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Application of the Whole School Development Approach on Rural Basic Education Schools in Yemen: Strengthening Partnerships among Schools, Communities and Local Education Offices

by

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Abbreviations

BEDS:	Basic Education Development Strategy
BEDP:	Basic Education Development Project
BEEP:	Basic Education Expansion Project
BEIP:	Basic Education Improvement Plan
BRIDGE:	Broadening Regional Initiative for Developing Girls' Education
GER:	Gross Enrollment Rate
DEO:	District Education Office
GTZ:	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
GEO:	Governorate Education Office
GoY:	Government of Yemen
JICA:	Japan International Cooperation Agency
MOE:	Ministry of Education
MOF:	Ministry of Finance
MOLA:	Ministry of Local Administration
MOPIC:	Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation
MTRF:	Medium Term Results Framework
NER:	Net Enrollment Rate
SBM:	School Based Management
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund
UASID:	US Agency for International Development
YER:	Yemen Rial
WFP:	World Food Program
WSD:	Whole School Development

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter first describes the environments and conditions that surround the country in terms of the political, international and socio-economic context. After presenting an overview of the country, the problem statement and research questions concerning the basic education of the country are introduced. Following the problem statement, the study's objectives, its significance and an explanation of how this study is organized are discussed in this chapter.

1.1 Background of the Country

The background of the country is discussed in three different contexts; political, international and socio-economic.

1.1.1 Political Context

Yemen is a nation with a long history, dating back to the 10th century B.C., and is known as the country of Queen Sheba. However, the current unified republic system only began 17 years ago. In May 1990, the Republic of Yemen was born after the unification of North Yemen (the Yemeni Arab Republic) and South Yemen (the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen). North Yemen had been ruled by the Ottomans until 1918 and by Imams (religious leaders) until 1962, then became the Yemeni Arab Republic, while South Yemen was a British colony from 1839 to 1967, and then went on to become the first socialist country in the region in 1969. The societal characteristics varied between the North and the South because of different historic backgrounds. North Yemen had a strong traditional Arab society with strong elements of tribalism. On the other hand, the South did not have such political traditions and the society consisted of an extremely localized structure of political authority (Welton, 2006) because of its communist rule. Shortly after unification, there was an internal war between the North and South, which was ended by the former North's victory in 1994. Since the unification in 1990, President Ali Abdullah Saleh has been reconstructing the country by introducing a democratic system, including a multi-party system, democratic election system and equal voting rights for men and women. However, even though the Republic successfully unified and is currently moving towards building up a democratic system, it is noteworthy that human networks, such that where people come from and which tribe people belong to, are still highly considered in decision-making.

1.1.2 International Context

After unification, Yemen's credibility was questioned twice by the international community and western countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom. First, when the country supported Iraq in 1990 during the Gulf war, then when the U.S. Cole came under attack by Al Qaida in the port of Aden in 2000. These two events presented a dilemma for the Government of Yemen (GoY) as it was trying to make a balance between upholding its Islamic identity and receiving support from Western countries to combat poverty. Facts such as Bin Ladin's family originating from Hadramaut in Yemen and that 107 out of 759 detainees at Guantanamo Bay are Yemeni nationals (U.S. Department of Defense, 2006), contribute towards terrorist images often being associated with Yemen, especially from the western perspective. With a

combination of extreme poverty and a strong belief of Islam, Yemen is a nation that welcomes much criticism from the western hemisphere, but also a nation that requires western support.

Following the Presidential election victory in September 2006, at the fourth Consultative Group (CG) meeting held in the United Kingdom that November, President Saleh successfully gained approximately US$ 4.7 billion in assistance from its development partners for the period of 2007-2010. Remarkably, forty-eight percent of the total assistance comes from the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (GCC) countries. Among GCC countries, Saudi Arabia enjoys a dominant share, which is 21 percent of the total donor assistance (US$ 1 billion). This generous contribution from GCC bilateral countries comes from Yemen's efforts to gain full membership to GCC by 2015[1]. Among non-Arab donors, the World Bank pledged US$ 0.4 billion, followed by the UK's US$0.22 billion pledge. Japan is the fourth largest non-Arab bilateral donor, following after the U.K, Germany, and the Netherlands, with 60 million USD pledged (Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 2006). The success of the CG meeting in 2006 explicitly showed that the international donor community received President Saleh's re-election positively and considered it a sign of the country's stability. It has become clear that President Saleh can manage to make a balance between Arab countries and the international community, evident in the fact that the international community has increased their pledged amount of assistance for the next four years. Yemen is now ready to take on the challenge of combating its poverty.

1.1.3 Socio-economic Context

Yemen is one of the least developed countries in the world and the only one in the Arabic peninsula. The per capita GDP of Yemen is US$586, which ranks 147th out of 182 countries (IMF, 2005). Not only is the economic situation poor, but social conditions in the country are also weak. The human development index, which is a composite measure of three dimensions of human development; living a long and healthy life, being educated and having a decent standard of living, ranks Yemen 150th out of 177 countries (UNDP, 2006). This implies that education and health standards are lacking in the country in comparison to other nations. Seventy-four percent of the population of 20 million are living in rural areas, where eighty-three percent are living under the poverty line[2]. Eighty percent are scattered in villages of less than 500 inhabitants. A high-level of population growth, at 3.1 percent annually (World Bank, 2005), is mounting pressure for the GoY to improve the country's basic human necessities. Fifty percent of its populations are under 15 years old. Forty-six percent of the 10 years old and above population group and about 62 percent of women are illiterate (Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, 2006).

According to UNDP (2006), Yemen is the most deprived in terms of multiple-dimensions of poverty[3]. Severe scarcity of water (137m^3 per head per year), shortage of sanitation coverage (6.2 percent of population), insufficient government spending on

[1] GCC is a loose political and economic alliance made up of six Gulf States, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Qatar and Bahrain. Yemen is currently making efforts to be a full member.
[2] According to the World Bank, the poverty line in Yemen is 16,400 Yemen YER in 1992.
[3] UNDP (2006). Human Development Report 2006- Country Fact Sheets- Yemen. http://hdr.undp.org/hdr2006/statistics/countries/country_fact_sheets/

health (4.7 percent) causes high mortality rates of infant and children under 5 years old (67.8 and 94.1) and high maternity mortality (375 in 2000). According to the World Bank's 1998 household budget survey, family spending on health represents 2.3 percent of its total spending, while spending on Qats[4] and Tobacco reaches 10.7 percent[5]. Ranked 25th in the world, Yemen produces 402,000 barrels/ day of oil and 4 billion barrels of confirmed oil reserve, (CIA, 2005). Due to declining oil-resources, Yemen's dependence on oil revenue has become a significant long-term economic challenge as oil accounts for 70 percent of government revenues and 87 percent of goods and services exported.

