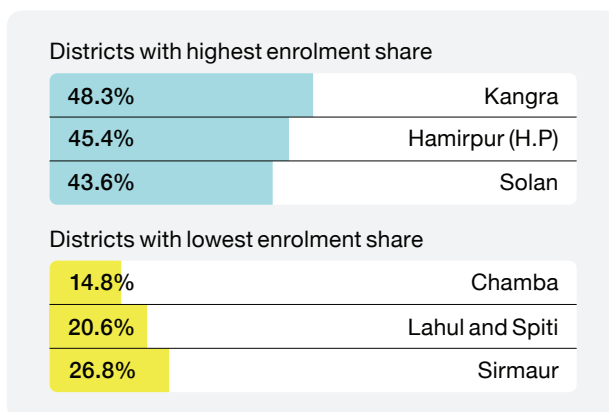
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

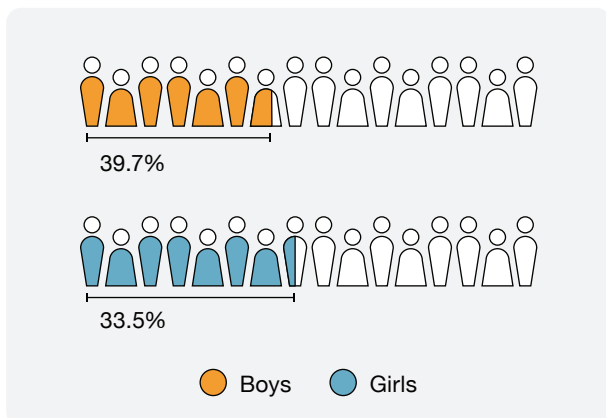
4. Among districts, **Kangra** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Chamba** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

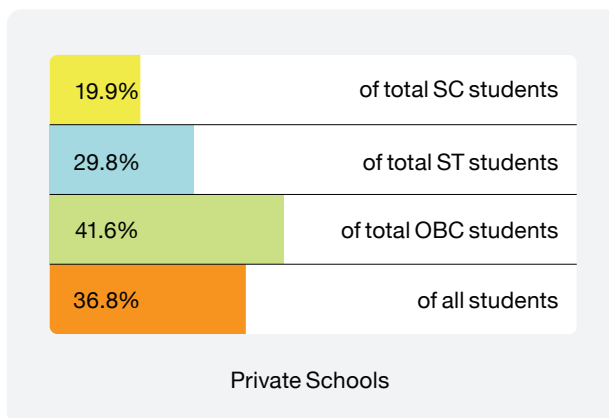
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **33.5%** girls attend private schools, while **39.7%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

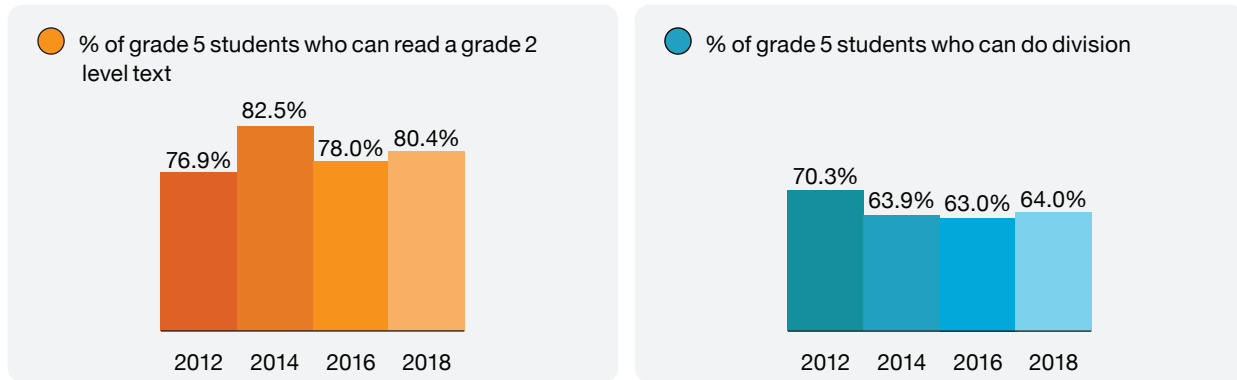
2. A higher share of OBCs but a smaller share of SCs and STs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

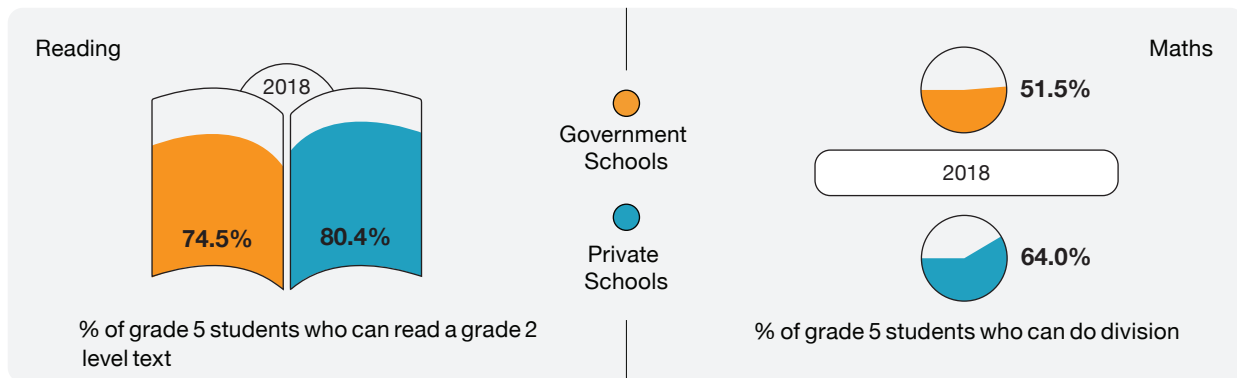
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading in Himachal Pradesh' rural private schools improved, while maths worsened.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Himachal Pradesh's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Himachal Pradesh Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1953	✓				
Himachal Pradesh Board of School Education Act, 1968				✓	
Himachal Pradesh Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

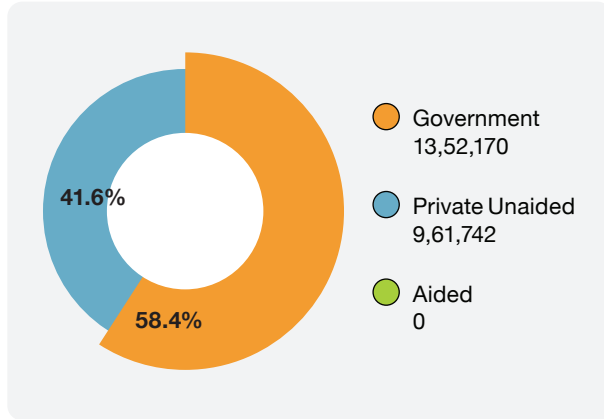
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Jammu and Kashmir

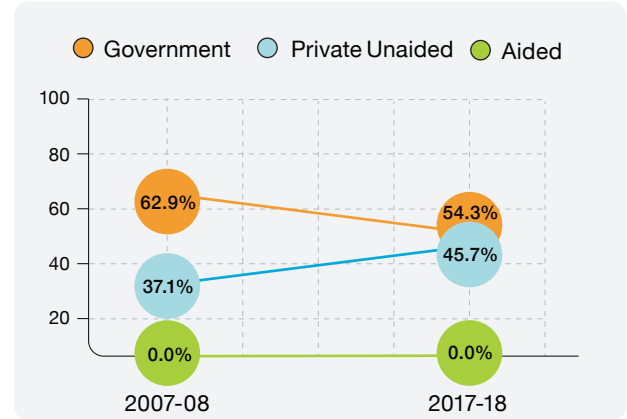
Growth of Private Schools

1. **41.6%** of students in Jammu and Kashmir attend private schools. Jammu and Kashmir ranks 13th amongst the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India.



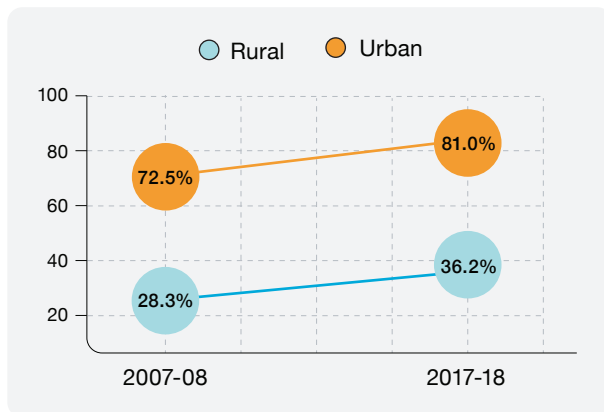
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



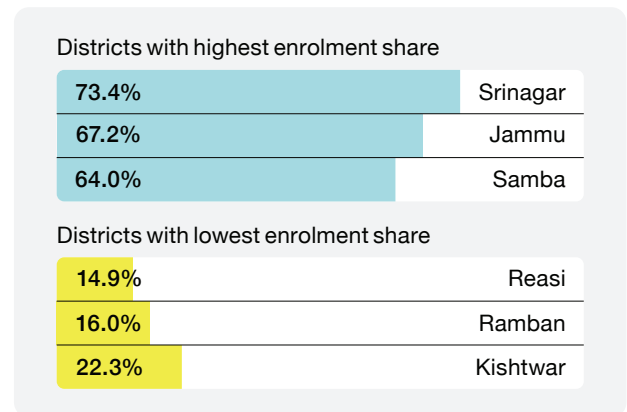
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

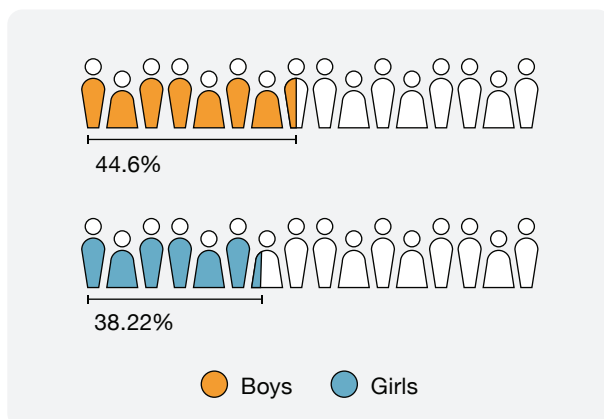
4. Among districts, **Srinagar** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Reasi** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

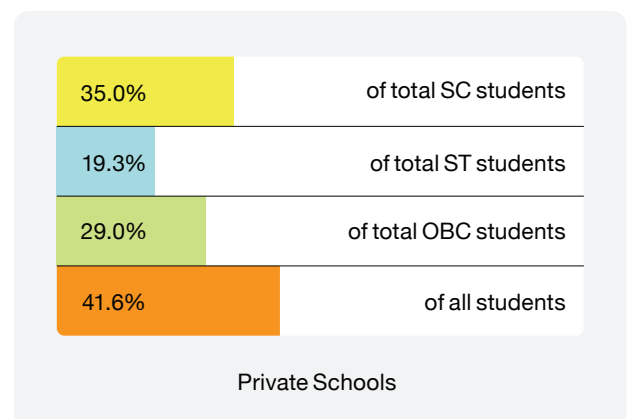
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **38.2%** girls attend private schools, while **44.6%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

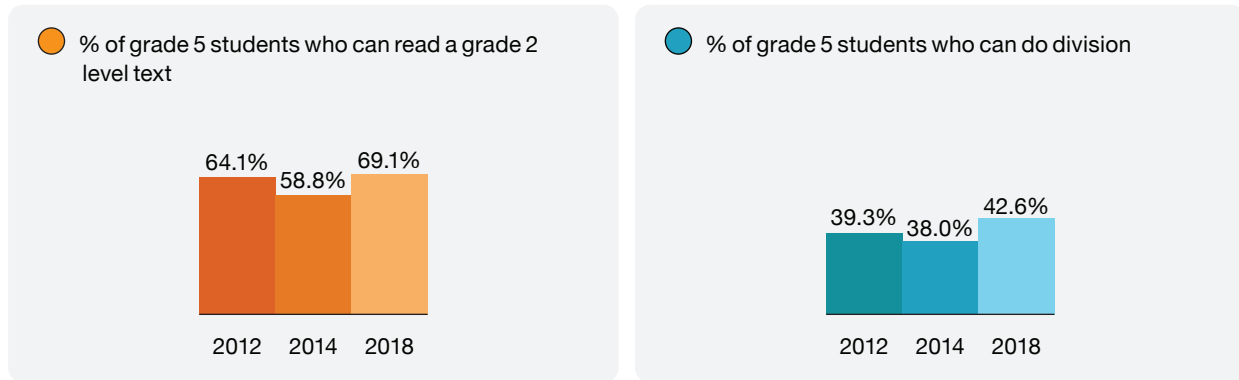
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

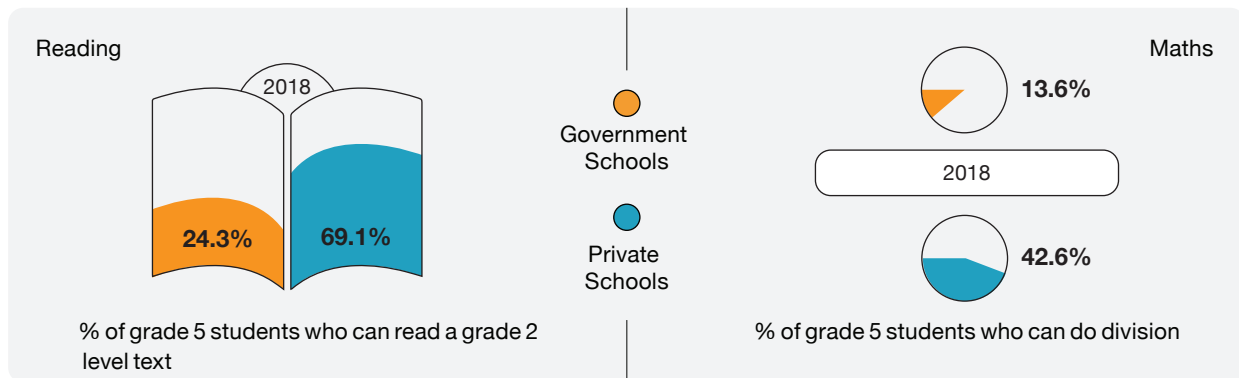
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Jammu and Kashmir's rural private schools has improved.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Jammu and Kashmir's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Jammu and Kashmir School Education Act, 2002	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Jammu and Kashmir Board of School Education Act, 1975				✓	
Jammu and Kashmir School Education Rules, 2010	✓		✓	✓	

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

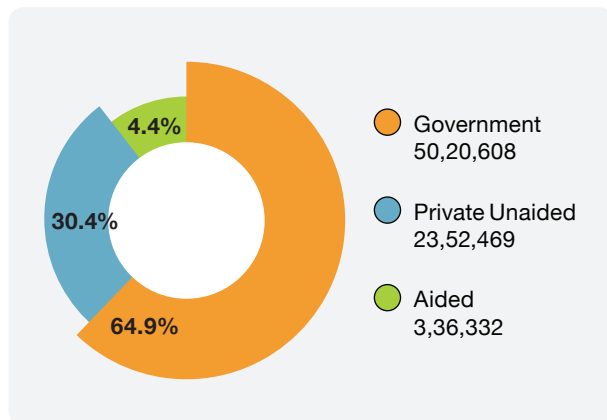
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Jharkhand

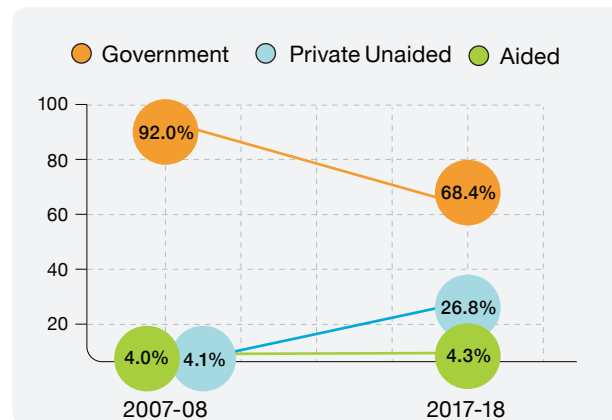
Growth of Private Schools

1. **30.4%** of students in Jharkhand attend private schools. This ranks 22nd amongst the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India.



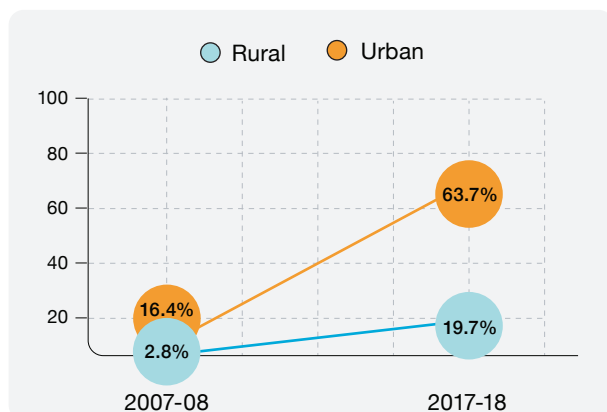
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



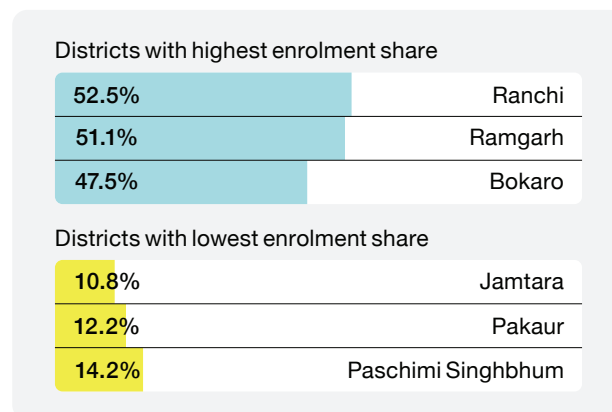
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

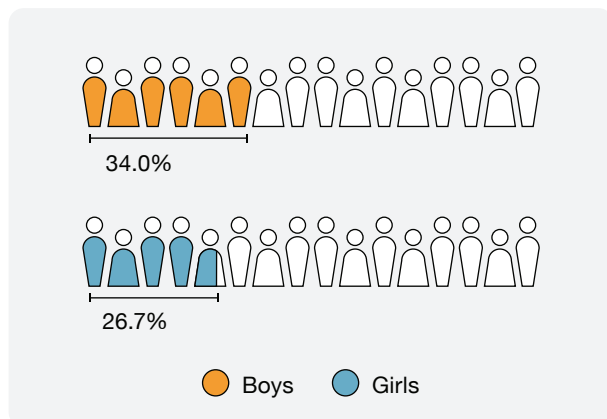
4. Among districts, **Ranchi** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Jamtara** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

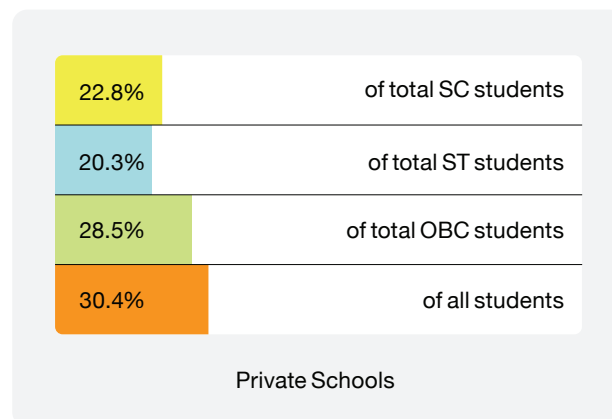
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **26.7%** girls attend private unaided schools, while **34.0%** of boys attend private unaided schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

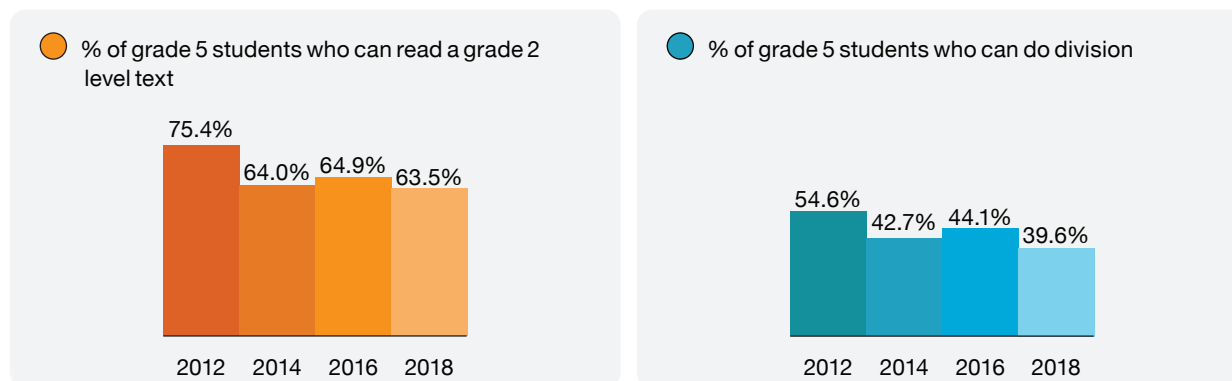
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

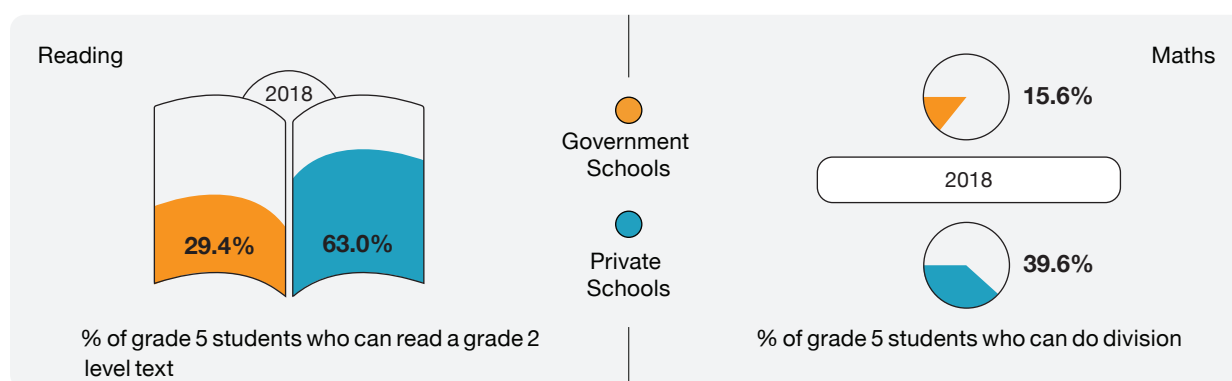
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Jharkhand's rural private schools has worsened.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Jharkhand's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Jharkhand Education Tribunal Act, 2005		✓			
Bihar High Schools (Control and Regulation Administration) Act, 1960				✓	
Bihar School Examination Board Act, 1952				✓	
Jharkhand Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			
Bihar School Examination Board Regulations, 1964				✓	

