Raising primary school enrolment in developing countries
The relative importance of supply and demand
Sudhanshu Handa

Inter-American Development Bank, 1300 New York Avenue, Northwest, Washington, DC 20577, USA

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Abstract

Few policies are as universally accepted as raising primary school enrolment in developing
countries, but the policy levers for achieving this goal are not straightforward. This paper merges
household survey data with detailed school supply characteristics from official sources, in order to
estimate the relative impact of demand and supply side determinants of rural primary school
enrolment in Mozambique. Policy simulations based on a set of ‘plausible’ interventions show that in
rural Mozambique, building more schools or raising adult literacy will have a larger impact on
primary school enrolment rates than interventions that raise household income. When relative costs
are considered, adult literacy campaigns are nearly 10 times more cost-effective than the income
intervention and 1.5 to 2.5 times better than building more schools.

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1. Introduction

Few policies, if any, are as universally accepted as that of raising primary school enrolment in poor countries. Virtually every World Development Report published annually by the World Bank has recognized, in one form or another, the importance of primary schooling as an input to the social and economic progress of poor countries.1 And

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1. Within the overall policy goal of raising primary school enrolment, raising girls’ enrolment has received special attention, due to the large positive externalities of female education on children and adult health, fertility, and infant mortality.
within the academic literature, a host of studies has documented the market and nonmarket return that comes from completing primary schooling, both in poor and rich countries alike.²

However, raising primary school enrolment in developing countries is easier said than done. The relative importance of school supply versus household demand factors remains controversial, with serious implications for education policy.³ For example, if children’s enrolment rates are not responsive to local school infrastructure, government interventions aimed at increasing access to schools will have very limited impact on overall schooling levels, thus effectively reducing the set of options available to policymakers. And even if regional variations in schooling infrastructure can be related to household schooling choices, as several studies have shown,⁴ efficient policy decisions require knowledge of the particular dimensions of school infrastructure that matter most. This latter issue is contentious in both developing and developed countries alike, and has been the topic of several recent articles seeking to measure the type of schooling infrastructure (access, quality, etc.) that makes a difference for household schooling choices.⁵

This study makes three main contributions to the literature on primary school enrolment policies and school infrastructure in developing countries. First, the impact of school characteristics on household primary school enrolment decisions are measured using a diverse set of school ‘quality’ indicators. Aside from information on distance to the nearest school, detailed information on school characteristics is hard to find in developing countries, and as a result, the available published literature is small relative to that for developed countries.⁶ This study thus provides an additional set of estimates with which to assess the role of specific supply side factors in determining student outcomes. Moreover, school characteristics are measured with the actual data that Mozambique’s Ministry of Education uses to formulate its regional and national targets, and to develop its 5-year plans, thus enhancing the policy relevance of the work. Second, unlike most previous studies in this area, the interaction between school and household characteristics is explored to see if complementarity or substitutability exists between these two sets of factors in determining school enrolment.⁷ The existence of significant interactions can provide important clues about who benefits the most from school supply interventions, and

² For developing countries see Glewwe (1999), Handa (1999), and Lam and Duryea (1999). For developed countries, see Rosenzweig and Schultz (1982).
³ See Simmons and Alexander (1978) for a discussion of this issue and review of the literature.
⁴ These studies show that community or regional fixed effects are significant determinants of household schooling choices. For example, see Pradhan (1998) for Indonesia, Handa (1996) for Jamaica, and Alderman et al. (1996) for Pakistan.
⁵ Recent studies that measure the effect of various school characteristics in developing countries include Lavy (1996) and Glewwe et al. (1995); for developed countries, see Card and Kruger (1992), Betts (1995), and Golharber and Brewer (1997). The overall importance of school quality is discussed by Hedges et al. (1994), Hanushek (1995), and Kremer (1995).
⁶ Recent studies that provide estimates of detailed school ‘quality’ indicators on student educational achievement in developing countries include Glewwe and Jacoby (1994) for Ghana, Glewwe et al. (1995) for Jamaica, and Tan et al. (1997) for the Philippines.
⁷ Birdsall (1985) is one of the few studies that also looks at interactions among supply and demand factors in determining schooling outcomes.
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