1.2 Problem Statement

Achieving Education for All (EFA)[6] by 2015 is one of the most important national targets for Yemen. In 2002, the Government of Yemen established the Basic Education Development Strategy (BEDS), which aims at achieving a 95 percent net enrollment rate in basic education by 2015. Yemen is one of the EFA:FTI (Education for All: Fast Track Initiative) countries selected by the World Bank and other international donors. With support from the FTI Catalytic Fund and other multilateral and bilateral donors contributions (both grants and loans from various institutions and bilateral donors including the World Bank, UNDP, UNICEF and Japan, Germany, Britain and the Netherlands), the Government of Yemen (GoY) has been implementing reforms of the basic education sector. In 2006, MOE sets up a new mid-term target to achieve the long term objective of BEDS for the 2006-2010 period shown in Table 1.3 in the three outcomes areas in the National Basic Education Development Strategy (BEDS) of access, quality and institutional capacity (Table 1.1). Supporting the national goals for education, the GOY has been strongly committed to the provision of education by spending large amount of funding for education. In 2004, the education expenditure share against GDP was 9.6 percent (among this the share of basic education expenditure against GDP was 3.67 percent) and public expenditure on education against total government expenditure was 32.8 percent; which is the largest among GCC countries (Table 1.2).

[4] Qats are herbal leaves containing amphetamine. In most Arab countries, Qats are prohibited by the government because of its addictiveness and damages to the health and household accounts. In Yemen, it is not prohibited and the people take qats after lunch everyday or on the weekends.

[5] Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation homepage (access as of May 1, 2007). http:// www.mpic-yemen.org

[6] Education for All (EFA) has six goals: Goal 1: Expand early childhood care and education; Goal 2: Provide free and compulsory primary education for all; Goal 3: Promote learning and life skills for young people and adults; Goal 4: Increase adult literacy by 50 per cent; Goal 5: Achieve gender parity by 2005, gender equality by 2015; Goal 6: Improve the quality of education (UNESCO, 1990).

Table 1.1: Key NBEDS Outcomes 2006-2010

Access targets	Overall gross enrollment rate to raise from 77% to 90%
	Gender gap to reduce from 25% to 11%
	Illiteracy overall from about 47% to less than 30%, targeting mainly females.
Quality Target	Quality measured by learning achievement grade 1 to9 by subject with 2005 as the benchmark
Institutional capacity targets	Coordinated government led implementation of NBEDS with a sector management framework that coordinates all partners, and an organization structure with the requisite skills to effect implementation of strategies, policies and programs

Source: Ministry of Education (2006)

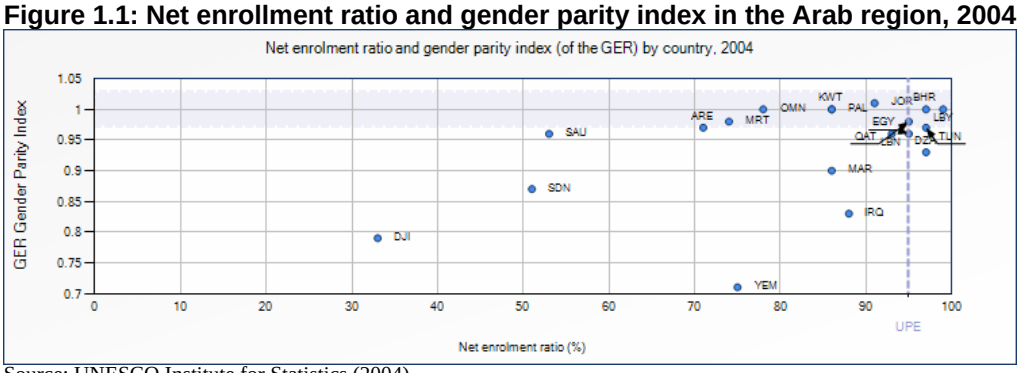
Table 1.2: Comparison of Resources for Education between GCC and Yemen

	Pupil/ teacher ratio (Primary)	Public expenditure on education as % of GDP	Public expenditure on education as % of total govt' expenditure
Bahrain	16	N.A.	N.A.
Kuwait	13	8.2	17.4
Oman	19	4.6	26.1
Qatar	9	3.6	N.A.
Saudi Arabia*	12	8.3	N.A.
UAE	15	1.6	22.5
Yemen	30	9.6	32.8

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2004)

As a result of the Government's commitment, education attainment in Yemen, especially access has shown improvement in recent years. The gross enrollment rate at the primary level (Grades 1 – 6) has improved from 65.4 percent in 1991 to 87.5 percent in 2004 (World Bank, 2005). Net primary school enrollment rate by gender has also shown improvement from 73 percent in 1990 to 87 percent in 2004 for males and from 28 percent in 1990 to 63 percent in 2004 for females. Primary completion rate has also improved from 74 percent in 2000 to 78 percent in 2004 for males and 34 percent in 2000 to 46 percent in 2004 for females. Furthermore, the repetition rate has dropped from 7.0 percent in 2000 to 4.3 percent (World Bank, 2004).

Figure 1.1: Net enrollment ratio and gender parity index in the Arab region, 2004



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2004)
Note: UPE is said to be reached when the Net enrollment ratio reaches 95%. Gender parity is achieved when the GPI of the gross enrolment ratio is between 0.97 and 1.03.

Despite the tremendous improvements discussed in the above, Yemen still suffers from gender and geographical disparity. Figure 1.1 shows the severe situation in Yemen highlighted by a low NER and high gender disparity. Yemen faces a challenge to improve enrollment especially for girl students. Figure 1.1 and Table 1.3 indicates that the gender disparity is not a prevailing issue among most other Arab countries. In addition to gender inequity, there is an urban-rural inequity observed in Yemen. For instance, in the case of the Taiz governorate, the female to male students ratio in the three urban districts was 1.03 in 2004 while the ratio in the six rural districts, where JICA implements their project, is only 0.65 (JICA, 2005). Ogawa (2004) points out the gender and geographical disparities of access also exist among governorates because of the undersupply of teachers in rural areas, especially female teachers. As the results clearly show, rural female students are the most disadvantaged in the country.