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

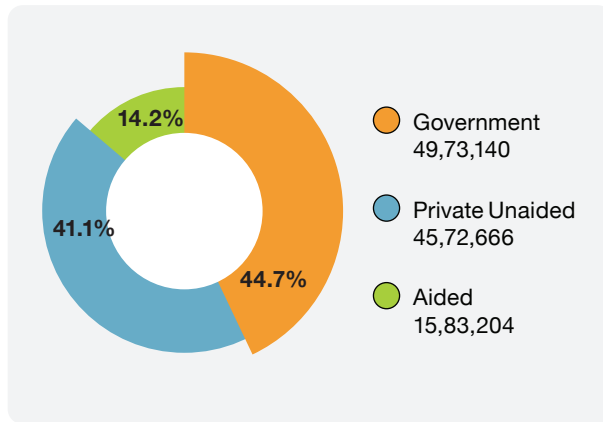
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Karnataka

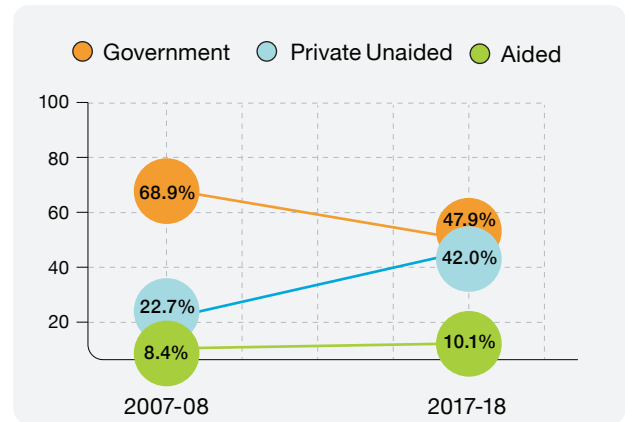
Growth of Private Schools

1. **41.1%** of students in Karnataka attend private schools. Karnataka ranks 14th amongst all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



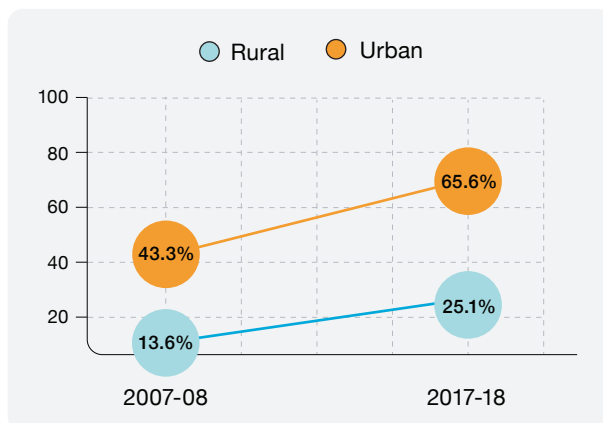
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



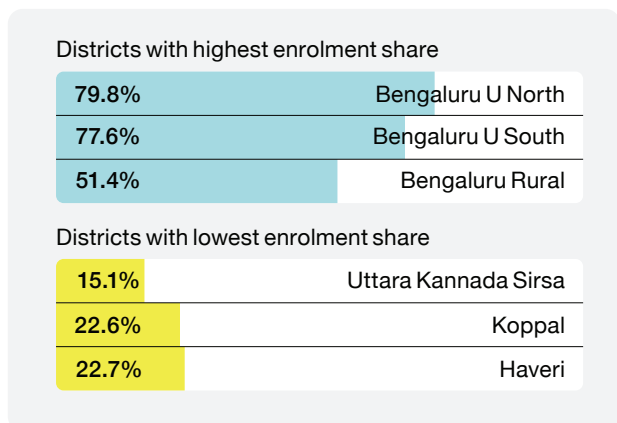
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

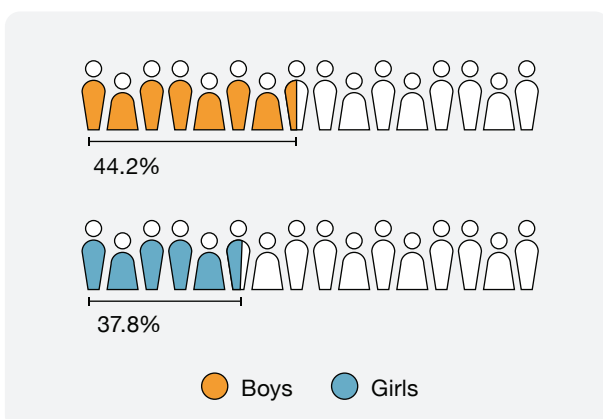
4. Among districts, **Bengaluru U North** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Uttara Kannada Sirsa** the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

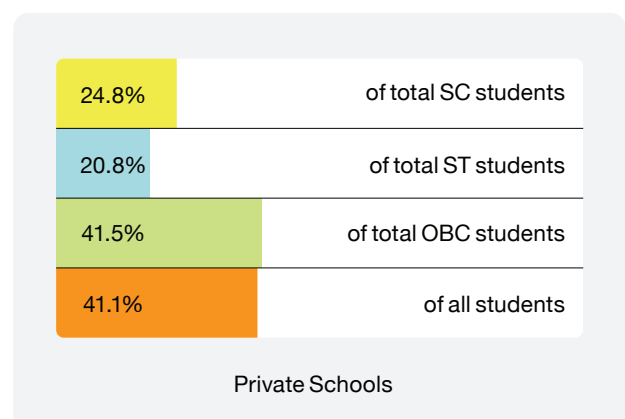
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **37.8%** girls attend private schools, while **44.2%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

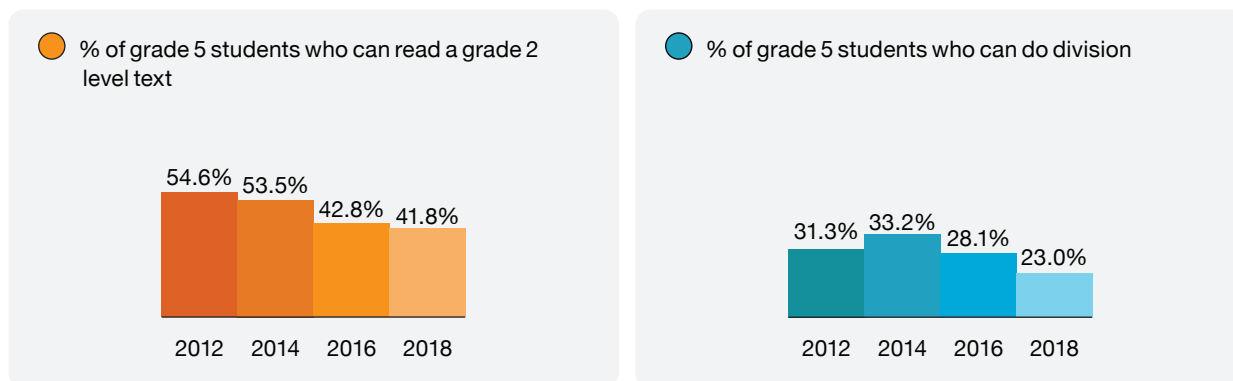
2. A higher share of OBCs but a smaller share of SCs and STs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

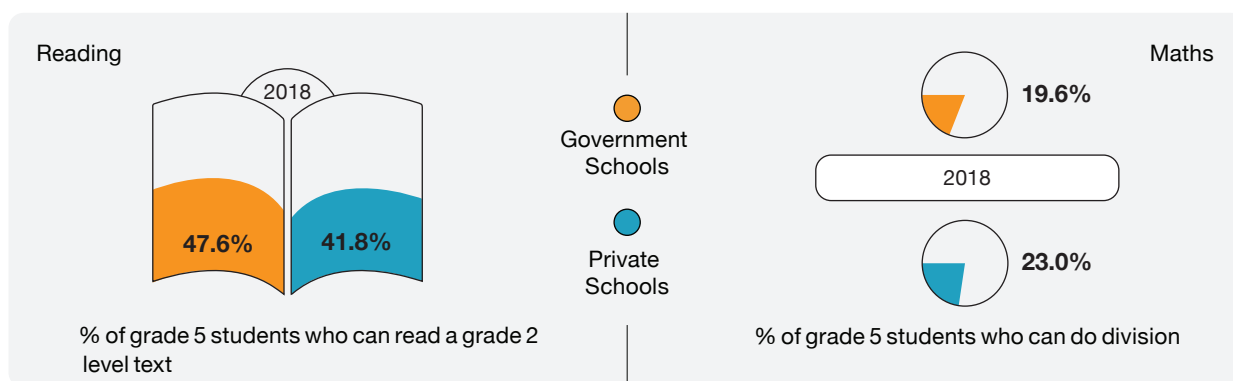
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Karnataka's rural private schools has worsened.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Karnataka's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at maths and worse at reading.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Outcomes
Karnataka Education Act, 1983	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Karnataka Educational Institutions (Prohibition of Capitation Fee) Act, 1984		✓			
Karnataka Prohibition Of Admission Of Students To Unrecognized And Unaffiliated Educational Institutions Act, 1992		✓			
Karnataka Compulsory Primary Education Act, 1961				✓	
Karnataka Private Educational Institutions (Discipline and Control) Act, 1978		✓			
Karnataka Educational Institutions (Classification and Registration) Rules, 1997	✓				
Karnataka Educational Institutions (Appeal, Revision and Review) Rules, 1998	✓				
Karnataka Educational Institutions (Recognition Of Primary And Secondary Schools) Rules, 1999	✓				
Karnataka Educational Institutions (Control Of Private Educational Institutions) Rules, 1999	✓		✓		

Karnataka Educational Institutions (Enquiry And Service Of Notice Etc.) Rules, 2001	✓				
Karnataka Educational Institutions (Selection of Parent Members of the Management Committee) Rules, 2001	✓				
Karnataka Educational Institutions (Change In The Governing Council or Change In The Location Of Private Educational Institutions) Rules, 2006	✓				
Karnataka Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2010	✓	✓	✓		
Karnataka Educational Institutions (Classification, Regulation and Prescription of Curricula etc.) Rules, 1995		✓			
Karnataka Educational Institutions (ancillary Services In Recognised Educational Institutions) Rules, 2000		✓			
Karnataka Compulsory Primary Education Rules, 1961				✓	
Karnataka Secondary Education Examination Board First Regulations, 1966				✓	

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

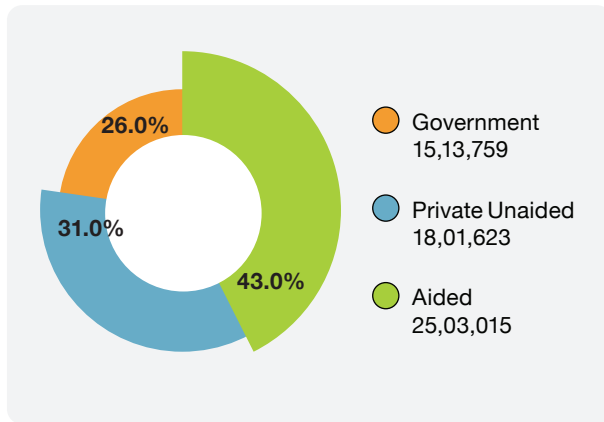
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Kerala

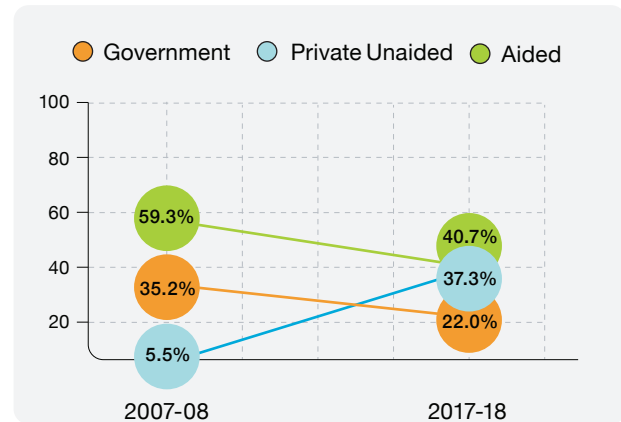
Growth of Private Schools

1. **31.0%** of students in Kerala attend private schools. This ranks 21st amongst the private enrolment shares of all states in India.



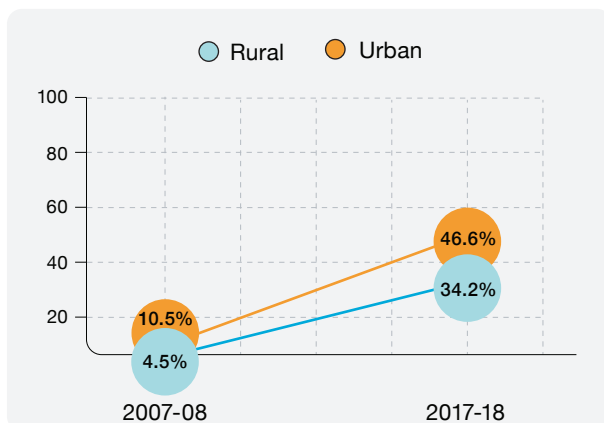
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



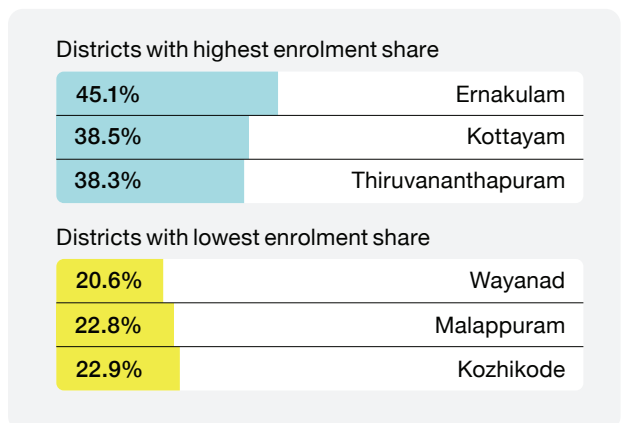
Source: DISE 2007-08, DISE 2017-18 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: DISE 2007-08, DISE 2017-18 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

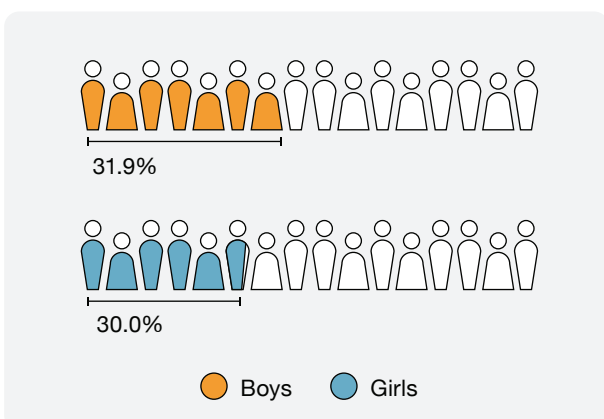
4. Among districts, **Ernakulam** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Wayanad** the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

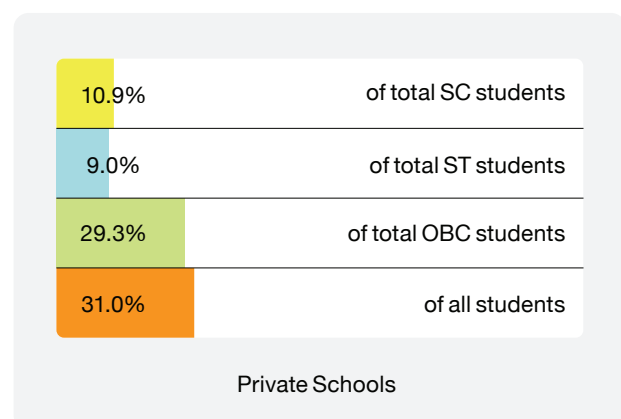
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **30.0%** girls attend private schools, while **31.9%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

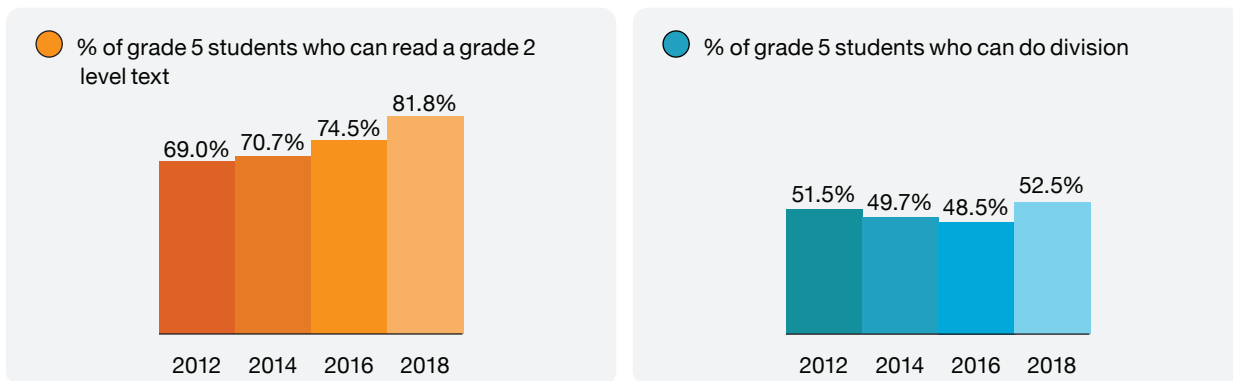
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

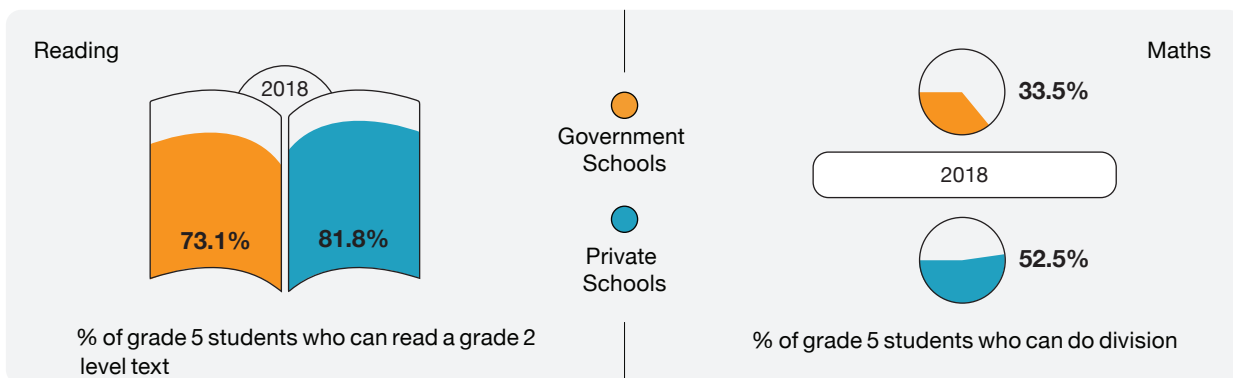
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading in Kerala’s rural private schools has improved, while maths has remained the same.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Kerala’s private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Outcomes
Kerala Education Act, 1958	✓	✓			
Kerala Right Of Children To Free And Compulsory Education Rules 2010	✓	✓			
Kerala Education Rules, 1959	✓	✓	✓		

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

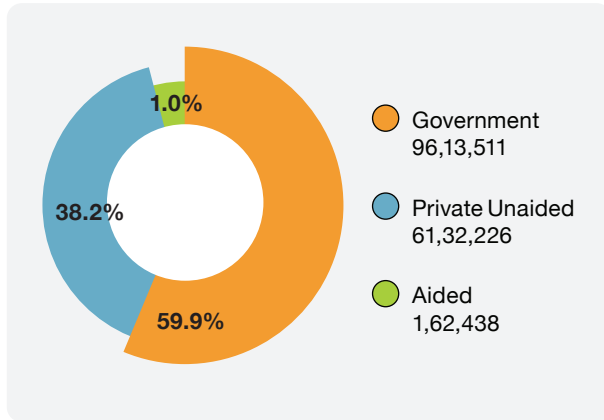
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2018. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>. ; U-DISE 2007-08, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE). ; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Madhya Pradesh

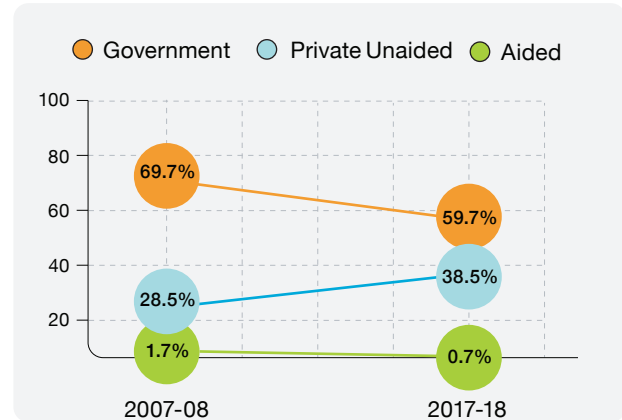
Growth of Private Schools

1. **38.2%** of students in Madhya Pradesh attend private schools. This ranks 16th amongst the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India.