Table 1.3: Primary Education Indicators in Yemen and GCC Countries

	School enrollment, primary (% gross)	Primary completion rate, total (% of relevant age	Ratio of girls to boys in primary and secondary education (%)	Survival rate to grade 5 (%)	Gross intake ratio to last grade of primary (%)	School life expectancy ISCED 1-6 (years)
Bahrain	103.97	101.57	102.66	100	102	14
Kuwait	96.46	91.29	104.23	N.A.	91	12
Oman	87.32	91.28	97.85	98	91	11
Qatar	101.66	92.07*	97.79	N.A.	92	13
Saudi Arabia	67.31	61.78	92.35	94	62	10
UAE	83.76	75.36	101.63	95	75	10
Yemen	87.49	62.28	62.71	73	62	9

Source: World Development Indicators (2004) and UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2004)

The Ministry of Education (MOE) acknowledges that the recent expansion of access has resulted in creating the huge gap between access and quality, and that the persisting annual expansion in access has occurred on the expense of quality (MOE, 2007). The Ministry of Education is also aware of the quality issues, such as excess teachers in urban areas and the shortage of teachers in rural areas, the problem of ghost teachers in rural areas, low teacher qualifications, the insufficient quality control system through inspections of teaching, and the shortage of teaching and learning materials (MOE, 2006). Regardless of their large share of public expenditure in education in, the pupil/teacher ratio in Yemen is the highest, when compared with the GCC countries, at 30 students per teacher. The survival rate to grade 5 is only 73 percent, the primary completion rate is 62 percent, and school life expectancy is 9 years, all of which are

lower than the GCC countries (Table 1.2). Additionally, in September 2006 the GOY introduced free education for girls from grades 1 to 6 and for boys from grades 1 to 3 in order to increase enrollment. Previously, the allocation of school fees collected from parents (150 YER per student a year) was distributed among the school (30percent), DEO (10 percent), GEO (50 percent), and Ministry of Finance (10 percent). At schools, these fees were mainly used for repairing school facilities. Elimination of school fees could reduce the poor family's burden to send children to school, therefore, increasing the number of students enrolled. On the other hand, it has the risk of lowering the quality of education due to the ensuing overcrowding of the classrooms, unavailability of teachers and a shortage of textbooks if the funding allocation is not well-planned. However, in Yemen, when the abolition of school fees was announced in 2006, the GoY could not provide the necessary alternative financial arrangements to supplement school fees that the schools, DEOs, and the GEO used to receive.

Not only the supply side issues, but also obstacles at the demand side should be mentioned. In general, major examples of obstacles are considered as the poverty of families and low awareness of parents toward the value of education. However, according to the baseline survey of the BRIDGE Project (JICA, 2005b), it revealed that there were strong demands to education for both boys and girls among parents. On the other hand, it turned out that the main obstacle for the parents to send their daughters was the psychological distance between the schools and parents. In reality, since parents do not know well about their children's schools and teachers, they hesitate to send their daughters to school.

Under the BEDS, the GOY has been implementing educational decentralization. The rationale is that educational decentralization could improve the efficiency, effectiveness and quality of educational service delivery. Though the overall decentralization of all the government services in Yemen started in 2001 after the revision of the Constitution and provision of Law No. 4 of 2000 on Local Administration, not much progress has occurred in the education sector yet. Institutionally so far, the local councils at each district level have been established and the second local election in September 2006 was successfully implemented. Since the decentralization process includes inter-ministerial negotiations among different ministries to determine new authorities and responsibilities for individual ministries, including the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Local Administration, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, and Ministry of Civil Services, these decisions are not easily and quickly made at the central government level. As is to be expected, under the current situation, at the local government level, such as the governorate and district level, there is some confusion observed. For instance, there have been arguments between the district education officers (DEO) and governorate education officers (GEO) over who could authorize the opening of a new school or who could determine the need to transfer teachers among districts. It is urgently needed for the GoY, especially in the MOE, to clearly define the roles and responsibilities at each level of government as well as to develop the appropriate capacity to support the decentralization at each level of government.

Though educational decentralization may be a costly process, it could ultimately empower school head teachers to make decisions on personnel, curriculum and spending issues and to make schools more responsive to the local community and parents (Gershberg and Winkler, 2003). The Ministry of Education has been currently studying about the expansion of the whole school development (WSD) approach

nationally in parallel with promoting educational decentralization, in order to strengthen school-based management and to promote community participation[7]. Whole school development is a reform approach to give autonomy to each school to manage themselves and involve the community in school management. The objective is to improve the quality of teaching and learning. It is defined as an approach to change the 'whole' school's organizational culture, structure and relationships with the community by treating the school as the unit of change for improving the quality of teaching and learning (Akyeampong, 2004). The idea of WSD was derived from experiences of school improvement, known under various names, such as school based management in developed countries, including the United Kingdom, United States, Australia and New Zealand, then spread into developing world. Thus, transferring the approach that originally came from developed countries to developing countries, like Yemen, requires special considerations because: a) schools in disadvantaged areas in developing countries lack basic minimum inputs necessary to operate as a school, including school buildings, classrooms and teachers; b) head teachers, who are supposed to be key drivers to lead the change, tend to have less experience, capacity and support in developing countries; and c) capacity and institutional environment to provide support to school at the local government level tend to be less advanced in developing countries [Fullan and Watson (1999), De Grawuse (2005), and Caldwell (2005)].

In Yemen, the WSD approach is currently being implemented by the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), through their Broadening Regional Initiative for Developing Girls' Education (BRIDGE) Project in Taiz Governorate. The project's goal is to improve girls' enrollment at basic schools, and it is being piloted in 59 rural schools in the six most disadvantaged districts within Taiz Governorate. The approach being taken is to provide grants directly to pilot schools to implement school improvement activities in order to motivate families to send their girls to school. Aside from working with schools, the project also supports the capacity development of district government education officers (DEOs) through training them to support the school's pilot activities, as well as that of the governorate education officers (GEOs) to monitor and evaluate the proper use of the school grants and then share the experiences among other districts in the governorate.

Expansion of the WSD approach could have the potential to help the country to tackle many complicated issues in education simultaneously, particularly a) for helping rural girl students in Yemen; b) improving the quality of basic education; and c) forming partnerships among schools, communities and local education officers by reducing the psychological distance between them.

This study tries to investigate the following research questions: What kinds of modifications are required to apply the concept of WSD, which was originally developed in the Western developed countries, to Yemen? How much could the WSD activities improve the complicated educational issues that Yemen currently faces, including improving access and quality of education in rural areas where the schools do not have enough classrooms, qualified head teachers and classroom teachers? How much support could local education offices provide to schools without having sufficient authority and unclear roles and responsibilities under the process of decentralization? Finally, how can cooperative partnerships be established when the communities feel distance toward schools?

[7] Program 3 of access strategy in the mid-term results framework 2006 to 2010 specifies is school level management and community participation program.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study can be divided into three areas. First, the study identifies ways that the WSD approach could be applicable in the context of rural basic schools in Yemen. As discussed, the original idea of the WSD approach had been developed in the Western developed countries. Thus, this study examines the background of the development and basic concept of the WSD approach. In addition, this study identifies elements that should be kept as the same regardless of the countries they are applied to and the elements that should be considered in the context of rural Yemen, such as the effect a strong sense of tribalism may have on the implementation of WSD activities. In the end, this study analyzes how the WSD activities could be modified in rural Yemen.

The second objective is to assess the impact of the WSD activities on improving access and quality of education in rural basic schools in Yemen. This study focuses on the implementation process and changes taking place at rural basic schools in Yemen and among the people who are involved in implementing the WSD activities. Since the idea of WSD is new to the people and the WSD itself aims at making changes at schools, this study examines what kinds of changes happened in terms of building the capacity of the people and forming collaborative partnerships among them to improve access and quality of basic education. This study tries to answer the question of how much of the distance between the school and the community could be diminished.

The final objective is to provide a set of recommendations to the Ministry of Education regarding the implementation of the WSD activities in rural basic schools in Yemen.

For this analysis, this study uses the Japan International Cooperation Agency's (JICA) Project, Broadening Regional Initiatives for Developing Girls' Education (BRIDGE) Project as a case study of the WSD activities being implemented in Yemen. This study conducts both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Qualitative analysis is conducted to identify Yemeni localized elements of the WSD activities and to explore the process of changes occurred among the people in implementing the WSD activities. Quantitative analysis is used to measure the impacts of the WSD activities in improving access and quality of basic education. The reasons this study uses mixed methods of analysis is because: i) articulating the processes of change within a culture and people's mind-sets at the school level requires qualitative analyses such as observations and interviews since these cannot be measured in a short-time period, and ii) the study cannot fully assess the impacts quantitatively since it is still on-going. Although this study only covers 59 schools in 6 districts in Taiz Governorate, the results of the analyses could be considered more widespread to include the entire national context since these pilot schools cover diversified areas from the mountain tops, to the middle of the deserts, to an oasis, and to the coastal zone, which reflect the diversified geographic characteristics of rural Yemen as a whole.

1.4 Significance of the Study

The WSD approach was born and developed in Western societies such as the United Kingdom and United States; thus, there have been many studies conducted regarding WSD in developed countries. However, there is still a need to see whether this approach can be used in developing countries as well. So far there have not been any case studies conducted on the WSD approach in Yemen. Since the level of decentralization,

education system, educational issues that countries face are different from other countries, it is valuable to examine the Yemeni case with the WSD approach education project.

This study was conducted though intensive and rigorous visits to 50 schools in rural and disadvantaged areas over a period of two years. Through the use of a field-based study, it elaborates the reality of schools and the process of the people's changes before and after the WSD approach was introduced at the school and community level. Thus, the findings of this study could contribute to provide bottom-up views.

In Yemen, the MOE is about to implement the WSD approach in the piloted governorates first, and then eventually expand it nation-wide with support from the World Bank, DfID, and the Netherlands in order to improve the access, quality and efficiency of basic education. This Study's findings will be able to contribute to the MOE's policy formation and implementation of the WSD activities. Furthermore, it will also provide some recommendations to the government on what kind of roles the different levels of government should play for the successful implementation of the WSD approach. Finally, this field-based study could contribute to articulate one of the concrete models of roles and responsibilities from the central and local government to the school and community level under educational decentralization.

1.5 Organization of the Study

Following Chapter 1, Chapter 2 first reviews the previous discussion about educational decentralization and defines community partnerships in education since WSD became popular under educational decentralization. Then, Chapter 2 defines whole school development and reveals some precautions to consider when applying the WSD approach to developing countries. Chapter 3 then explains the application of WSD to the Yemeni context. Based on analyses in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, Chapter 4 presents the analytical framework, data and information used for the study, and hypotheses in this study. Chapter 5 describes the results of these analyses on the hypotheses, including some case studies of pilot schools. Chapter 6 discusses the results of these analyses and the strengths and weaknesses of the WSD activities implemented in the Taiz Governorate. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses the limitations of the study and provides policy recommendations in expanding the WSD approach into a national WSD model.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the theoretical background of the three core concepts in this study which are: 1) educational decentralization; 2) whole school development; and 3) community partnerships in education. Each concept is presented in this chapter. This chapter aims at exploring the analytical perspectives needed to apply the concept of whole school development into the context of Yemen.

2.1 Educational Decentralization

In the Republic of Yemen, the decentralization of public sector operations and service delivery started in 1994 when the roles of local authority were specified in the Constitution of the Republic of Yemen 1994[8]. Taking six years after the revision of the Constitution, Law No. 4 of 2000 on Local Authority was enacted to consolidate and convey authority for "funding, equipping, management and maintenance" of public social and economic services to two new levels of governance and administration, which are the governorate and district levels. Following the establishment of these legal frameworks, in 2001 the first-ever local elections were held to select members of local councils. In Yemen, decentralization was politically led by the government aiming to devolve responsibility for planning and implementation of public services in all sectors to local governments, in order to establish legitimacy of the newly integrated state by improving democracy in the country.

The rationale for education decentralization involves improving quality, efficiency, and effectiveness of educational service delivery to all, especially to the poor people. There are many educational issues in Yemen, including inefficient budget spending, low enrollment rate at the basic school level, high drop out rates from school, huge enrollment gaps in basic education between male and female as well as an urban rural disparity, inappropriate deployment of teachers, shortage of female teachers especially in rural areas, unqualified teachers, limited access to school due to shortage of school buildings and classrooms, and low community participation in education. If decentralization is a means to tackle some of these issues, decentralization will be essential for Yemen. In this section, the study discusses previous dialogue about decentralization to understand the pros and cons of the idea and clarify key issues to be considered when the GoY further implements educational decentralization.

2.1.1 Background

Decentralization has been undertaken for a multiplicity of stated and unstated reasons, which are political, educational, administrative, and financial. Education was initially offered by individual teachers, then by communities. The expansion of education in the 19th and 20th centuries occurred simultaneously with the development of strong governments, which sought standardization of the content and process of schooling (UNESCO, 1999). Moreover, the burden of financing the expansion of education was assigned to or taken up by governments. In some cases governments used taxes to fund government-run schools. Education improved in quality as a direct result of the ability to standardize the content and provision of education by governments. Governments specified what objectives were to be pursued in schools, what could be taught, who

[8] Article 143, 144, 145, and 146 in Constitution 1994.

could be taught, who could teach, where teaching would take place, and how schools would be financed. Public provision and government controlled finance made education of reasonable quality available to more children.