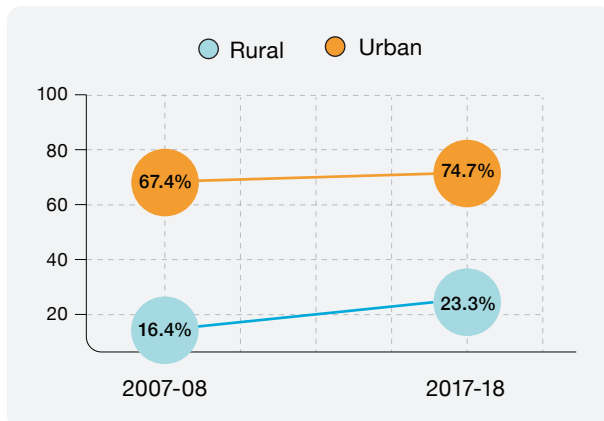
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



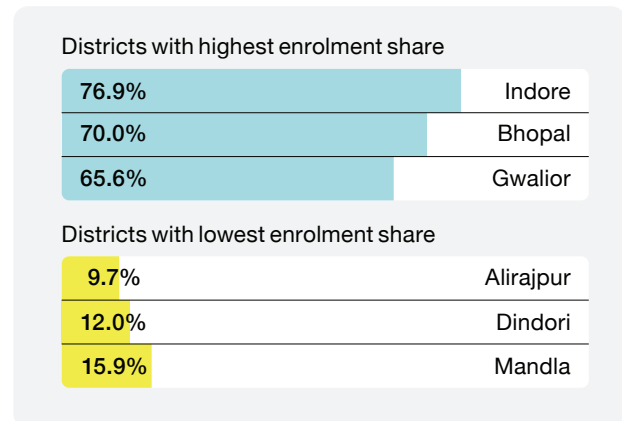
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

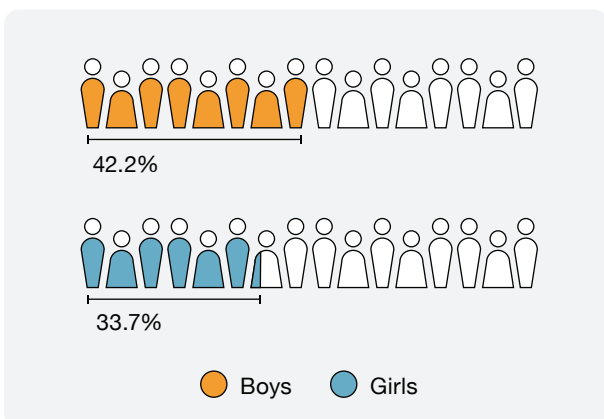
4. Among districts, **Indore** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Alirajpur** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

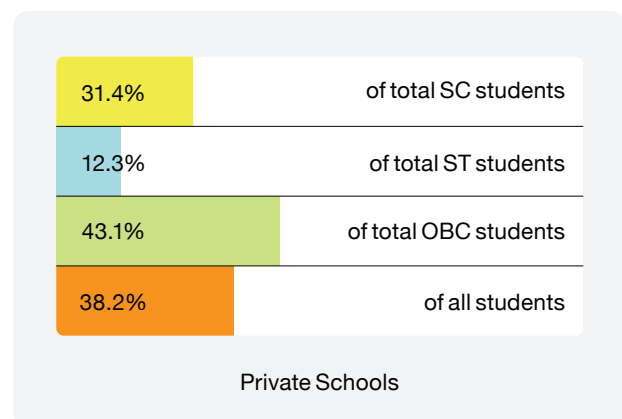
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **33.7%** girls attend private schools, while **42.2%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

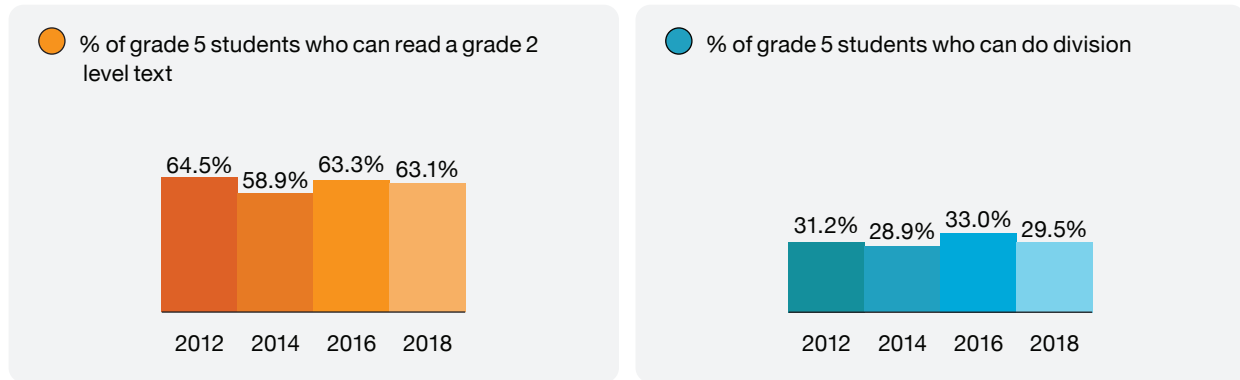
2. A higher share of OBCs but a smaller share of SCs and STs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

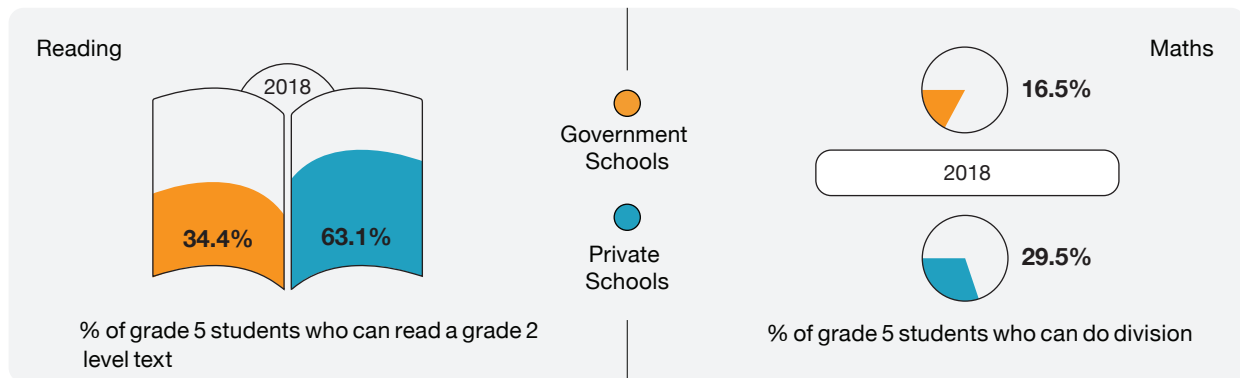
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Madhya Pradesh' rural private schools have slightly worsened.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Madhya Pradesh's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Outcomes
Madhya Pradesh Secondary Education Act, 1965	✓			✓	
Madhya Pradesh Prathamik, Middle School Tatha Madhyamik Shiksha (Pathya Pustakon Sambandhi Vyavastha) Adhinyam, 1973				✓	
M.P. Ashaskiya School Viniyaman Adhinyam, 1975	✓	✓		✓	
Right of children to Free and compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			
M.P. Recognition of Secondary and Higher Secondary School Rules, 2017	✓				
M.P. Date of Birth (Entries in the School Register) Rules, 1973	✓				
M.P. Ashaskiya Shikshan Sanstha (Schoolon Main Karyarat Adhyapakon Tatha Anya Karmachariyon Ki Padonnati) Rules, 1988		✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

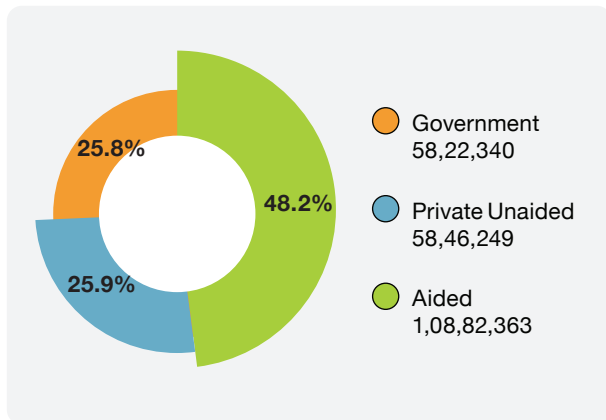
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Maharashtra

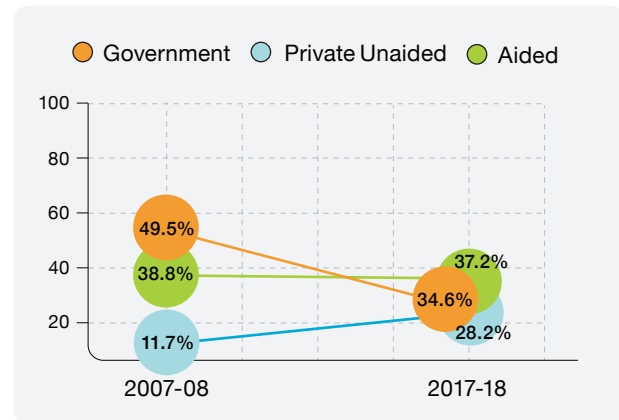
Growth of Private Schools

1. **25.9%** of students in Maharashtra attend private schools. This ranks 23rd amongst the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India.



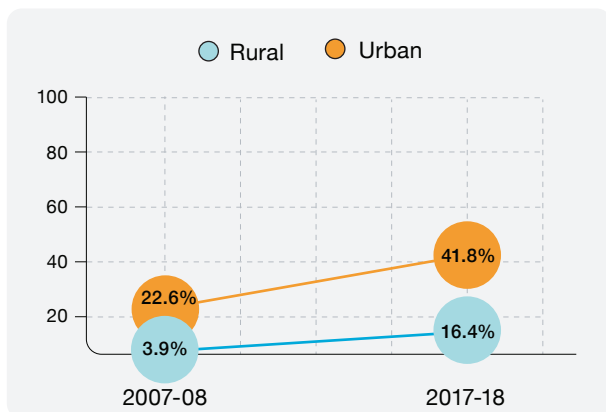
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



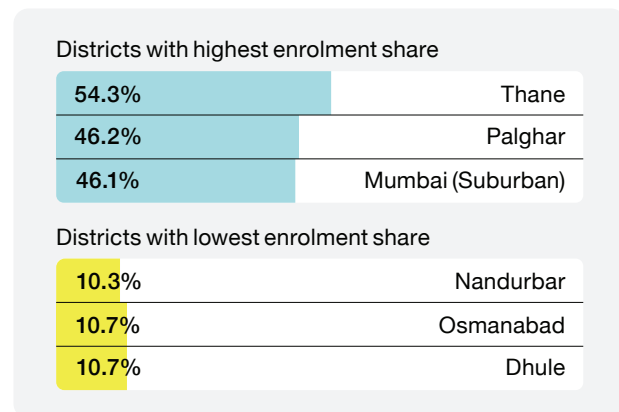
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

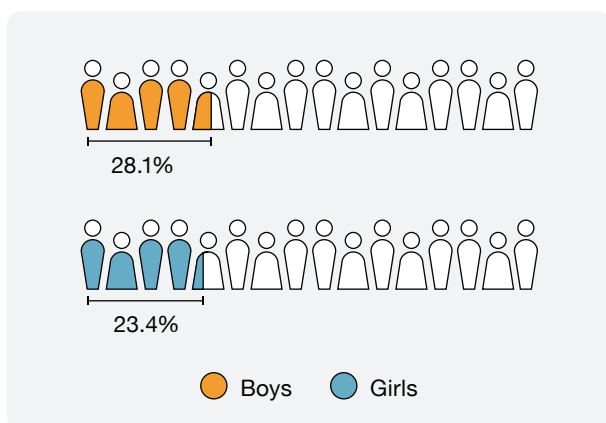
4. Among districts, **Thane** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Nandurbar** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

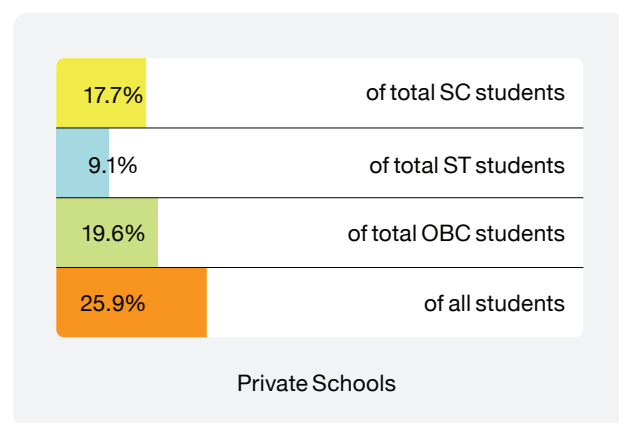
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **23.4%** girls attend private schools, while **28.1%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

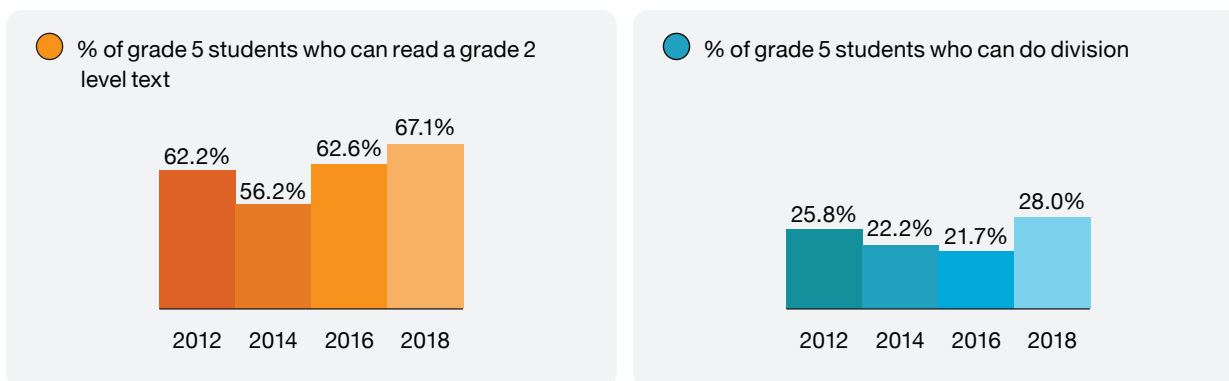
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

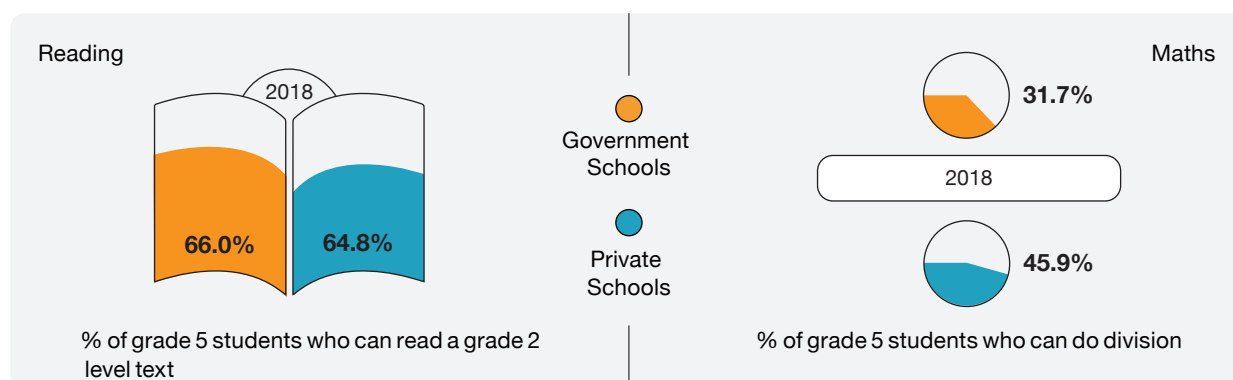
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Maharashtra's rural private schools have improved.



Source: **ASER Centre**

2. Maharashtra's private schools perform worse than their government counterparts at reading and better at maths.



Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Maharashtra Self-Financed Schools (Establishment and Regulation) Act, 2012	✓				
Maharashtra Educational Institutions (Regulation of Fee) Act, 2011			✓	✓	
Maharashtra Employees of Private Schools (Conditions of Service) Regulation Act, 1977		✓		✓	
Maharashtra Educational Institutions (Prohibition of Capitation Fee) Act, 1987			✓		
Maharashtra Educational Institutions (Transfer of Management) Act, 1971				✓	
Maharashtra Educational Institutions (Management) Act, 1976				✓	
Maharashtra Secondary and Higher Secondary Education Boards Act, 1965				✓	
Maharashtra Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

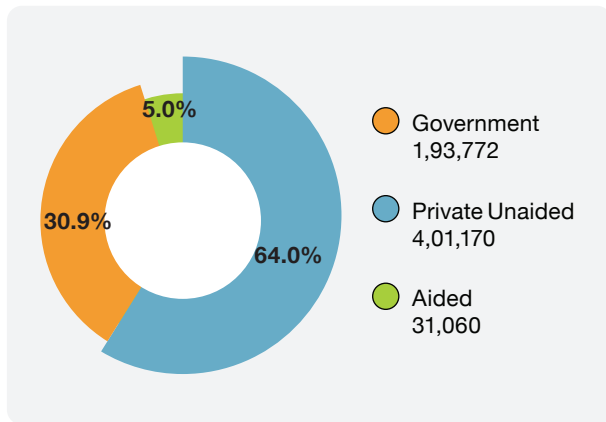
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools. Data on aided schools is also in all figures.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Manipur

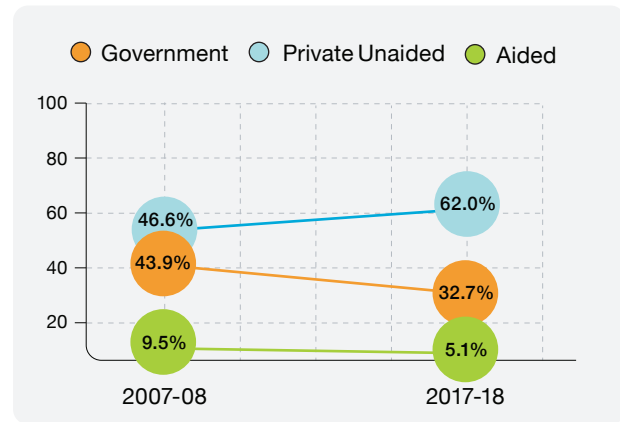
Growth of Private Schools

1. **64.0%** of students in Manipur attend private schools. Manipur ranks 1st among the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India.



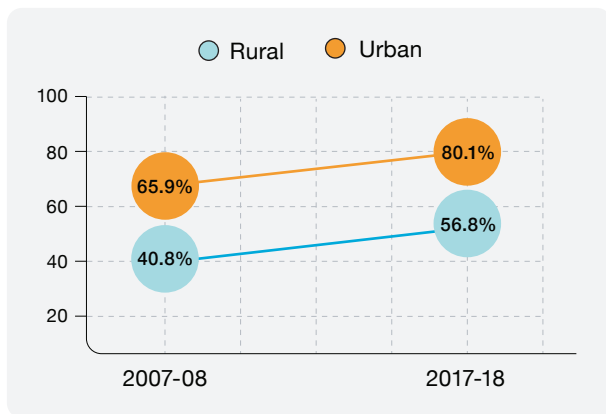
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



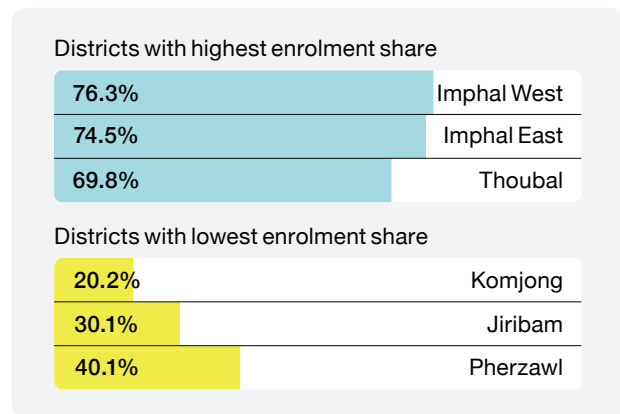
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

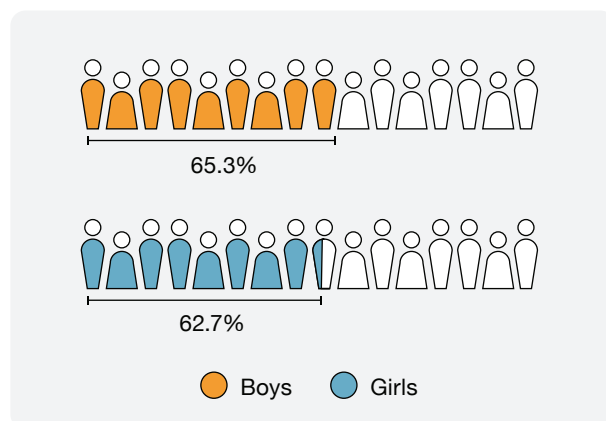
4. Among districts, **Imphal West** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Komjong** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

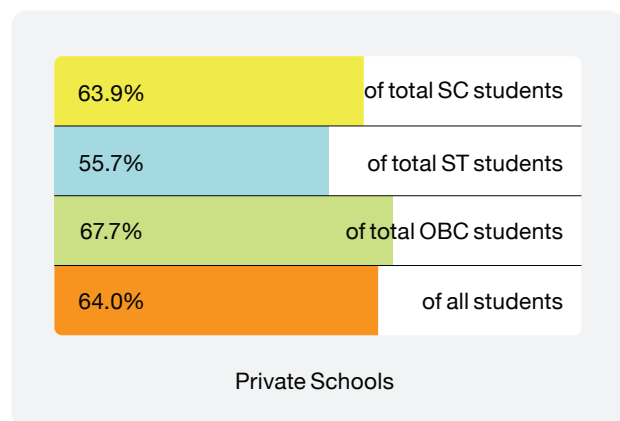
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **62.7%** girls attend private schools, while **65.3%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

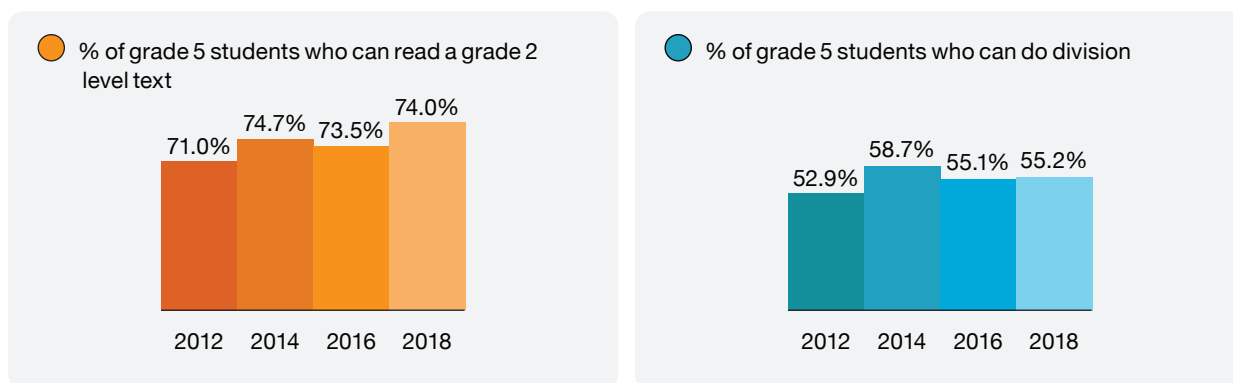
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