In the early 1970s, the upsurge of interest in decentralization started with the disintegration of "Keynesian consensus" that had favored strong, centralized governments (Welsh and McGinn, 1999). In the 1980s, the collapse of the USSR brought an abrupt change of the world and the retreat of the state had also been evident elsewhere. It is being argued that decentralization can contribute to redistributing power and expanding the range of social actors accountable for improving government services in a particular social context. Fiscal crises at the national level and a desire to shed costly services to other levels of government are also a motivation for decentralization. Another motivation for decentralization, according to Winkler (1989), is that decentralization is commonly advocated as a way to reduce unit costs, particularly when centralized bureaucracies find themselves having to make decisions on the most minor matters relating to schools in distant locations. Furthermore, sub-national units are better able to focus on the needs of clients and closer to the people and are better able to cater to local diversity. Most decentralization reforms pursue some combination of these motivations. Today, decentralization is still a growing trend across the world and it is expanding to restructure the entire government organizations and to reform provision of all government services.

2.1.2 Definition and Typology of Decentralization

According to Fiske (1996), decentralization is the process of re-allocating responsibility and corresponding decision-making authority for specific functions from higher to lower levels of government and organizational units. According to Hanson (1998), decentralization is defined as "the transfer of decision making authority, responsibility, and tasks from higher to lower organizational levels or between organizations" (p.405). Bray (2003) defines decentralization as the process in which subordinate levels of a hierarchy are authorized by a higher body to take decisions about the use of the organization's resources.

It is also important to know what elements of the system to decentralize (e.g. resource generation, spending authority, hiring, curriculum development), and in what levels (regional, district, local and school site) the authority is given to when analyzing a country's decentralization. Decentralization varies by the level of government receiving the decision-making power, the kinds of decisions being transferred and the orientation of the decentralization (structure vs. content). Fiske (1996) pointed out two types of decentralization in terms of the transfer of decision-making power; they are *political decentralization* and *administrative decentralization.* Political decentralization involves assigning decision-making power to citizens or their representatives at lower levels of government, thus shifting authority to include people outside of the government. Political decentralization requires significant consultation with an agreement from all parties involved. On the other hand, administrative decentralization maintains power in the central government while shifting responsibility and authority for planning, management, finance and other activities to the lower levels of the government or semiautonomous authorities. This type of decentralization can take place without much involvement outside of the government.

By the degrees of power transfer, there are three categorizes of decentralization, which are *deconcentration*, *delegation*, and *devolution* (Rondinelli, 1989, and Fiske,

1996). The weakest form of decentralization is *deconcentration* where only managerial decisions and managerial accountability are transferred to within the central government. Caldwell (2005) calls this *dispersion*. Either *deconcentration* or *dispersion* involves moving people who previously worked at a central location (e.g. a capital city) to a regional office or branch office in another city, a province or a region, within the same organization. Under these arrangements, power, authority, responsibility, and influence can remain just as centralized as before. The advantage of deconcentration may lie where the central ministry could gather information about conditions in the field and could monitor efficiency in direction and could support schools while it maintains firm control over everything.

Delegation is a more extensive approach to decentralization in which power still rests with the central authority, but the central authority has chosen to lend power to autonomous organizations at the local levels. Education sector managers are appointed by elected officials at the local or regional level. Sub-national governments receive power to allocate educational spending and in some cases raise revenues and determine spending levels. However, in most cases, the revenues of the newly empowered regional or local governments are almost totally derived from central government transfer, thus limiting their fiscal autonomy.

Devolution is the most far-reaching form of decentralization in that the transfer of authority over financial, administrative, or pedagogical matters is permanent at sub-national levels. Therefore, the officers do not need to seek higher-level approval for their actions. The sub-national officers may choose to inform the center of their decisions, but the role of the center is chiefly confined to the collection and exchange of information.

In addition to the above three categories, sometimes *privatization* is included as another form of decentralization (Cummings & Riddell 1994). Decentralization may turn into privatization when responsibility and resources are transferred from the public to the private sector (Hanson, 1998). Privatization policies may occur in parallel to a redistribution of decision-making power, but privatization unlike decentralization is based on the greater participation of the private sector in an area where the state has traditionally had a prominent role. This is because privatization can lead to a reduction in state authority over schools and therefore to a redistribution of power. Privatization in education is aimed at reducing the participation of the state in the provision, financing and/or control of educational services to improve its quality, efficiency and effectiveness.

For educational decentralization, Gershberg and Winkler (2000 and 2003) added one more layer in terms of transfer of authorities to the lowest level, which is called education delegation to schools and/or school councils. They argue that the decentralization of education to individual schools has typically been motivated by concerns about poor school performance. Educational delegation empowers school principals and/or school councils to make personnel, curriculum and some spending decisions. Even though the schools receive government funding, they are allowed to allocate spending as they wish and raise revenues locally. Another special case of educational delegation is implicit or de facto delegation to community schools when the state fails to provide educational opportunities in remote areas and the community takes upon itself the finance and provision of schooling.

Fiske (1996) discusses educational decentralization as “a complex process that deals with changes in the way school systems go about making policy, generating

revenues, spending funds, training teachers, designing curricula, and managing local schools" (p.10). Such changes imply fundamental shifts in the values that underlie public education—values that concern the relationships of students and parents to schools, the relationships of communities to central government, and the very meaning and purpose of public education. For educational decentralization to work, as seen above, it is not enough to transfer authority from the central level to lower levels of government. It is the job of schools to cater to the students and parents who receives their services. Therefore, without delegating some authority to schools, educational decentralization cannot achieve the goal of improving the quality, efficiency and effectiveness of educational services.

2.1.3 Decentralized Educational Functions

Decentralization differs not only from the level of authority transfers but also from the distribution of key decisions. Table 2.1 shows key decisions and functions related to provision of educational services and school management. Educational decentralization could vary according to which decisions are transferred to which level of educational authorities. The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development**,** OECD reports that even in centralized systems, schools make most of the decisions about the organization of instruction (OECD, 1998). These decisions include the choice of teaching methods, textbooks, criteria for grouping students within schools, and day-to-day methods of student assessment. On the other hand, in most European countries, most personnel-management decisions are made at the central level.

Table 2.1: School-level Decisions to be Decentralized

Organization of Instruction	Select school attended by student
	Set instruction time
	Choose text books
	Determine teaching methods
Personal Management	Hire/fire school head teachers
	Recruit/ hire and fire teachers
	Hire/ fire non-teaching staff
	Set or augment teacher pay scale
	Assign teaching responsibilities
	Determine provision of in-service training
Panning and Structure	Create or close a school
	Create and abolish a grade level
	Select a programs offered in a school
	Define course content
	Set examinations for a certificate/diploma
Resources	Develop a school improvement plan
	Allocate personnel budget
	Allocate non-personnel current budget
	Allocate capital expenditure
	Allocate resource for in-service teacher training

Source: World Bank web-site (2007)

Prior to measuring the degree of educational decentralization by educational functions delegated to schools, Winkler and Gershberg (2000) further argue that the

educational decentralization reforms should encompass both elements of strengthening local control and accountability and improving learning. Transferring decision-making powers and responsibilities to lower levels of government or to school councils is first aimed at strengthening accountability by the schools to its clients, which can contribute to improved efficiency in both the uses of resources and in the match between client demand and the supply of school services. Secondly, transferring decision-making powers and responsibilities to lower levels of government or to school councils is aimed at improving learning. However, the second aim tends to be neglected in the discussion of decentralization since it tends to focus on the first aim on changing the structure of school management.

2.1.4 Benefits and Risks of Decentralization

The rationale for decentralization in education is to improve the quality, efficiency, and effectiveness. First of all, decentralization is expected to lead to more *efficiency* by eliminating bureaucratic procedures and motivating officials to be more productive. In a centralized system, all decisions may be made outside of the area where the issue at hand matters the most; often away from the actual issue. Thus, allowing the local government units to decide on resource allocation will result in better efficiency since they know the specific needs of their particular system best (Paqueo and Lammert, 2000). The *effectiveness* rationale argues that centralized planning policies have led to education that is very expensive, thus resulting in a decrease in quality as countries find themselves faced with financial constraints. Therefore, the rationale holds that making schools more responsive to the local community and parents and eliminating the need for centralized decision-making can improve administration (Winkler, 1991). In addition, decentralization can lead to improving accountability by giving incentives for quality performance to teachers and school officials (Paqueo and Lammert, 2000). Decentralized structures can also encourage individuals and non-governmental organizations to participate in the process of educational service delivery, which might not be forthcoming in centralized systems. Decentralization can also stimulate diversity in educational provision to meet the needs of different target groups, which could contribute to improve the *quality* of education. For example, it can allow teaching in different languages, and permit varied curricula and timetables to suit different religious, occupational and other groups (Bray and Mukundan, 2003). It is believed that decentralization places a greater focus on local cultural differences and learning environment when it allows decision-making to occur closer to the needs of each school.

Although a great deal of the literature asserts theoretically that educational decentralization could lead to greater efficiency, responsiveness to local demands, improvements in education quality and higher levels of participation in the decision-making process, in practice, however, there is no conclusive evidence showing the extent of some of these benefits. It is uncertain what the real capacity of these policies is to enhance academic achievements and learning [Cuellar-Marcelli (2001), Hahsen (1997)]. "The literature on educational decentralization is primarily descriptive in nature. Attempts to access the impacts of decentralization have suffered from weak baseline data and poor research designs, mainly resulting from inadequate data" (Winkler and Guershberg, 2000, p. 1).

Furthermore, Bray and Mukundan (2003) argue that decentralization is not a panacea, and that it can create other problems. Among the most obvious is the tendency for disparities to increase. Decentralizing and pushing local communities to take more

financial responsibility for their own schools can lead to greater inequities within a country as richer communities are able to finance their schools at a much higher level than poorer schools. Moreover, decentralization can lead to proliferation of different models of schooling, which makes operation of a unified system of education more difficult. Chapman (1998) argues that decentralizing authority and responsibility may only shift the same old problems to levels of the system less well prepared to cope with them and that decentralizing management invites corruption and inefficiency. In addition, because communities do not necessarily speak with a single voice, decentralization has sometimes led to increased tension at the local levels. Chapman (1998) points out, "Whether decentralization is a force for more relevance or an invitation to confusion will be determined largely by the leadership at the district, community and school level" (p.616).

In conclusion, it is important to understand that decentralization is not a "one size fits all" solution. Policy makers and planners must seek a balance between centralized and decentralized systems in the specific circumstances that confront them at particular points in time. Hanson (1997) mentions, "There's no such thing as a truly decentralized education system. In reality, almost all the decisions retain degrees of centralization and decentralization. The issue is finding the appropriate balance" (p.113). Fiske (1996) emphasizes that central authorities should concentrate on setting goals, generating resources, targeting resources to meet special needs, and monitoring performance, while everyday management of schools is best devolved to lower-level authorities and to the institutions themselves. As Cuellar-Marchelli (2003) emphasizes, degree, design and implementation of decentralization should be determined in a specific socio-economic and cultural context and history of the country.

2.2 Defining the Whole School Development (WSD)

Whole school development (WSD) is one type of educational decentralization approach to transfer authority and control over budgets to schools. The approach not only increases schools' autonomy and raises their accountability, but also increases partnerships between the school and the community in order to improve the quality of education at the school level. The idea of 'whole school development (WSD)' was derived from experiences of school improvement in developed countries, known under various names, including school-based management, school-site management, and effective schools in developed countries, such as the United States, United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand with development of educational decentralization.

According to Briggs and Wohlstetter (2003), school-based management (SBM) has been popularly adopted for reforms by states and school districts across the United States since the 1960s as a vehicle for improving schools. Up until the late 1980s, SBM was most often adopted and implemented as a stand-alone reform to remedy a variety of flaws of the school system. Fullan and Watson (1999) conclude that SBM failed when it was treated as an end in itself. By the late 1980s, SBM efforts entailed much more than a change in governance. The purpose of SBM efforts became to improve student achievement. Since improving student outcomes involves a process of change, SBM has constituted a redesign of the whole school organization.

A similar path of development has also been observed in developing countries. SBM has been popularly implemented throughout the world starting in the early 1990's in Asia, Latin America, Eastern Europe, then Africa coupled with a trend of decentralization of education. Since the trend reached less developed countries, the

emphasis has been increasingly placed on the idea of 'whole school' change as an education. The "whole school" could include school infrastructure, stakeholders' behavior and attitude, such as head teachers and teachers, students and parents, the community, and ways of school governance and management, ways of teaching and learning. According to Akyeampong (2004), the WSD could be defined as an approach to change the 'whole' school's organizational culture and structure and the relationships with the community to improve the quality of teaching and learning, by treating a school as the unit of change. In the existing literature, the clear distinction between SBM and WSD could not be found. Since school-based management involved itself into emphasizing the whole school development, this study, therefore, regards the re-conceptualized SBM as the WSD to draw implications to apply in the context of developing countries, especially one of the least developed countries such as Yemen.

2.2.1 Application of WSD in Developing Countries

Previous studies such as Fullan and Watson (1999), Simkins et al (2003) De Grawuse (2005), and Caldwell (2005) discuss the similarities and differences when applying SBM experiences in developed and developing countries. Based on their analyses, similarities are the followings:

- The role of leadership, which means the head teacher, is key to improving the school;
- It is a new teaching and learning method;
- It is the process of capacity building at school;
- Parents and community play an active role in school management;
- A more accountable and transparent system could be introduced; and
- An external supporting system to provide trainings and advice to head teacher and teachers is indispensable.