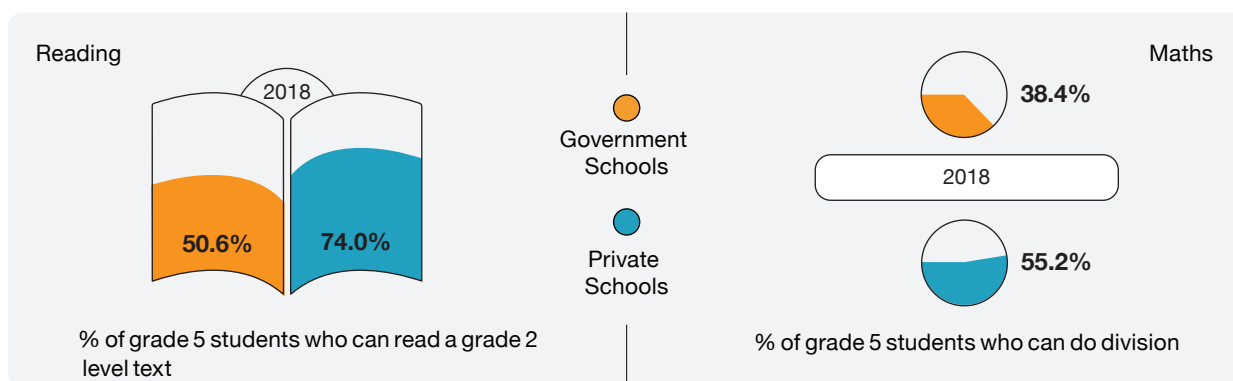
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Manipur's rural private schools has improved.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Manipur's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Manipur School Education Act, 1979	✓	✓		✓	
Manipur Private School (Registration And Regulation) Act, 2017	✓				
Manipur Elementary and Secondary Education Act, 1972				✓	
Manipur Higher Secondary Education Act, 1992				✓	
Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2010	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

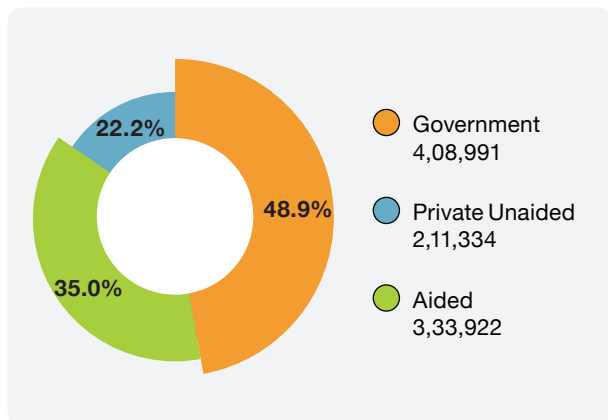
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019. "Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Meghalaya

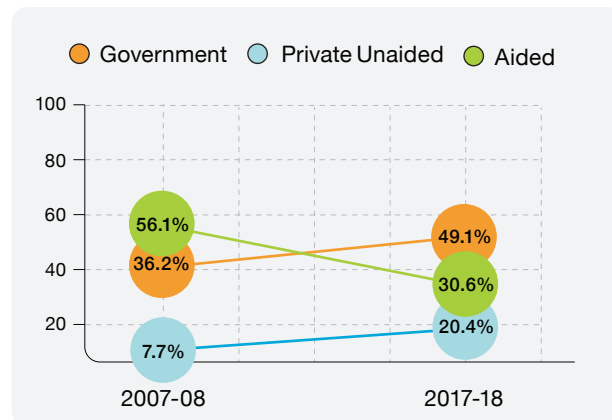
Growth of Private Schools

1. **22.2%** of students in Meghalaya attend private schools. Meghalaya ranks 30th among all states/UTs in private enrolment share.



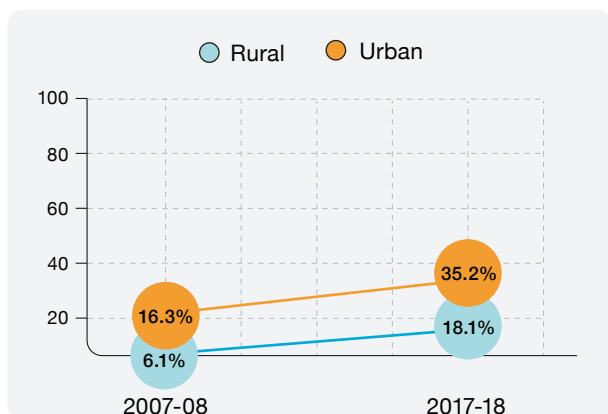
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



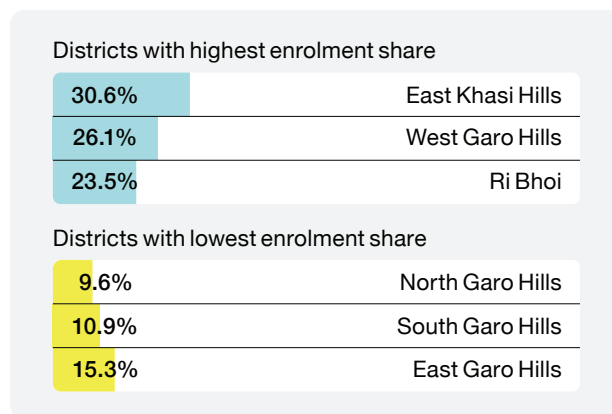
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

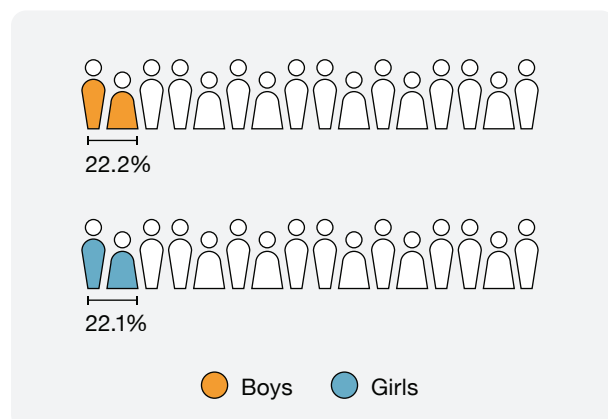
4. Among districts, **East Khasi Hills** has the greatest private enrolment share and **North Garo Hills** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

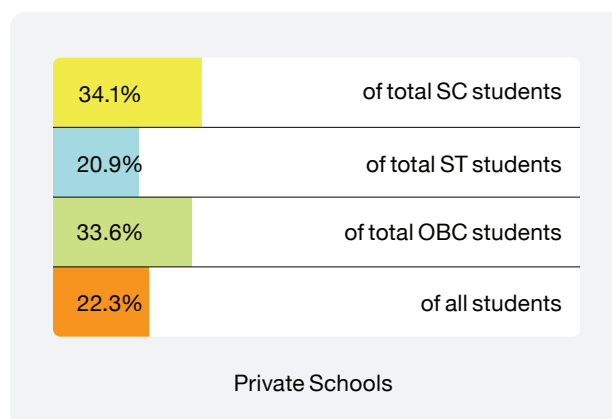
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **22.1%** girls attend private schools, while **22.2%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

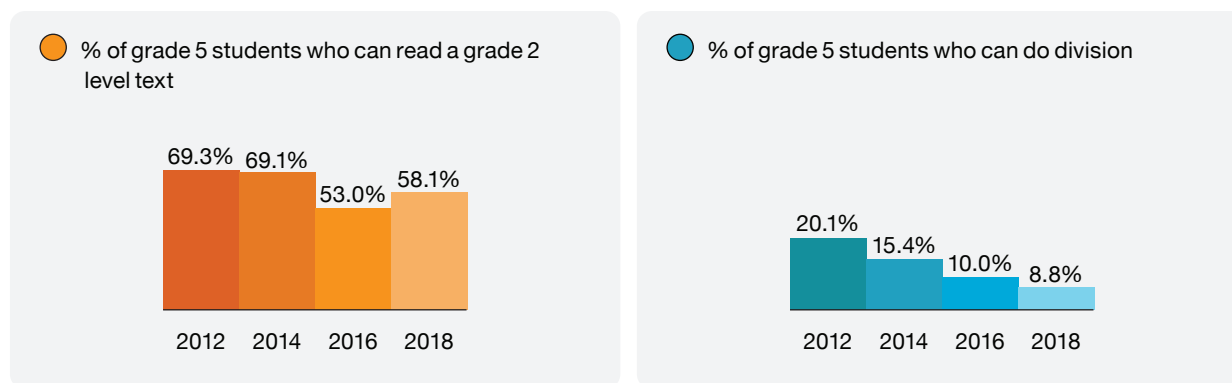
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

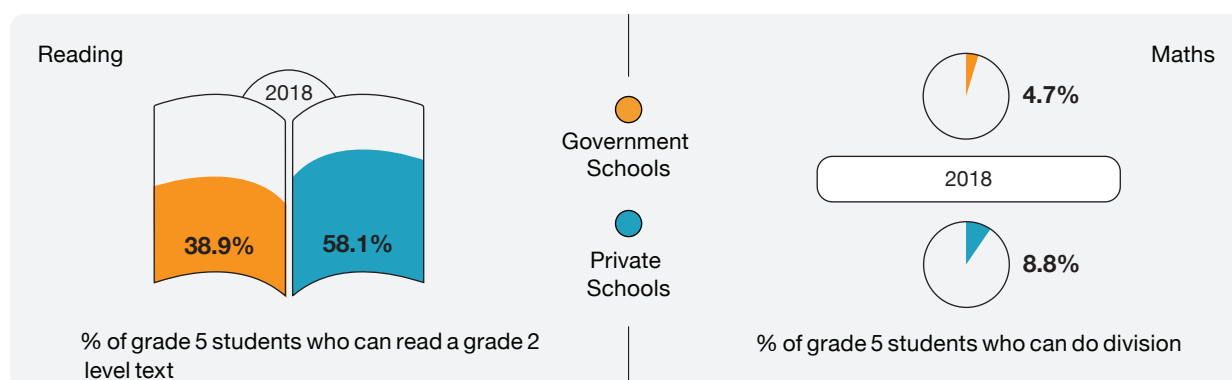
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Meghalaya's rural private schools has worsened.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Meghalaya's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Meghalaya School Education Act, 1981	✓	✓		✓	
Meghalaya Board of Primary School Education Act, 1988				✓	
Meghalaya Board of School Education Act, 1973				✓	
Meghalaya Right to Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

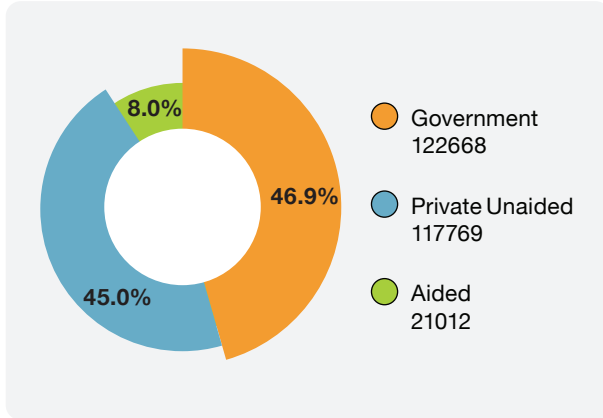
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Mizoram

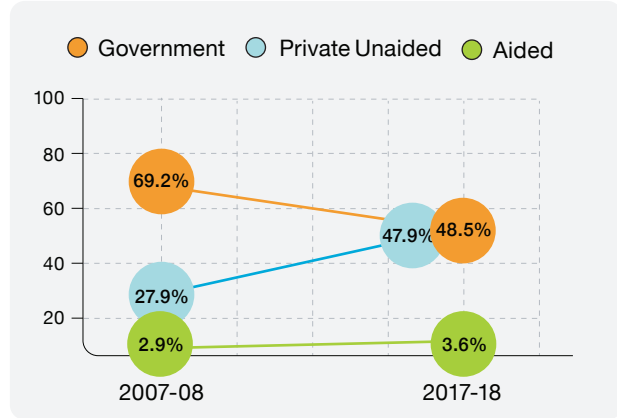
Growth of Private Schools

1. **45.0%** of students in Mizoram attend private schools. Mizoram has the 11th highest private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.



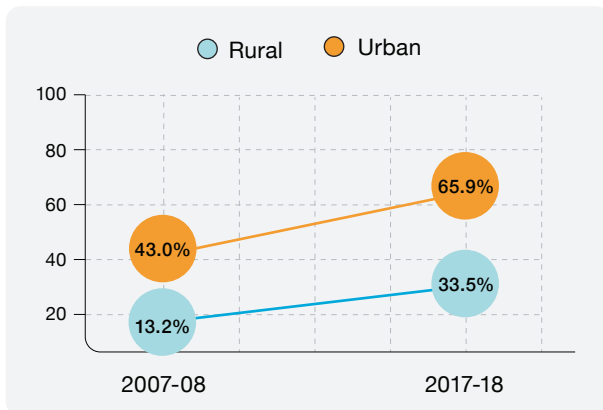
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



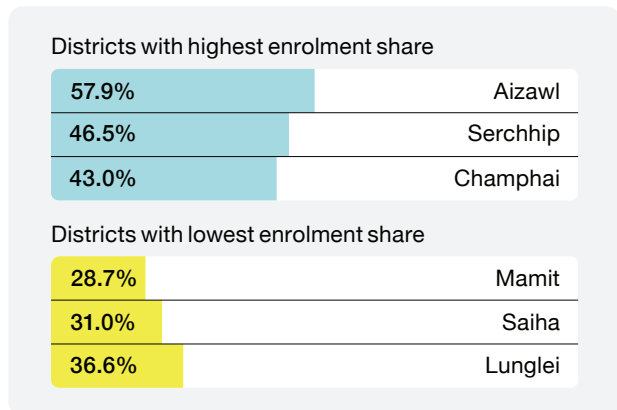
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

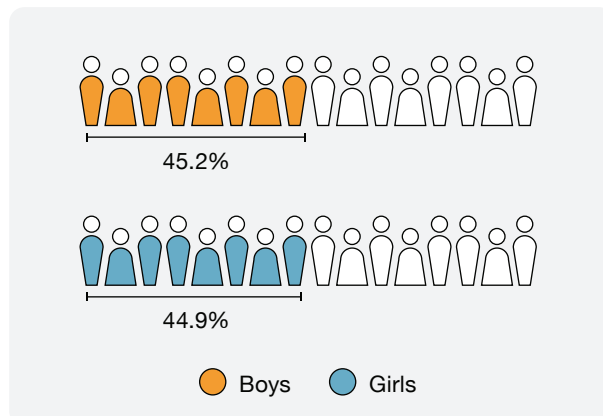
4. Among districts, **Aizawl** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Mamit** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

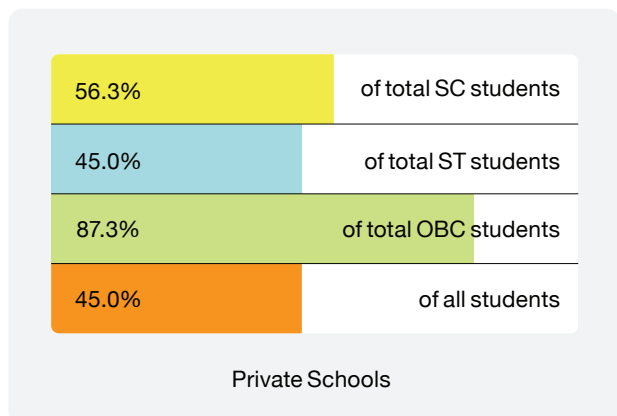
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **44.9%** girls attend private schools, while **45.2%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

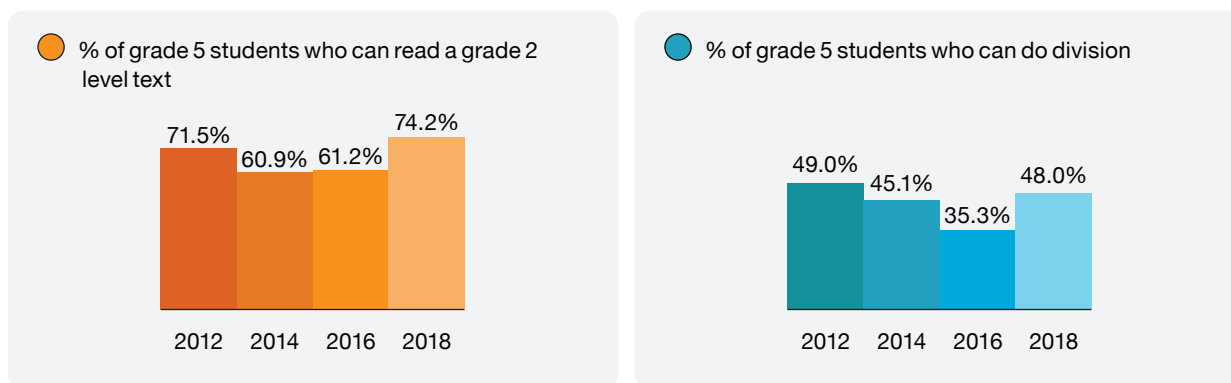
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

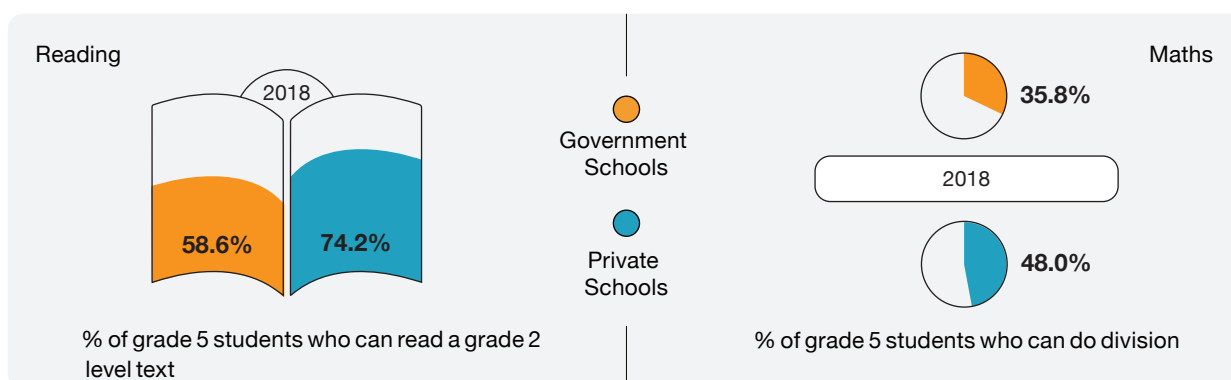
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Mizoram's rural private schools has improved.



Source: **ASER Centre**

2. Manipur's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: **ASER Centre, 2019**

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Mizoram Education Act, 2003	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Mizoram Board of School Education Act, 1975				✓	
Mizoram Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

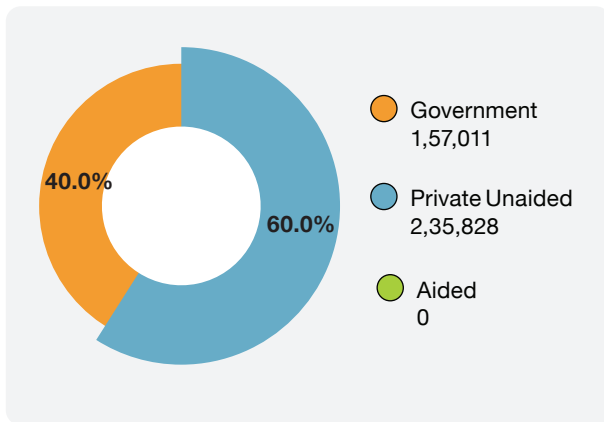
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Nagaland

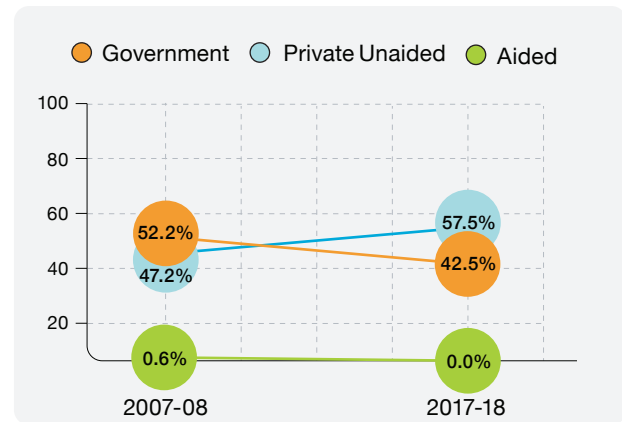
Growth of Private Schools

1. **60.0%** of students in Nagaland attend private schools. Nagaland has the 2nd highest private enrolment share of states/UTs in India.



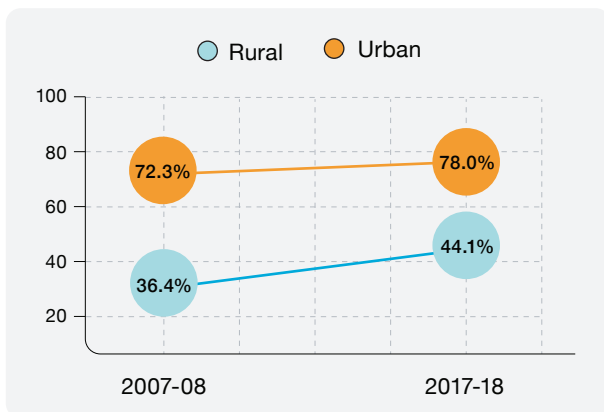
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



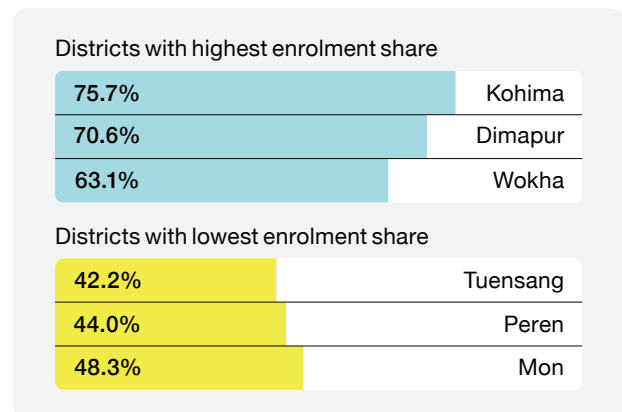
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

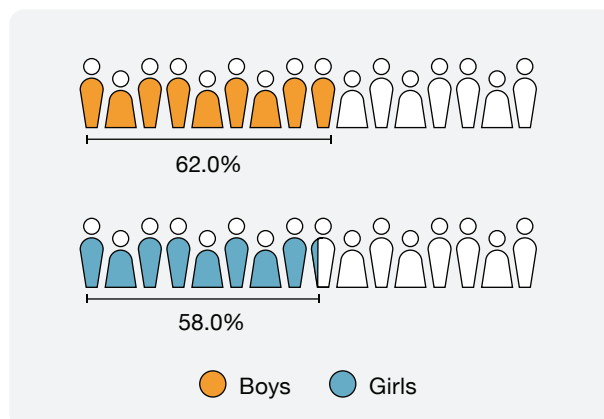
4. Among districts, **Kohima** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Tuensang** has the lowest share.



Source: U-DISE 2019

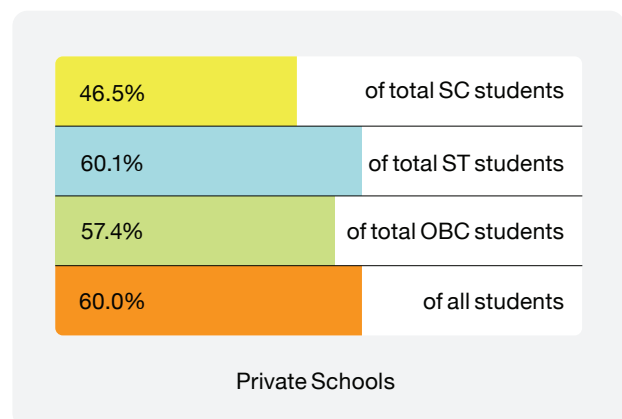
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **58.0%** girls attend private schools, while **62.0%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

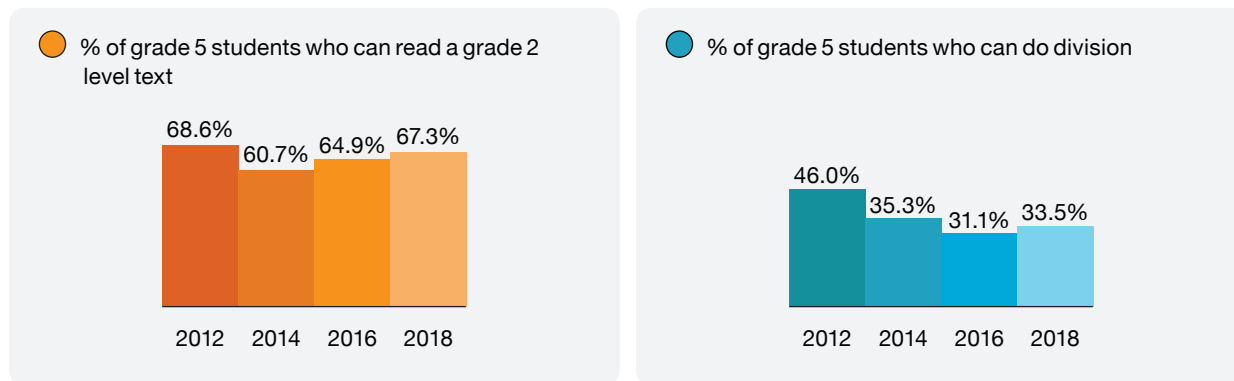
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

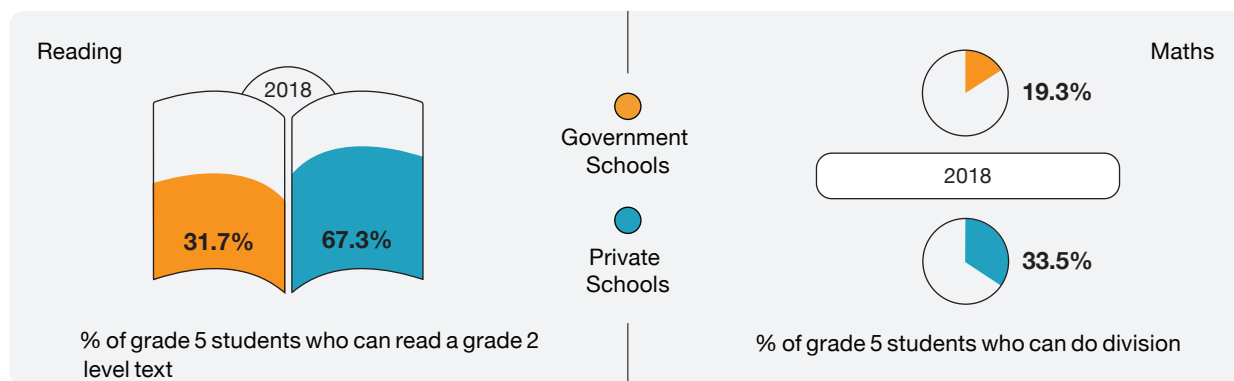
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading has remained same and maths has worsened in in Nagaland's rural private schools.



Source: **ASER Centre**

2. Manipur's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: **ASER Centre, 2019**

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Nagaland Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education Act, 1973		✓			
Nagaland Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2010	✓	✓		✓	

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

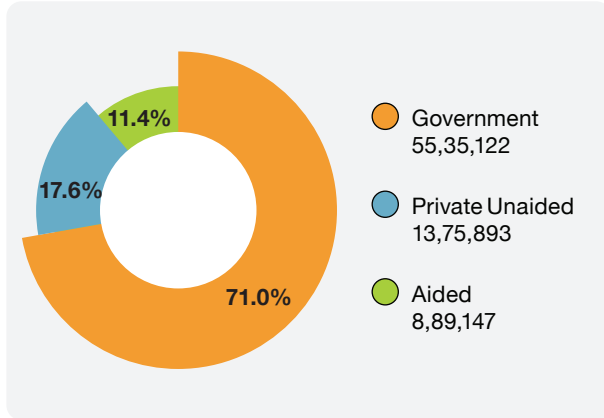
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Odisha

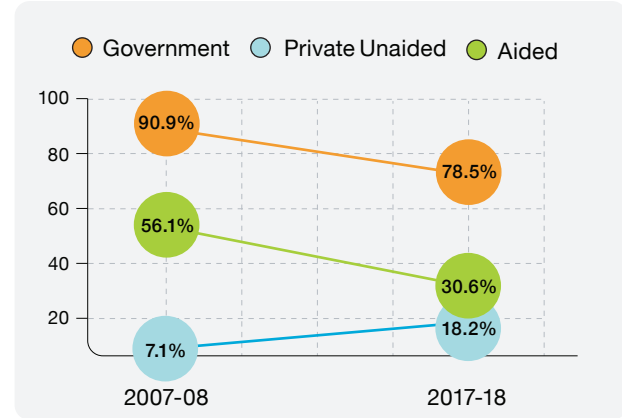
Growth of Private Schools

1. **17.6%** of students in Odisha attend private schools. Odisha ranks 31st among all states/UTs in terms of private enrolment shares.



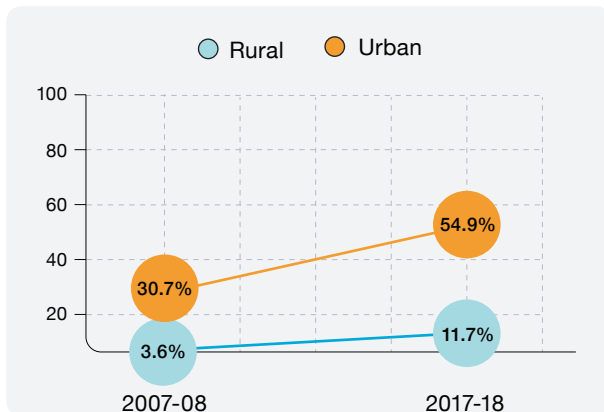
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



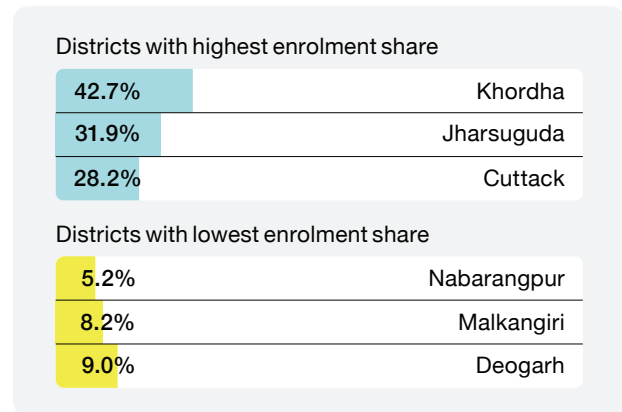
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

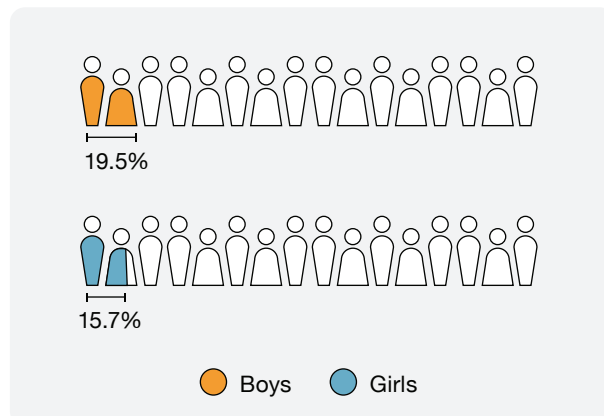
4. Among districts, **Khordha** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Nabarangpur** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

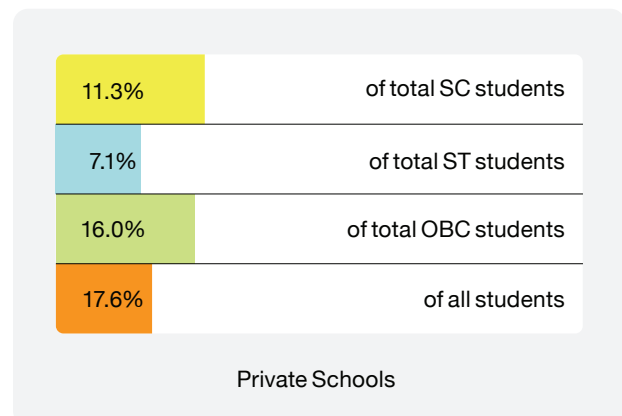
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **15.7%** girls attend private schools, while **19.5%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

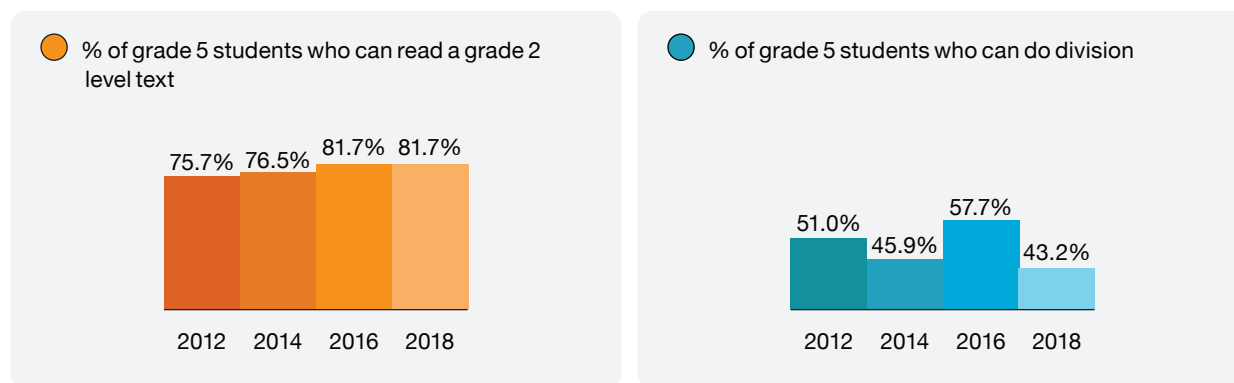
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

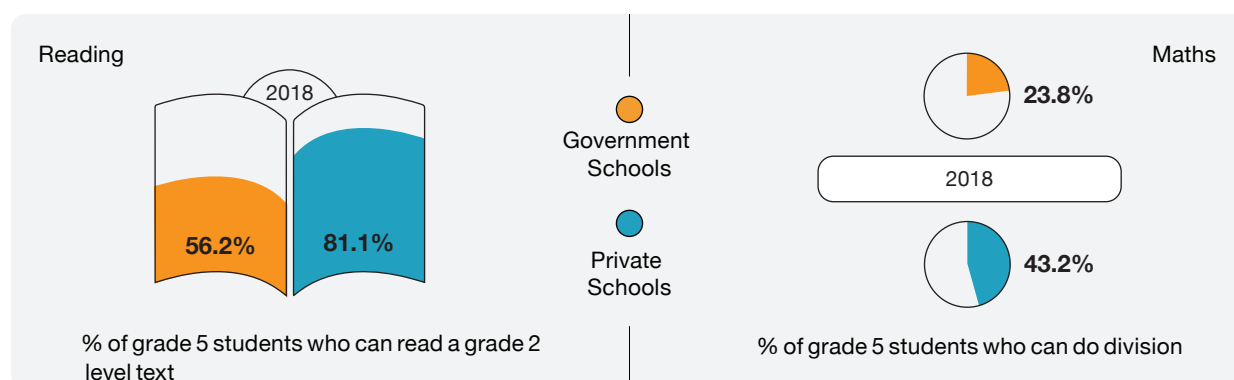
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading has improved and maths has worsened in Odisha's rural private schools.



Source: **ASER Centre**

2. Odisha's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: **ASER Centre, 2019**

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Odisha Education Act, 1969	✓				
Odisha Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2010	✓	✓			
Odisha Rules for the Preparation and Publication of State Text-Books for Primary Schools, 1963				✓	

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

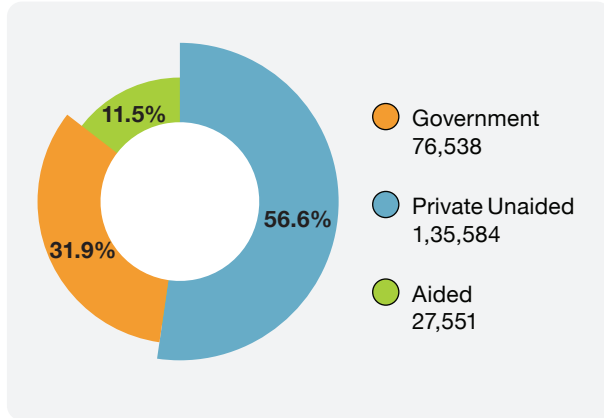
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Puducherry

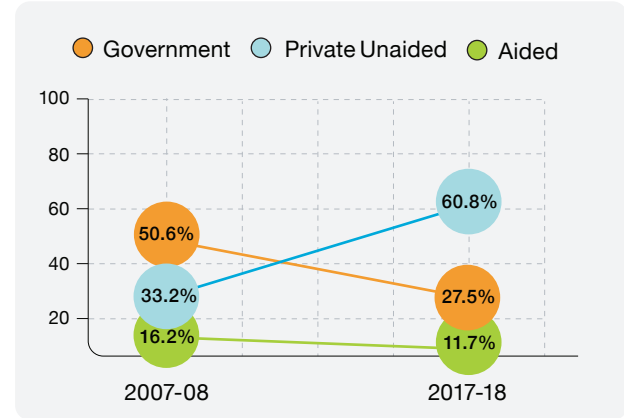
Growth of Private Schools

1. **56.6%** of students in Puducherry attend private schools. This is the 4th highest private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.



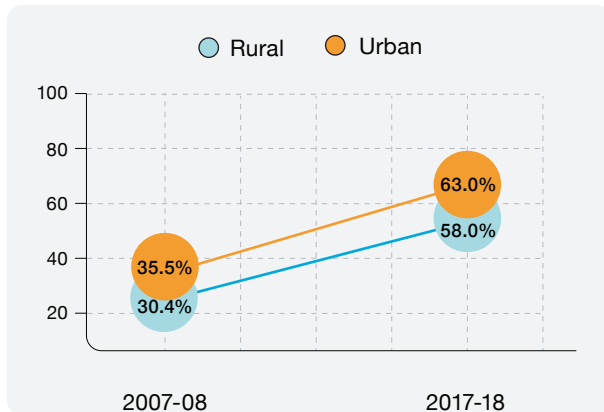
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



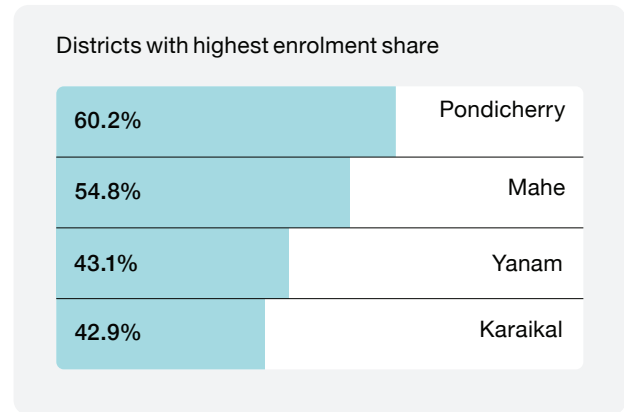
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

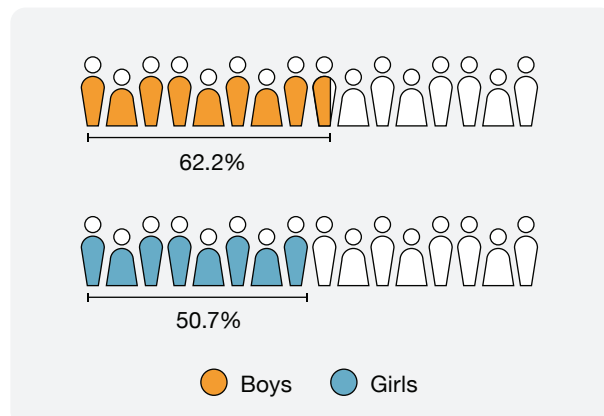
4. Among districts, **Pondicherry** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Karaikal** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

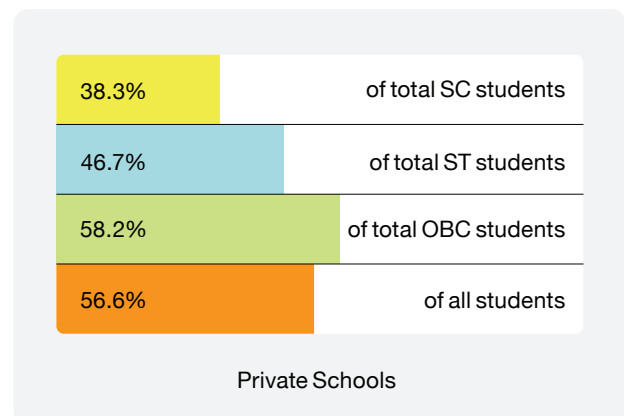
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **50.7%** girls attend private schools, while **62.2%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Learning in Private Schools

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Puducherry School Education Act, 1987	✓	✓		✓	
Puducherry Board of Secondary and Higher Secondary Education Act, 2003				✓	
Pondicherry School Education Rules, 1996	✓	✓		✓	
Puducherry Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

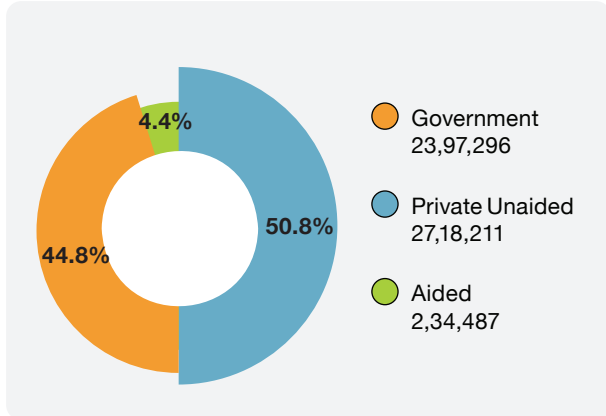
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Punjab

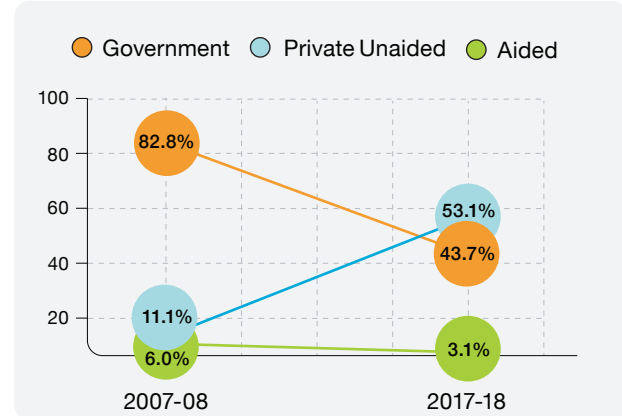
Growth of Private Schools

1. **50.8%** of students in Punjab attend private schools. Punjab has the 6th highest private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.