At the same time, many differences are pointed out as below;

- Schools especially in devastated areas lack basic minimum inputs necessary to function as a school; such as school buildings, classrooms, facilities, teachers and hours of teaching in developing countries;
- Head teachers, who are supposed to be a key driver to lead the change, tend to have less experience, capacity and support in developing countries;
- The capacity and organizational environment to provide external support at the local government level tend to be less developed in developing countries;
- Due to limited resources, human resources, such as parents and communities are of great importance for school support in developing countries; and
- In order to ensure equity, it is more important to develop a flexible policy reflecting different levels of capacities and experiences of each school and head teacher in developing countries.

Considering these similarities and differences, it becomes obvious that it is a natural consequence to emphasize the 'whole' school development to improve the quality of education in developing countries. De Grauwe (2005) explains, "what is needed perhaps more than school-based management is a system of management oriented on school support" (p.285). As UNESCO (2005) defines, the success of teaching and learning is likely to be strongly influenced by the resources made available to support the process and the direct ways in which these resources are managed. Therefore, the whole school development approach includes the rehabilitation of school buildings and the provision of resources such as textbooks, furniture and stationary as

preconditions to improve the quality of education. At the same time, as De Grauwe (2000) argues that the quality of education depends primarily on the way schools are managed, more than on the abundance of available resources; and the capacity of schools to improve teaching and learning is strongly influenced by the quality of leadership provided by the head teacher. Therefore, the WSD put primal focus on building the capacity of the head teacher in school management to change the whole school culture and organization.

Caldwell (2005) argues that school based management approach is not a silver bullet. It is the same as the WSD approach. De Grauwe (2005) argues that even though head teachers and parents are the main guarantors of SBM's successful implementation, the transfer of responsibilities involves challenges. In developing countries, capacity-building initiatives cover few staff and professional development opportunities remain scarce. Head teachers, especially in the more remote schools, are often isolated and receive little or no support from the administration. Therefore, for those head teachers at remote schools, school-based management sometimes can make their life harder by increasing their administrative and managerial workload. Furthermore, it could widen disparities among schools.

In communities with much social and political tension, the school committee has, in some instances, become an instrument in the hands of the elite to build up their power, leading to greater inequities. Another concern is the lack of transparency, especially in the use of funds at the school level by the head teacher and the school committee. Case studies in West Africa show that parents and teachers have nearly no knowledge of or control over the use of the fees. The lack of transparency is an expression of the monopolization of power at the local level. Another concern is that the interests of the stakeholders at the school level do not always coincide. Leithwood and Menzies (1998) claim that the single biggest hurdle to developing an effective school council is interpersonal conflict of one sort of another.

Considering these concerns, it could be concluded that in developing countries, first, the WSD initiative should be carefully designed based on the head teachers' capacities. De Grauwe (2005) emphasizes that schools in which the head teacher has no management training, where the teachers have few resources, and the surrounding community is extremely poor with little expertise in education, can hardly be expected to engage in strategic planning and self-evaluation with enthusiasm. Therefore, secondly, local education officers need to figure out the balance between support and autonomy according to the level and capacity of its head teachers. Briggs and Wohlstetter (2003) propose making a distinction between the highest-performing schools which earn the privilege of local autonomy, lower-performing schools who receive little autonomy until they can demonstrate capacity to produce improvements and can count on technical assistance and coaching from the district, and medium-performing schools, which receive less assistance from the districts, but are organized into networks for mutual support. Such a policy of flexible decentralization already exists in South Africa. This differentiation approach according to the levels of the schools could help to narrow the capacity gaps among schools. Thirdly, it is important to design a way to incorporate cross-sectional participation from the community. Considering the socio-economic conditions of the communities, broader participation should be encouraged including women and minority groups of the community.

Since the WSD intends to change the culture and way of thinking in school management with community participation, it is a process that takes time. As even the

developed countries have been modifying their model, the WSD should also be carefully reviewed considering the intrinsic conditions of each individual country. In addition, as mentioned at the beginning of the section, the WSD approach is one type of decentralization reform in the education sector. It is not a stand-alone approach which happens at school. The process of the WSD should be monitored and evaluated by the local educational authorities, especially not to cause any inequity among schools in the country and to secure accountability of services offered by schools. Furthermore, the design of implementing the WSD approach should be determined by the central government in a context of decentralization, such as what kinds of educational functions could be given to schools, and what extent of support could be offered from the regional government to the schools.

2.2.2 Experiences of Other Countries

Governments' aims and approaches for WSD varies from initiative to initiative. The most common aims across initiatives internationally are to increase students' enrollment, improve the school environment, increase community participation, improve the management of resources and achieve quality education which is without a doubt the most difficult aim to meet.

Similarly, approaches to WSD are also different. For instance, JICA provides school grants to secondary education in Indonesia and to basic schools in rural areas in Yemen and Morocco. In Lebanon, Syria, Jordan and Palestine, DFID supports WSD by providing training to develop management capacity for delivering education services. UNICEF developed a model for quality community-based education, called "community school" and implemented the project through local NGOs in underserved areas of Egypt and now in Yemen in order to develop a system of innovative child centered pedagogies, training strategies, and new learning materials. In Central America, the approach of providing of school grants to schools was introduced in the 1990s in El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala. In El Salvador, provision of education services is transferred to Community Education Associations (ACE), which are non-profit private associations of social service. In the early 2000s, African countries such as Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania introduced capitation grants for schools at the same time as the abolition of school fees in order to replace the fee revenue and meet increased costs due to the major increase in enrollment.

Regardless of the aims of each initiative, the overall hope is that over time the quality of education will be improved as communities and head teachers take more responsibility and pride for what happens in their schools, rather than waiting for central government to provide resources and solve all problems. However, researchers now conclude that if raising the quality of education is not a specific aim then communities will focus on financial administration and not become involved in their children's education.

This section briefly reviews some examples in the middle-east region among approaches mentioned above. One example is DfID's WSD approach, which has been implemented in Jordan, West Bank and Gaza, Lebanon, and Syria (DFID, 2006). The purpose is to improve the quality of learning experiences through improved management and delivery of education services. Its implementation focuses on two key elements of school-based development and management development. The main activities include international consultants providing training by cascade method, selecting field training teams composed of supervisors, area education officers and

selected head teachers, then to head teachers and selected teachers in each school. Expected outputs are: i) improved quality of management skills, practices and systems, ii) frameworks and systems for developing and supporting, monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of projects implemented on school improvement, iii) more effective management of learning and teaching for male and female students within the schools by head teachers and teaching staff, and iv) improved linkages between the schools, their local communities and the education system within the field area of the projects.