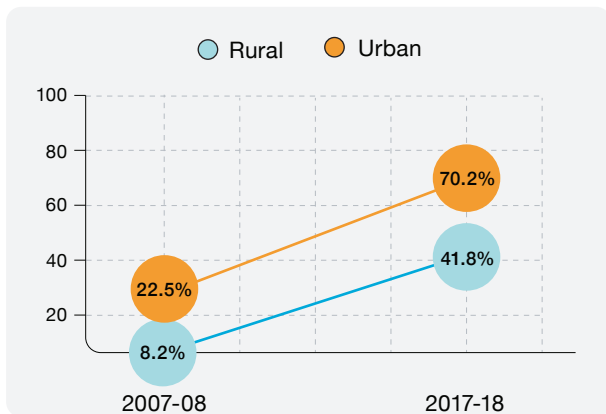
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



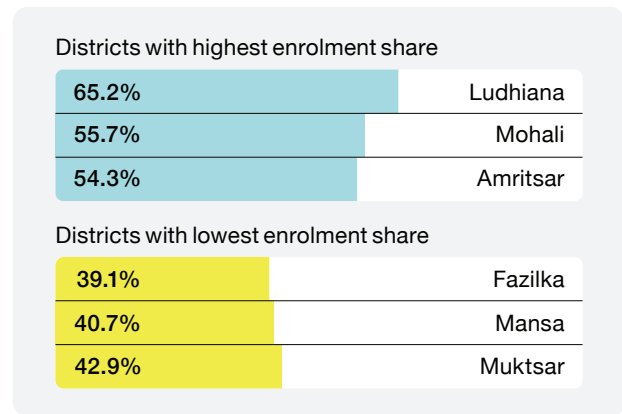
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

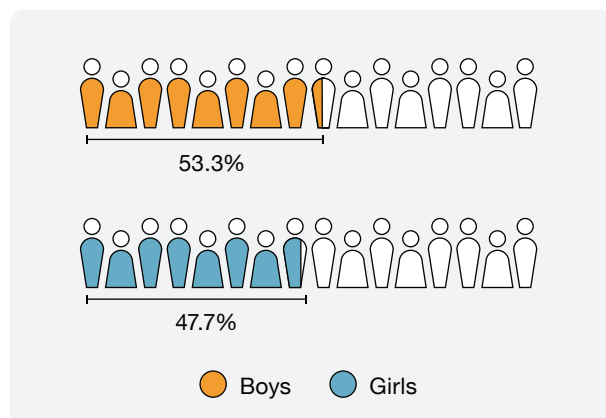
4. Among districts, **Ludhiana** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Fazilka** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

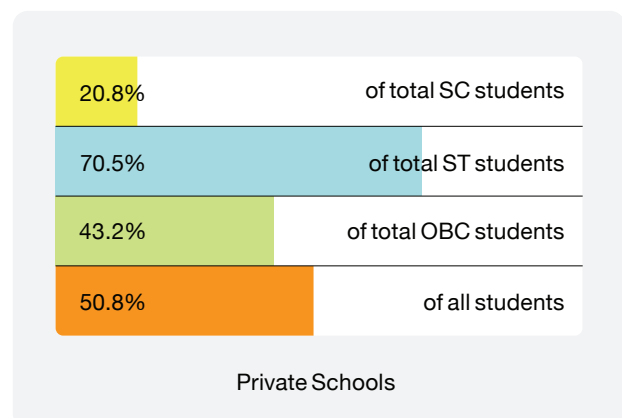
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **47.7%** girls attend private schools, while **53.3%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

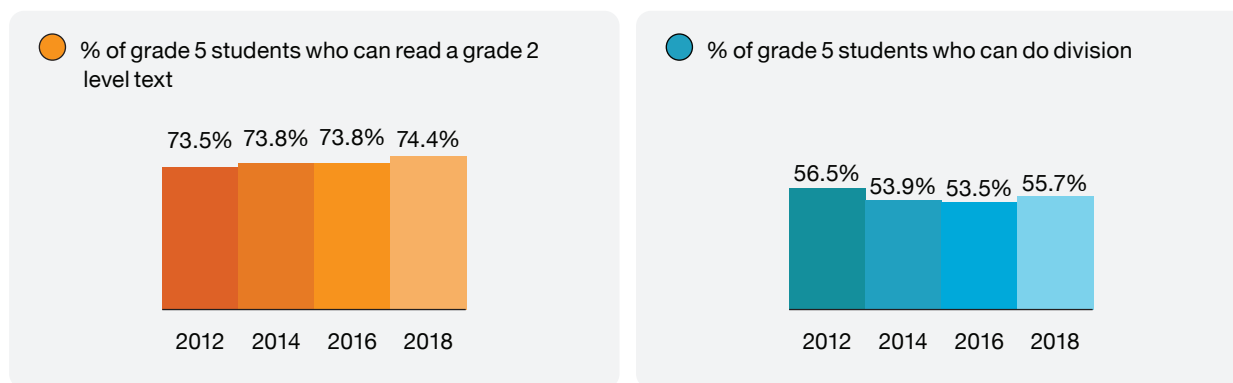
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

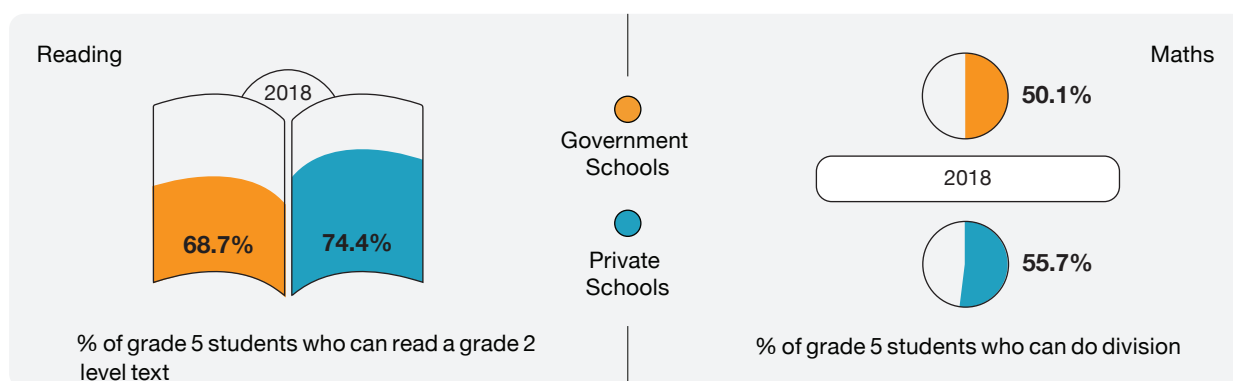
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Punjab's rural private schools has remained same.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Punjab's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Punjab Privately Managed Recognised Schools Employees (Security of Service) Act, 1979		✓			
Punjab Regulation of Fee of Unaided Educational Institutions Act, 2016			✓		
Punjab Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

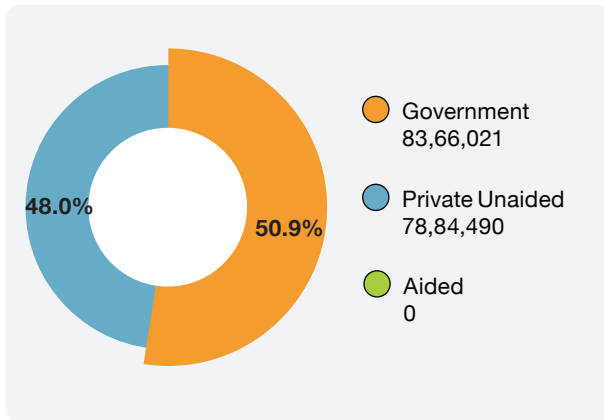
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Rajasthan

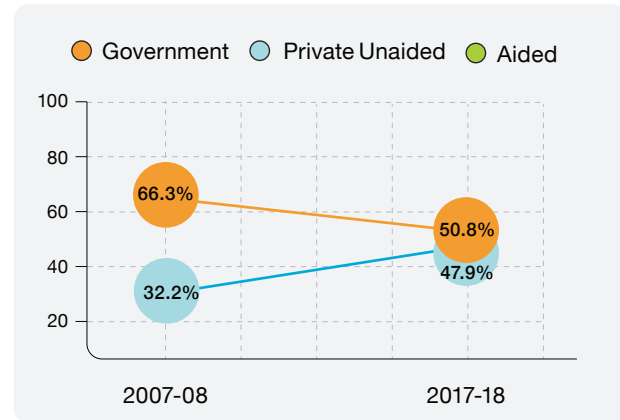
Growth of Private Schools

1. **48.0%** of students in Rajasthan attend private schools. Rajasthan has the 8th highest private enrolment share of states/UTs in India.



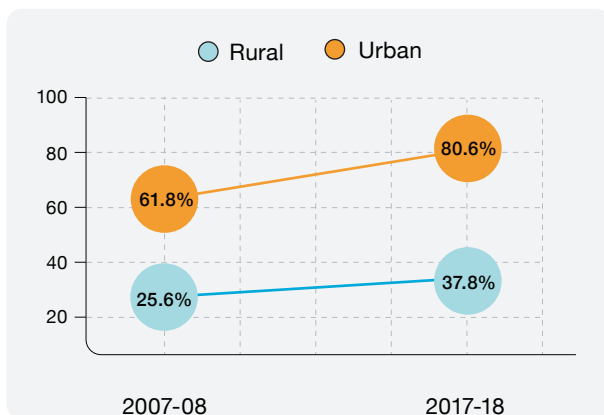
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



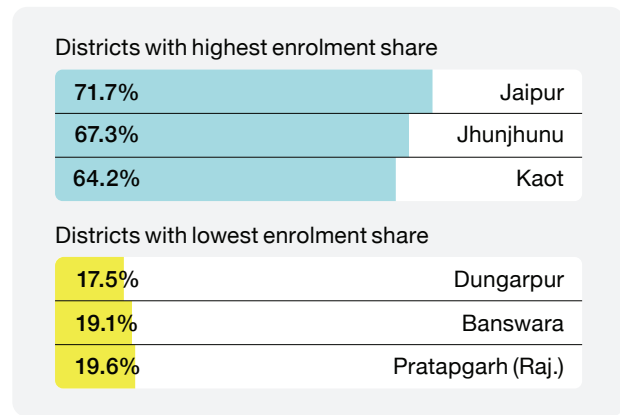
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

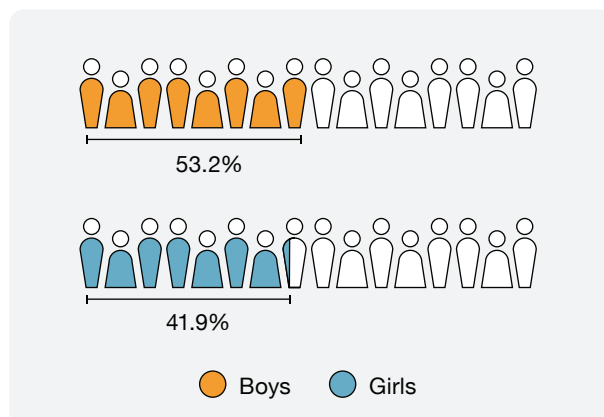
4. Among districts, **Jaipur** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Dungarpur** has the lowest share.



Source: U-DISE 2019

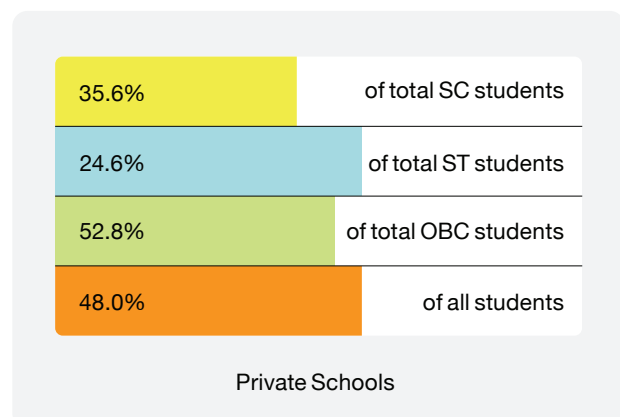
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **41.9%** girls attend private schools, while **53.2%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

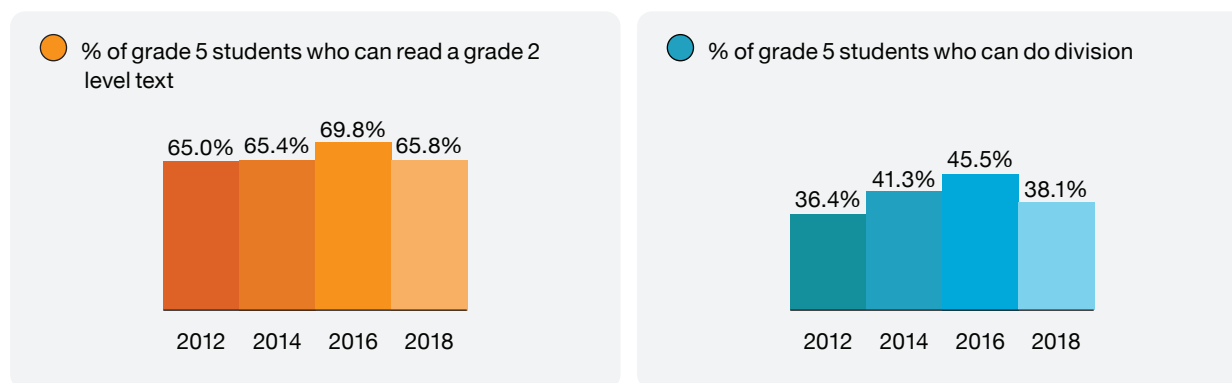
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

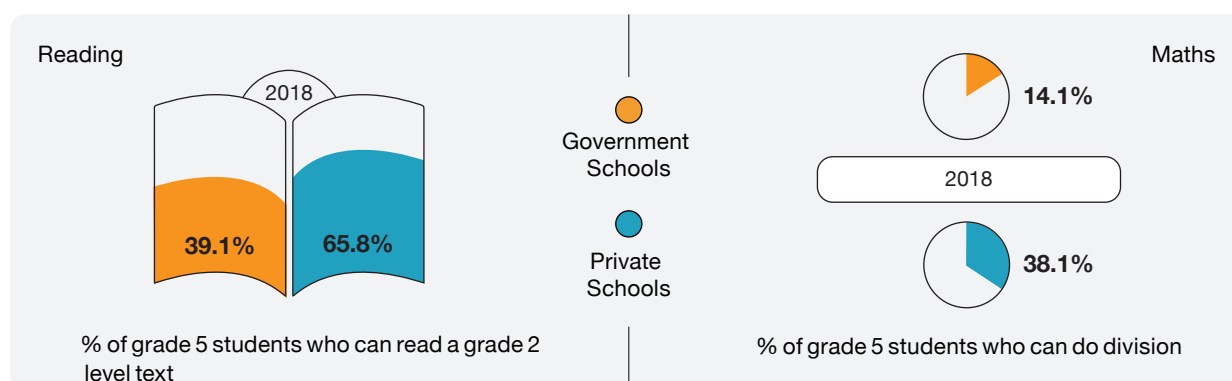
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Rajasthan's rural private schools has stayed at the same level.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Rajasthan's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Rajasthan Non-Government Educational Institutions Act, 1989	✓	✓			
Rajasthan Schools (Regulation of Fee) Act, 2016			✓	✓	
Rajasthan Secondary Education Act, 1957				✓	
Rajasthan Non-Government Educational Institutions (Recognition, Grant-In-Aid and Service Conditions Etc.) Rules, 1993	✓	✓			
Rajasthan Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2011	✓	✓			
Rajasthan Secondary Education Regulations, 1957				✓	

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

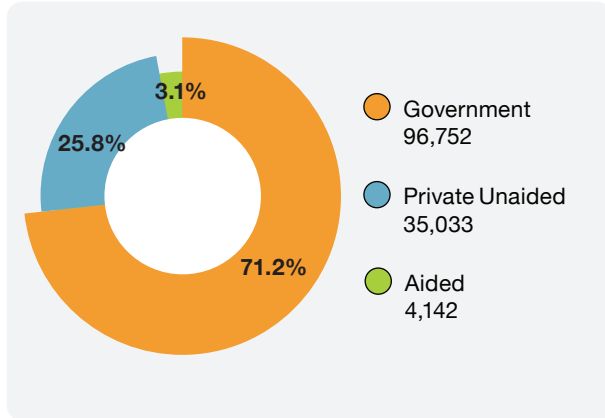
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Sikkim

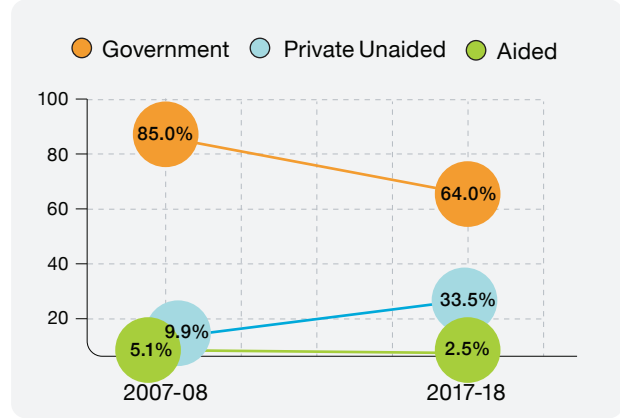
Growth of Private Schools

1. **25.8%** of students in Sikkim attend private schools. Sikkim ranks 24th among states/UTs in private enrolment share.



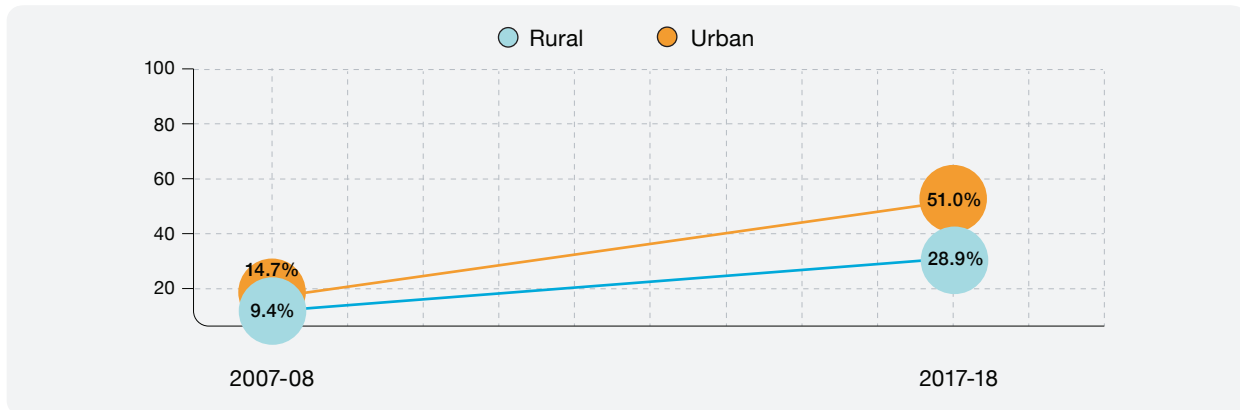
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

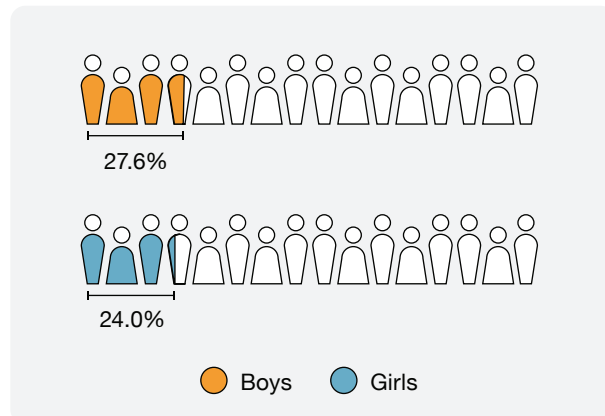
3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

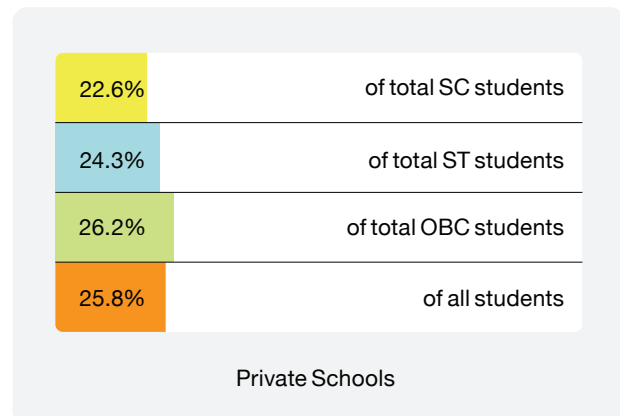
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **24.0%** girls attend private schools, while **27.6%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Sikkim Board of School Education Act, 1978				✓	
Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2010	✓	✓			

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

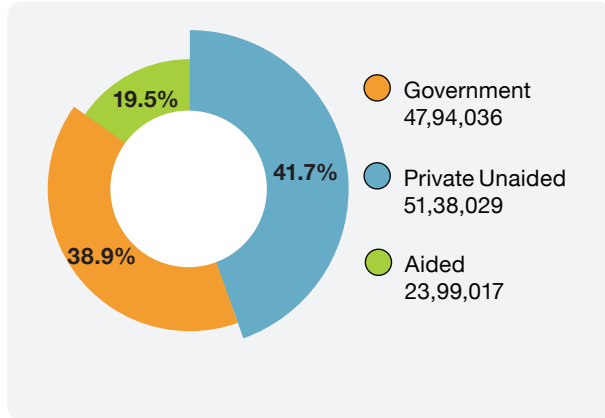
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

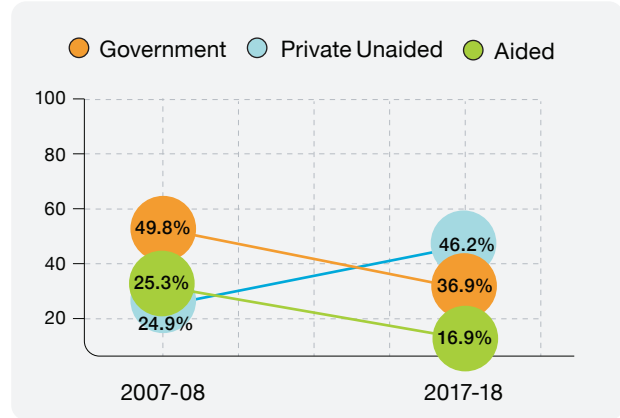
Private Schools in Tamil Nadu

Growth of Private Schools

1. **41.7%** of students in Tamil Nadu attend private schools. Tamil Nadu has the 12th highest private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.
2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.

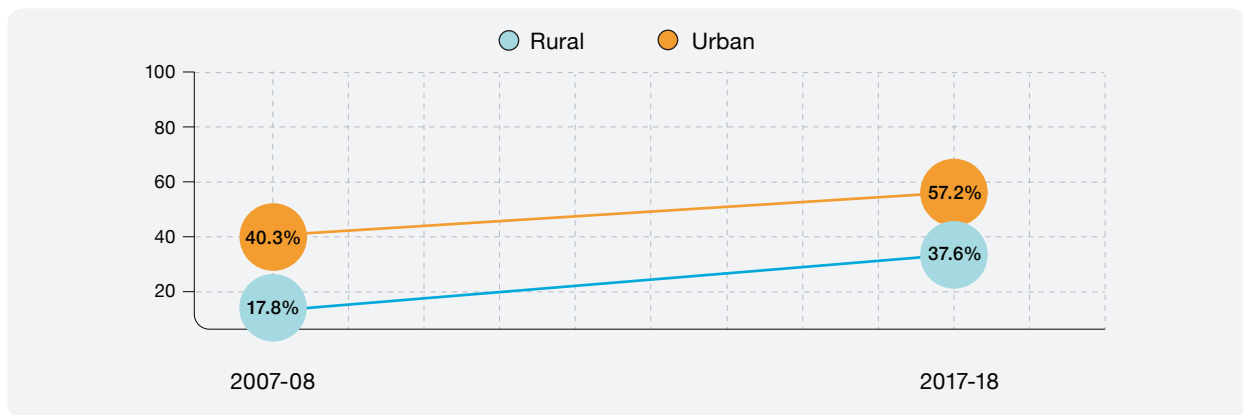


Source: U-DISE 2019



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

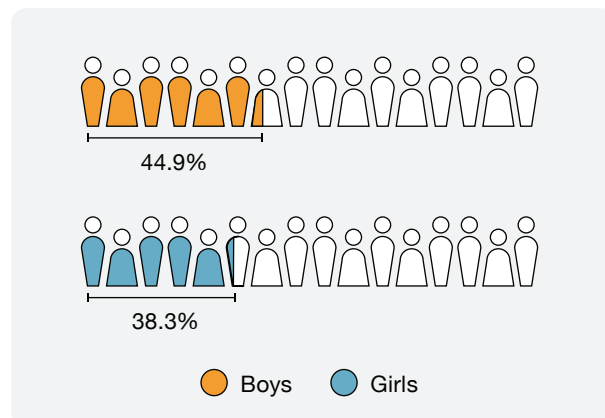
3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas



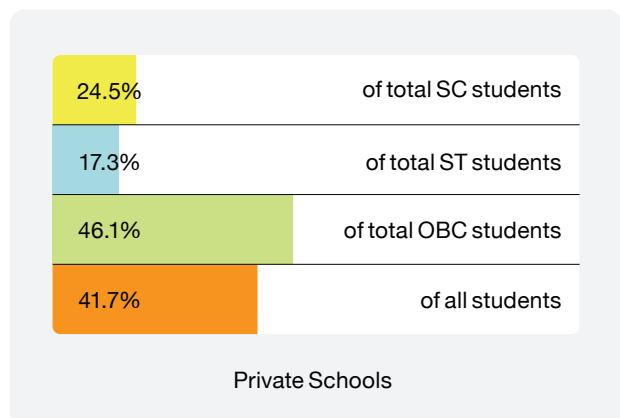
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

Demographics of Private Schools

1. **38.3%** girls attend private schools, while **44.9%** of boys attend private schools.
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



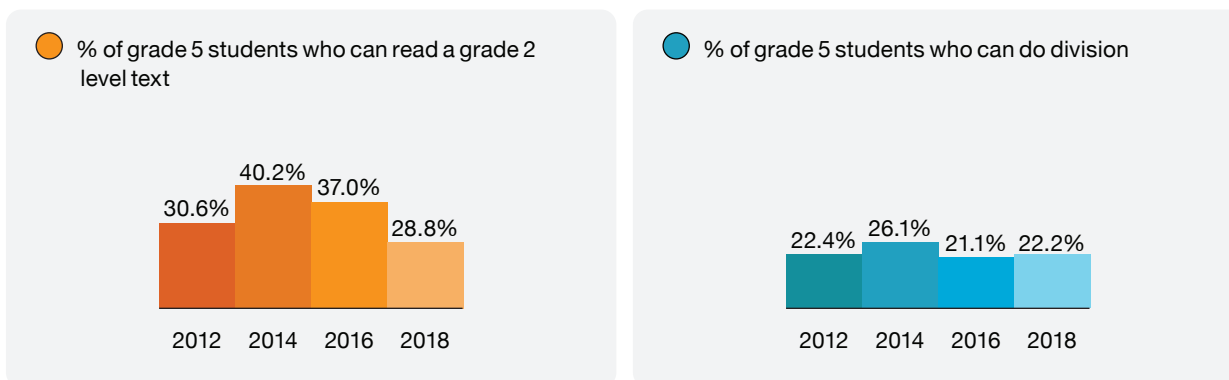
Source: U-DISE 2019



Source: U-DISE 2019

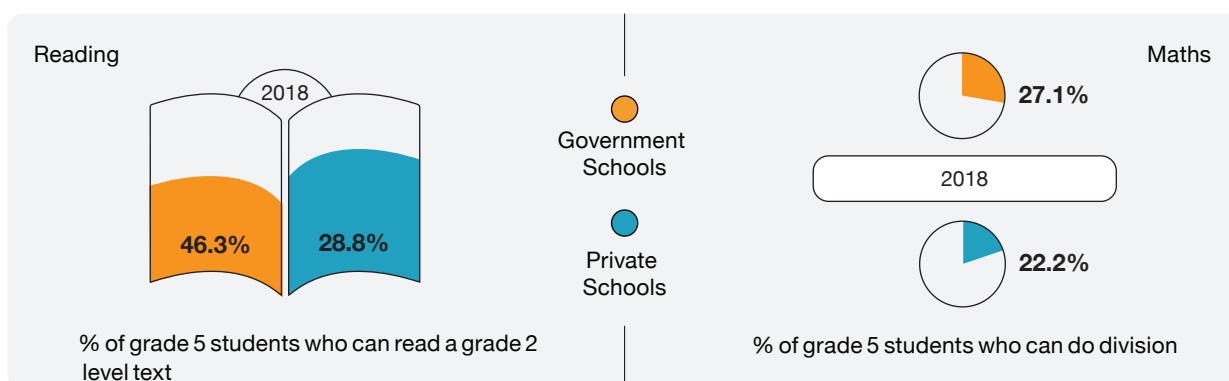
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading in Tamil Nadu's rural private schools has worsened while maths has remained the same.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Tamil Nadu's private schools perform worse than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Tamil Nadu Private Schools (Regulation) Act, 2018	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Tamil Nadu Schools (Regulation of Collection of Fee) Act, 2009	✓		✓		
Tamil Nadu Educational Institutions (Prohibition of Collection of Capitation Fee) Act, 1992			✓		
Tamil Nadu Educational Institutions (Temporary Control of Property) Act, 1949				✓	
Tamil Nadu Uniform System of School Education Act, 2010				✓	
Tamil Nadu Educational Rules	✓	✓		✓	
Tamil Nadu Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			
Tamil Nadu Motor Vehicles (Regulation And Control of School Buses) Special Rules 2012				✓	

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

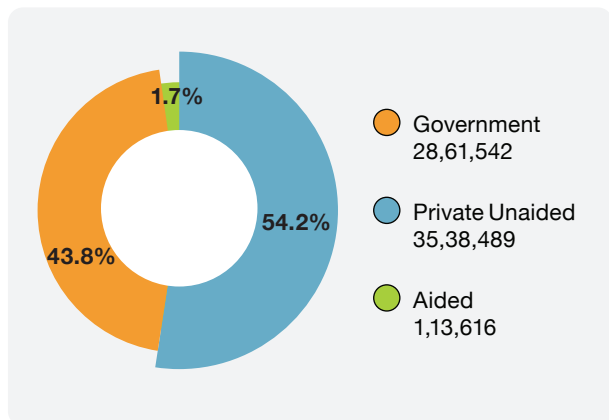
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets
State of the Sector Report: **Private Schools in India**

Private Schools in Telangana

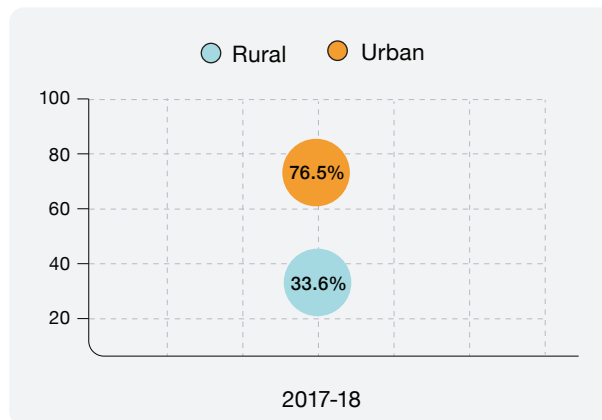
Growth of Private Schools

1. **54.2%** of students in Telangana attend private schools. Telangana has the 5th highest private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.



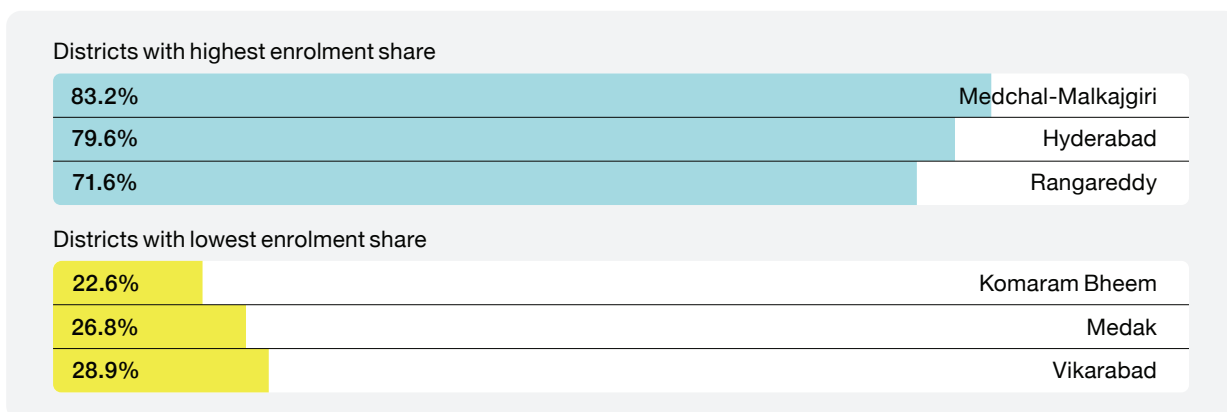
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. Private school enrolment share is high in both urban and rural areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

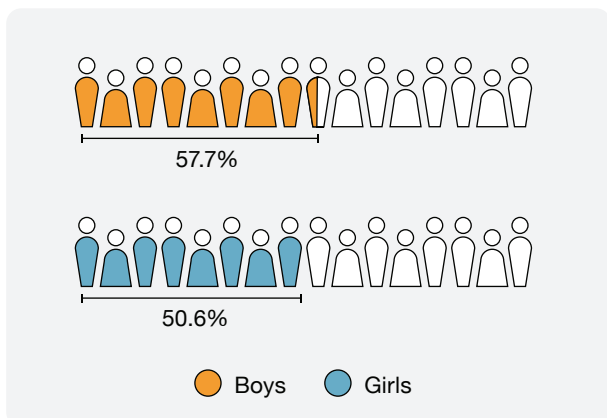
4. Among districts, **Medchal-Malkajiri** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Komaram Bheem** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

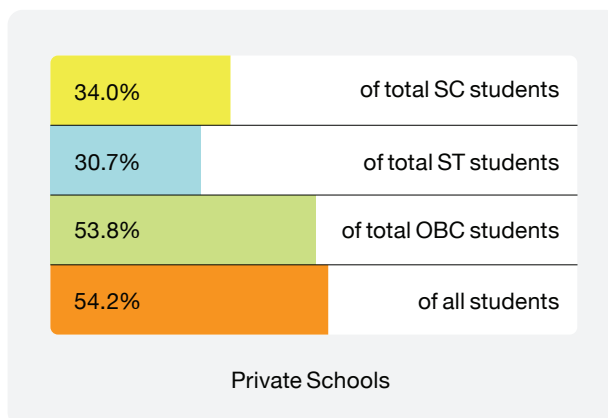
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **50.6%** girls attend private schools, while **57.7%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

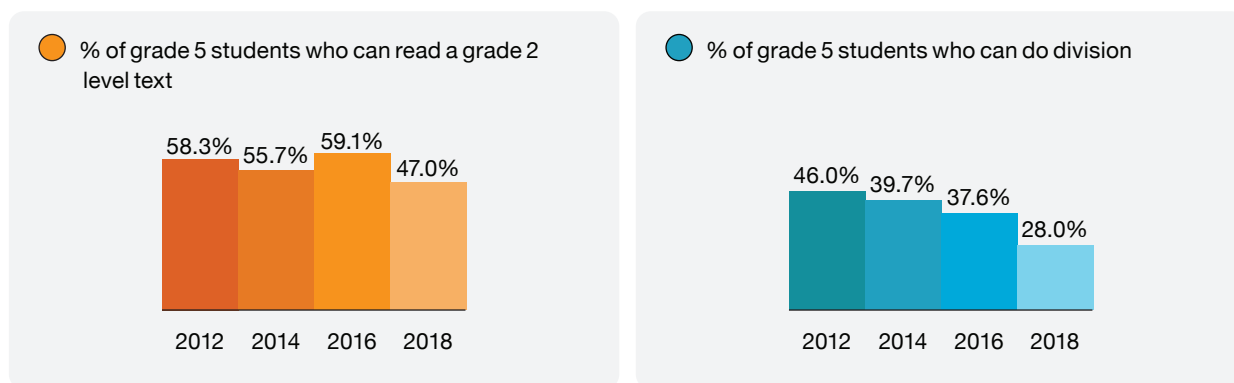
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

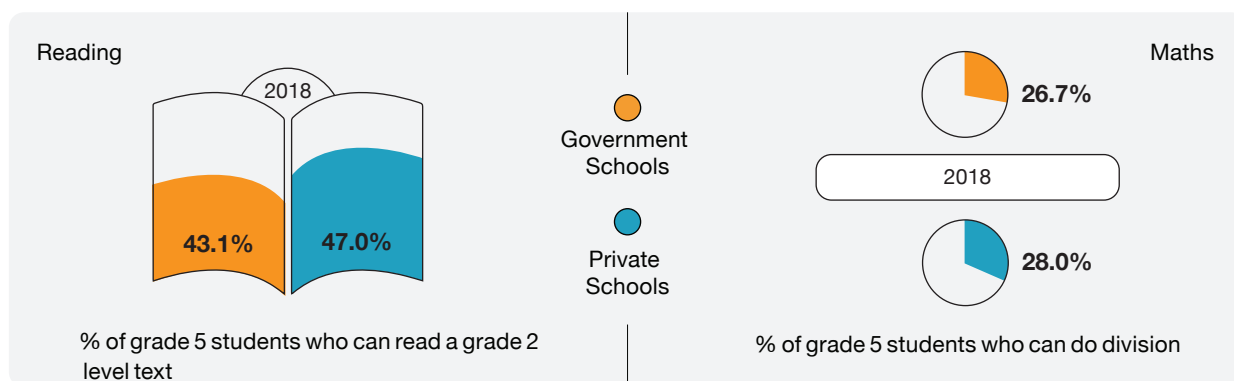
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Telangana's rural private schools has worsened.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Telangana's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Telangana Education Act, 1982	✓	✓		✓	
Telangana School Education Management (Community Participation) Act, 1998				✓	
Telangana Educational Institutions (Regulation of Admission and Prohibition of Capitation Fee) Act, 1983			✓		
Telangana (Compulsory Teaching and Learning of Telugu in Schools) Act, 2018			✓		
Telangana Intermediate Education Act, 1971				✓	

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

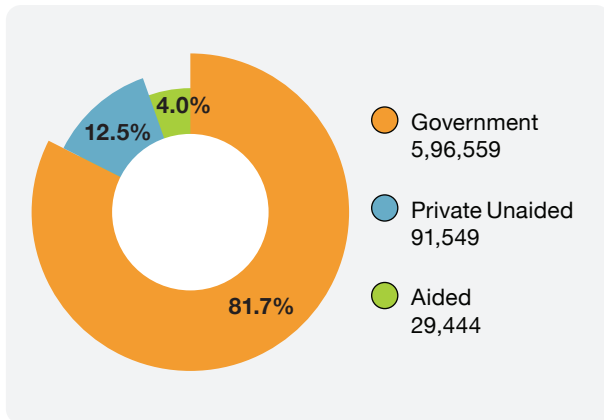
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Tripura

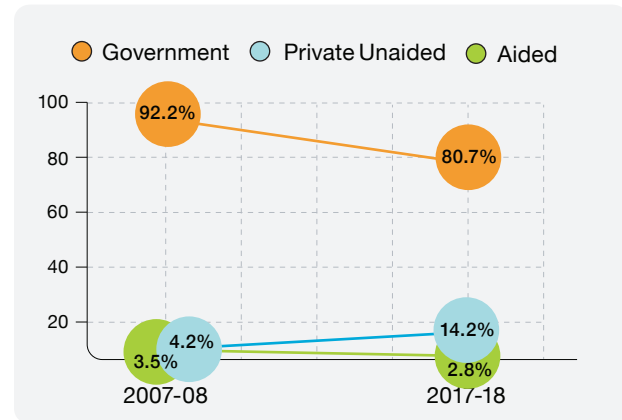
Growth of Private Schools

1. **12.5%** of students in Tripura attend private schools. Tripura ranks 32nd amongst the private enrolment shares of all states/UTs in India.



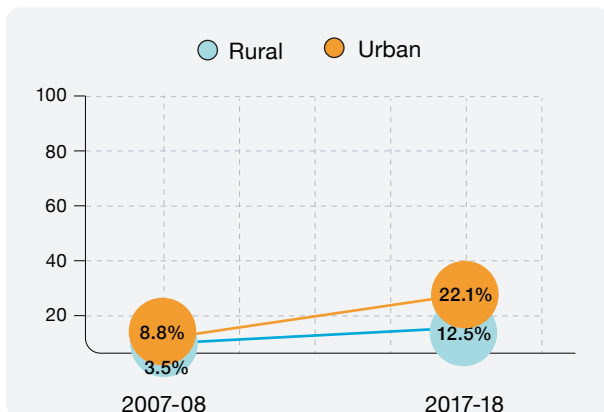
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



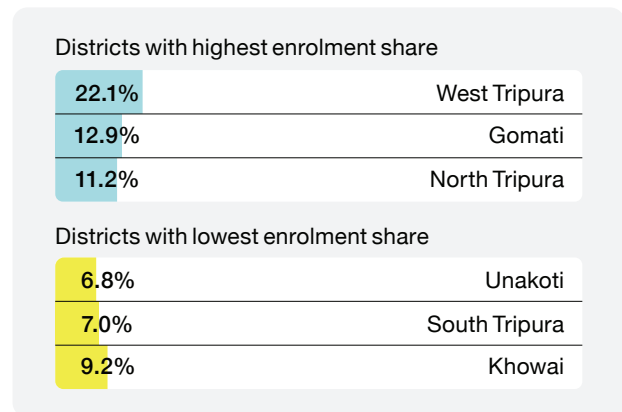
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

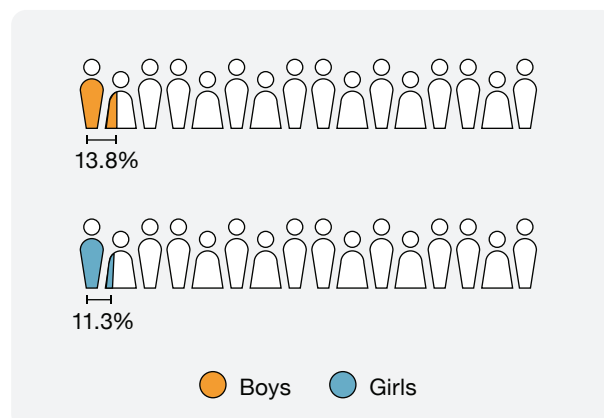
4. Among districts, **West Tripura** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Unakoti** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

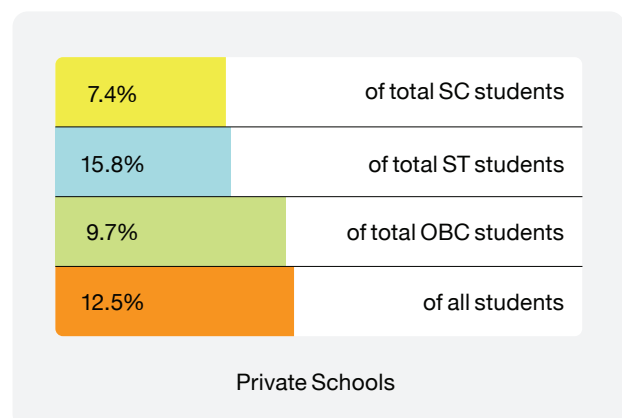
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **11.3%** girls attend private schools, while **13.8%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
Tripura Educational Institutions (Taking Over of Managements) Act, 1973		✓			
Tripura Education Institutions (Acquisition of Right, Title and Interest) Act, 1980		✓			
Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules (Tripura) 2011	✓				

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

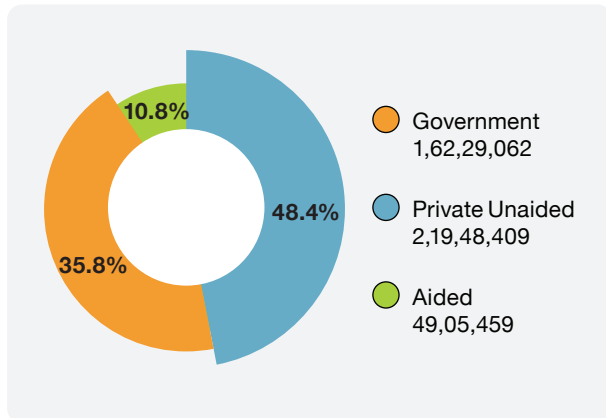
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Uttar Pradesh

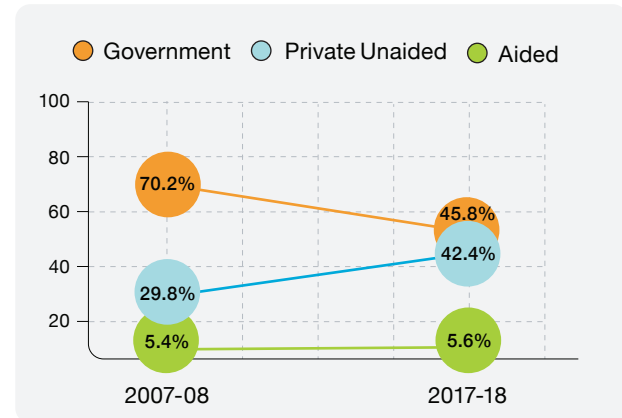
Growth of Private Schools

1. **48.4%** of students in Uttar Pradesh attend private schools. Uttar Pradesh has the 7th highest private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.



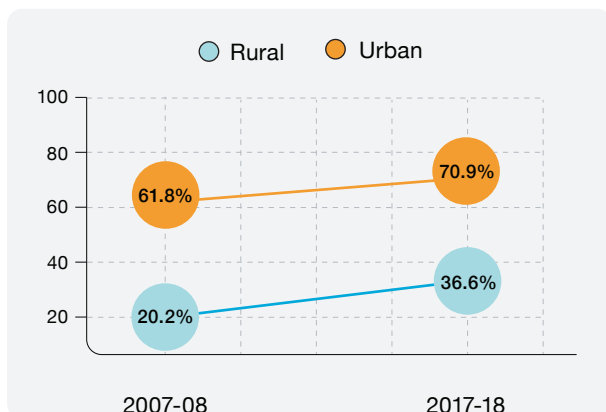
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



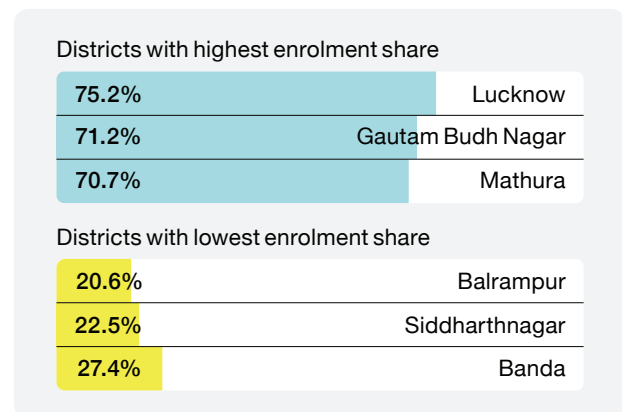
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

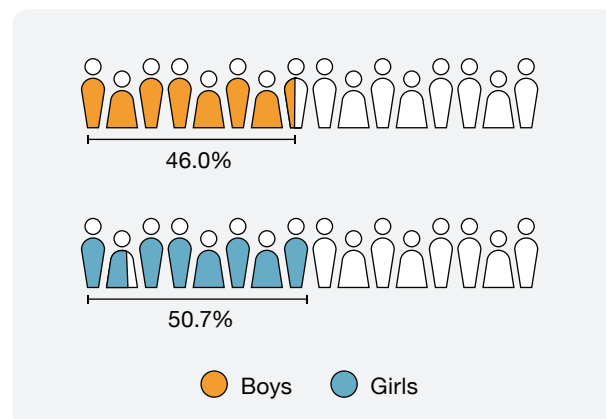
4. Among districts, **Lucknow** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Balrampur** has the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

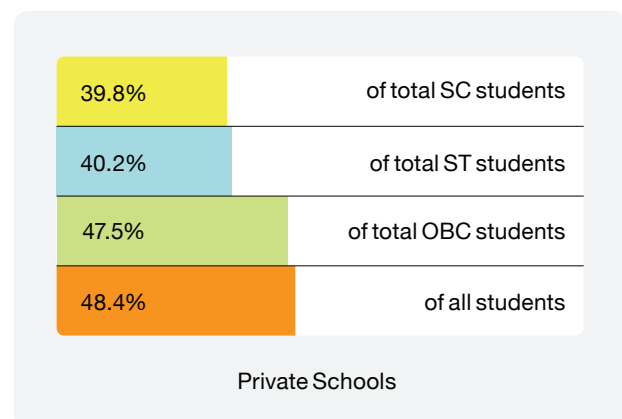
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **50.7%** girls attend private schools, while **46.0%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

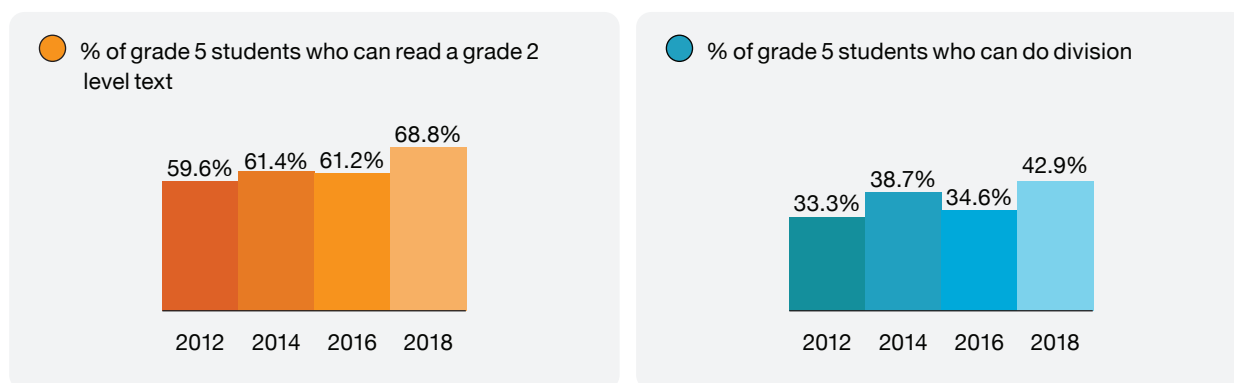
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

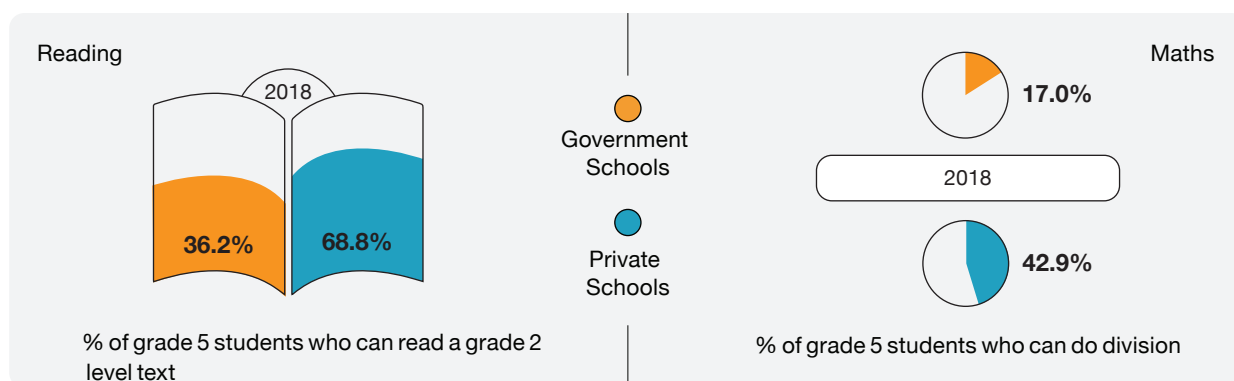
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Uttar Pradesh's rural private schools has improved.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Uttar Pradesh's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
U.P. Self-Financed Independent Schools (Fee Regulation) Act, 2018			✓		
U.P. Educational Institutions (Taking-Over of Management) Act, 1976				✓	
Intermediate Education Act, 1921				✓	
U.P. Educational Institutions (Prevention of Dissipation of Assets) Act, 1974				✓	
U.P. Secondary Education Services Selection Board Act, 1982				✓	
Uttar Pradesh State Open School Board Act, 2008				✓	
Uttar Pradesh Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

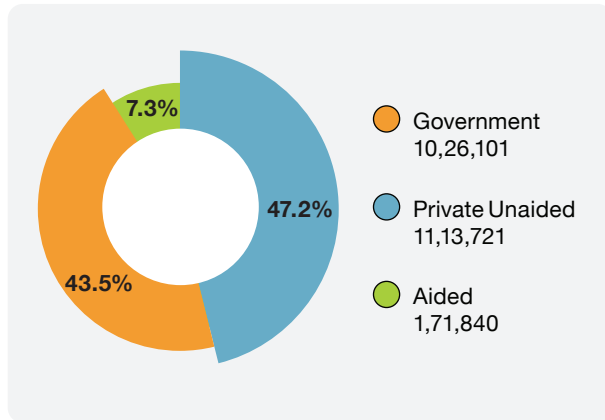
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in Uttarakhand

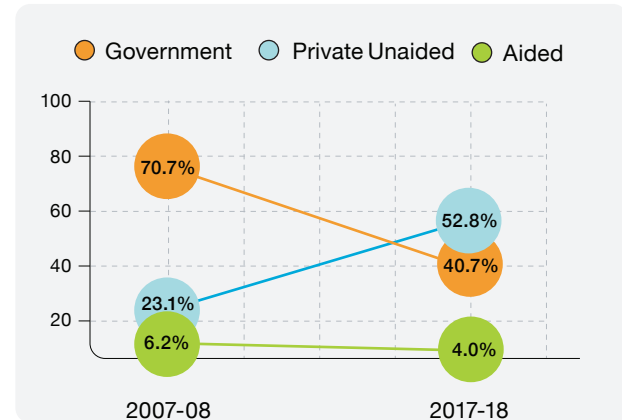
Growth of Private Schools

1. **47.2%** of students in Uttarakhand attend private schools. Uttarakhand has the 9th highest private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.



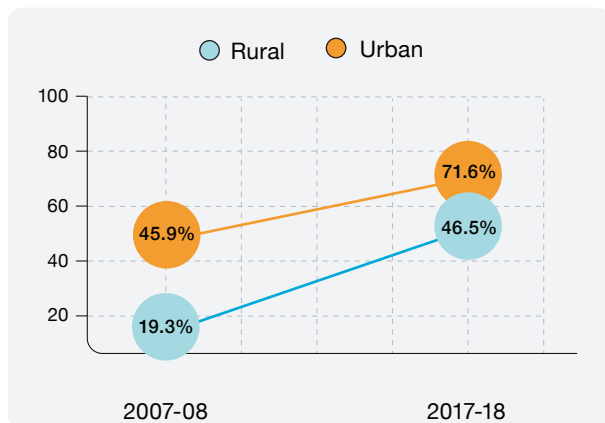
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



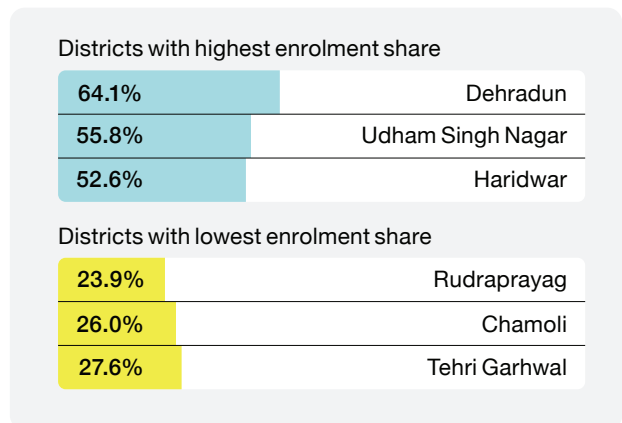
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

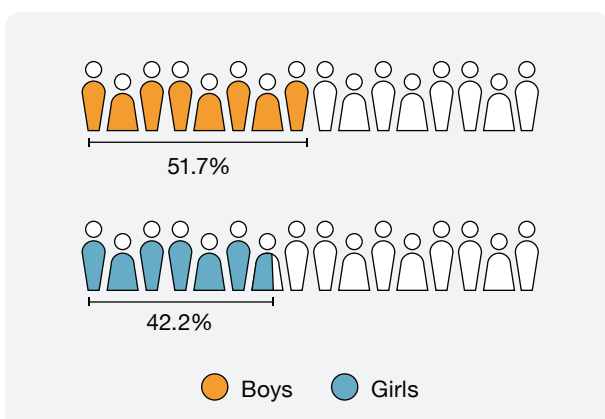
4. Among districts, **Dehradun** has the greatest private enrolment share and **Bageshwar** the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

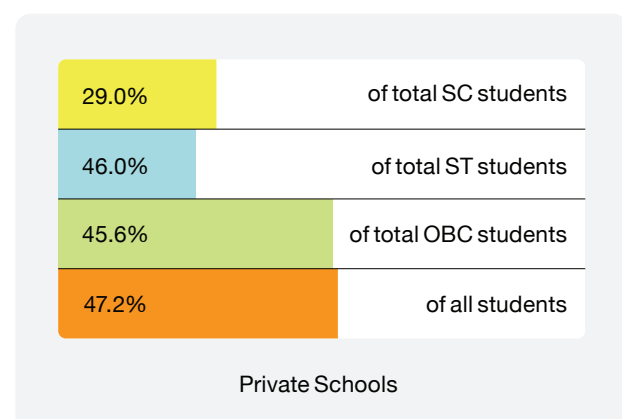
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **42.2%** girls attend private schools, while **51.7%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

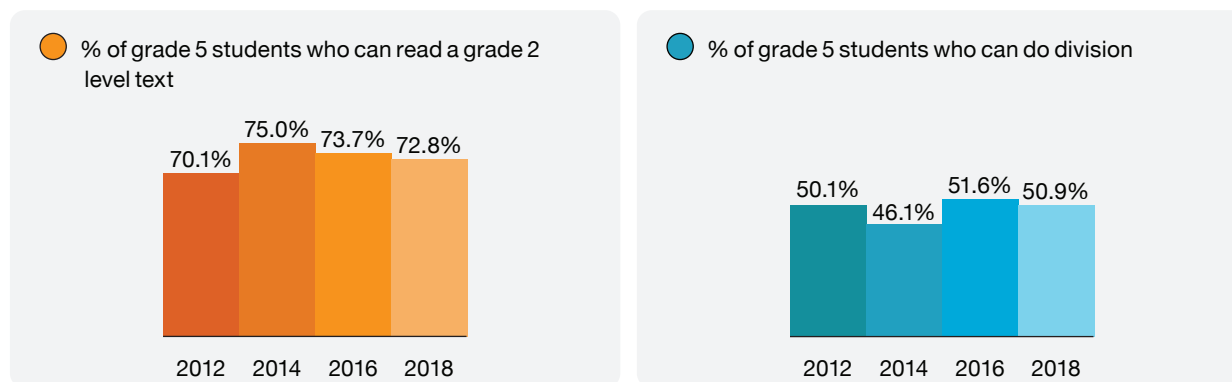
2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

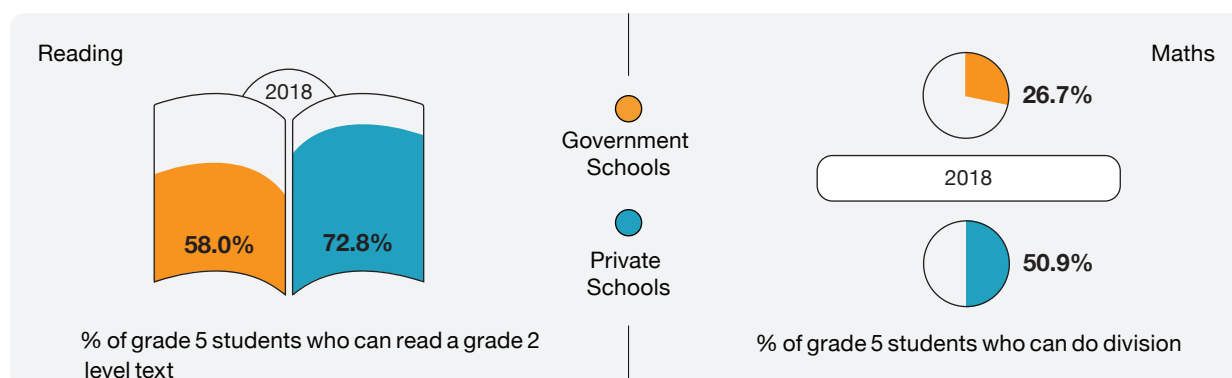
Learning in Private Schools

1. Over the last 6 years, reading and maths in Uttarakhand's rural private schools has stayed at the same level.



Source: ASER Centre

2. Kerala's private schools perform better than their government counterparts at reading and maths.



Source: ASER Centre, 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below figure highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Outcomes
Uttaranchal School Education Act, 2006				✓	
Uttarakhand Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Rules, 2011	✓	✓			

Source: Centre for Civil Society, 2020

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

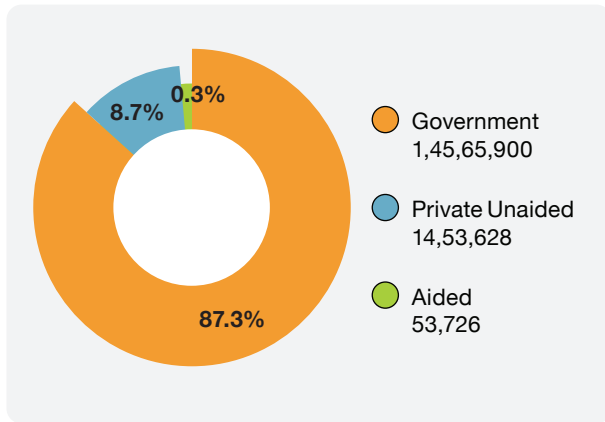
Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

Private Schools in West Bengal

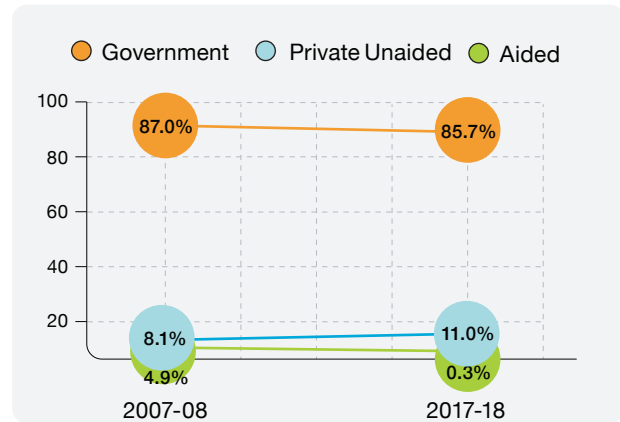
Growth of Private Schools

1. **8.7%** of students in West Bengal attend private schools. West Bengal has the least private enrolment share of all states/UTs in India.



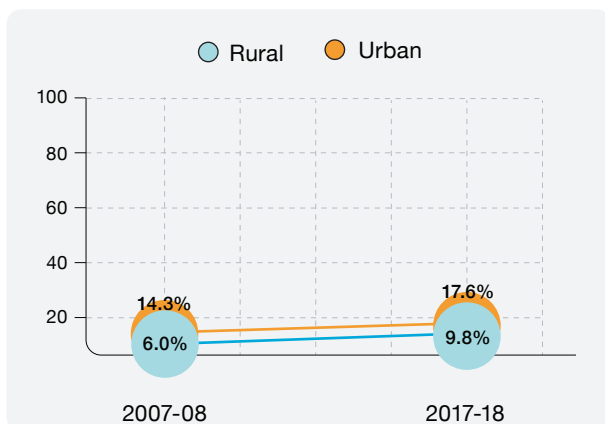
Source: U-DISE 2019

2. The proportion of students attending private schools has grown **significantly** in the last decade.



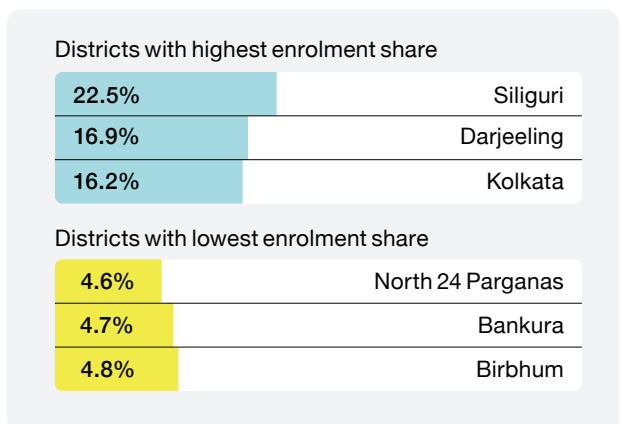
Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

3. The proportion of students in private schools has increased in rural and urban areas.



Source: U-DISE 2009, U-DISE 2019 (Data only for class 1 to 8)

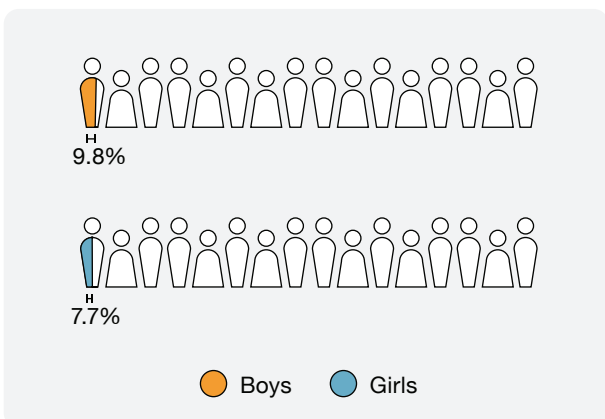
4. Among districts, **Siliguri** has the greatest private enrolment share and **North 24 Parganas** the lowest.



Source: U-DISE 2019

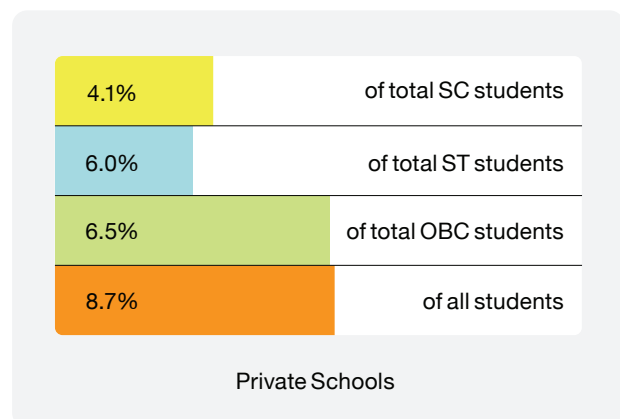
Demographics of Private Schools

1. **7.7%** girls attend private schools, while **9.8%** of boys attend private schools.



Source: U-DISE 2019

2. A smaller share of SCs, STs and OBCs attend private schools than the state average.



Source: U-DISE 2019

Regulation of Private Schools

The below table highlights the domains of private school operations and the instruments that regulate them. No regulation specifically targets learning measurement and dissemination.

Acts/Rules	Entry	Operations	Finance	Governance	Learning Disclosure
West Bengal Non-Government Educational Institutions and Local Authorities (Control of Provident Fund of Employees) Act, 1983		✓			
West Bengal Board Of Secondary Education Act, 1963				✓	
West Bengal Primary Education Act, 1973				✓	
West Bengal Council Of Higher Secondary Education Act, 1975				✓	
West Bengal Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education, 2012	✓				

Source: **Centre for Civil Society, 2020**

There is insufficient evidence around the implementation on-ground of these regulations, their context fit to private schools, and their impact on learning.

Note: Private schools in this factsheet includes unaided & unrecognized schools.

References: ASER Centre. 2019. <http://www.asercentre.org/education/data/india/statistics/level/p/66.html>.; U-DISE 2009, 2019."Unified District Information System for Education" (U-DISE).; Centre for Civil Society. "Existing Rule-sets Governing K-12 Education in India." 2020 https://ccs.in/research#rule_sets

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