Another example is Egypt's Community School Project in underserved areas of Egypt supported by UNICEF. UNICEF developed a model for quality community-based education and implemented the project through local NGOs. The objective of the Project was to develop a system of innovative child centered pedagogies, training strategies, and new learning materials. Education committees are formed at each school, functioning as local school boards. The school curriculum and activities focus on the community's work and are embedded in the local culture. The community provides a school site in the existing infrastructure that is deemed suitable for the number of children to be enrolled, determines the hours and days school will be in session, and participates in teacher selection. The school serves as a site for an integrated development approach, offering courses outside of regular school hours, such as parenting, non-formal adolescent education, and hygiene and health. The MOE pays teacher salaries, provides school books, teachers' guides, and teacher training programs. UNICEF designed the model of community education, providing training for program staff and ensuring management and ongoing support through its partnerships with local NGOs.

In Morocco, the Basic Education Improvement Program (BEIP) for rural areas was implemented by JICA. This is a similar model to the BRIDGE Project in Yemen, in regards that it conducts micro planning at the school level with school grants. The purpose of this project is to improve the quality of education especially in rural areas, where the communities are poor and schools lack basic school infrastructure, such as facilities and textbooks. The project was from September 2003 to September 2005, and during that time the project covered 127 schools with approximately 11,500 students. The impact was observed in the following ways. First, the behavior and ways of thinking among major stakeholders had been changed. There was an increased ownership of schools among head teachers and teachers. The teachers' were more motivated, and teamwork among school staff members and communities and between students and teachers was observed. The students' motivation also increased, and the quality of education improved. Another positive impact was that the number of dropouts decreased in the project's pilot schools compared to the schools that were not covered by the project. On the other hand, a negative impact was that there was not much of an improvement in the students' performance on exams during the project period.

From these cases in the region, various types of projects are found including the provision of training and school grants, and the introduction of new pedagogy. Regardless of the different approaches, they all aim to improve the capacity of school management, involve community participation, and improve the quality of education. What kinds of approaches are the most appropriate to be taken depends on the situation that each country faces.

2.3 Community Partnerships in Education

Community participation in education has a long history and has accumulated an abundance of experience. For example,
even before a modern government system was established, local wealthy families and leaders and churches have provided education services voluntarily. Additionally, in remote and disadvantaged areas where the government could not afford sufficient educational services, community schools operated by local people, non-profit organizations and religious groups have flourished. This section mainly deals with community participation under educational decentralization since the 1990s, and treats community participation in education as a part of partnerships among central governments, local governments, schools and communities. The section also explores ways of community partnerships in education that help to increase accountability of services provided by schools under the WSD approach.

2.3.1 Partnerships in Education since the 1990s

A feature of community participation in education since the 1990s is that it is promoted by the government's top-down approach under educational decentralization. In addition, under international donor pressure to achieve EFA goals, community participation is regarded as a part of partnerships among central governments, local governments, schools and communities in developing countries [UNESCO (1990) and (2000a), and Bray (2001)]. Emphasis on forming partnerships among different levels of governments emerged at situations where the government faced fiscal limitations to respond to growing demands for education with the rapid population growth and criticism increased towards utilizing a uniformed approach in the provision of basic education. Article 7 of the World declaration on EFA stated the need to strengthen partnerships as follows: "National, regional and local educational authorities have a unique obligation to provide basic education for all, but they cannot be expected to supply every human, financial or organizational requirement for this task. New and revitalized partnerships at all levels will be necessary" (UNESCO, 1990). Therefore, in this study, community participation in education since the 1990s is called as community partnerships in education. 'Partnerships' implies more active and committed involvement than participation. Partners share responsibility for a joint activity, whereas participants may merely co-operate in someone else's activity (Bray, 2000).

According to Bray, there are two main rationales for emphasis on partnerships (2000). The first one is focusing on resources. Partnerships at the community, intermediate, and national levels can help harmonize activities, utilize resources more effectively, and mobilize additional financial and human resources where necessary. Another rationale is focusing on learning. "Learners tend to benefit more from education when they are partners in the instructional process, rather than treated simply as 'inputs' or 'beneficiaries'" (Bray, 2000, p.7). In addition, UNICEF (1998) stresses the aspect of sustainability. "Partnerships at this time of economic uncertainty will strengthen the capacities and maximize the investments needed to ensure that programs for children are sustainable in political, technical, managerial and humanitarian terms" (p.11).

Based on research on community participation in Malawi, Rose (2003) states her concerns, "Recent international agency interest has changed the nature of community participation by integrating it into the market system as a result of valuing contributions

previously made by communities voluntarily"(p.50). In Malawi, communities have traditionally played an important role in educational provision in a variety of ways, in particular, by providing assistance and contributions to school construction and maintenance. Since the government resources were allocated in favor of urban areas, educational facilities in rural areas were developed by self-help projects. When the Government of Malawi introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) in 1994 by abolishing primary school fees, community participation in schooling has changed into the form of extraction of resources to meet the rapid expansion of primary schools. Rose's assertion is based on the evidence that decision making concerning the types of school development projects are most often at the school level, with traditional leaders as a mediator between the school and community. Members of the community are merely informed of the contributions they are expected to make, limiting the prospects for fostering community ownership and accountability. Division of responsibilities between those involved in decision-making and those providing labor is likely to reflect inequalities that exist within the society. According to Rose, 70 percent of those involved in providing non-monetary contributions were women. Poor families that could not afford time or money for school are forced to withdraw children from school. As a result, she argues that pseudo rather than genuine forms of participation are pursued. Rose (2003) suggests that adequate and appropriate support is required to enable communities to fulfill their devolved functions. In addition, there is a need to build on and strengthen existing networks, recognizing the important role that head teachers and traditional leaders can play in fostering community support (pp.61-62).

Bray (2003) emphasizes that policies to promote community participation in education often fail to differentiate between different types of communities. The communities' knowledge base and motives for engaging in educational work may be very different from the governments. Thus, while in some situations communities and governments collaborate in harmony, other situations lead to dissonance. Therefore, the government needs to take into account the diversity of circumstances.

The impact of community partnerships in education is observed in many countries. Bray argues the the impacts can be grouped into five categories: they are 1) recruitment, retention and attendance of student; 2) teachers and their conditions of services; 3) educational achievements; 4) equity tensions; and 5) political dimensions. Evidence of the improvement of students' enrollment, retention and attendance can be found in the Shiksha Karmi Program in rural and remote parts of Rajasthan, India, in the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) Project in Bangladesh. The issues regarding employment of teachers and their conditions of service are complex. First of all, the governments tend to retain control over recruitment, deployment, remuneration and discipline of teachers in order to maintain equity of services. For instance, in the 1990's in Nambia tensions between school boards and the local governments were observed regarding approval of teachers selected by the communities. Another tension was observed between the community and teachers in India regarding the monitoring of teachers' performance when teachers consider communities to lack the professional skills and insights necessary to make appropriate interventions. Although there are assumptions that teachers from within local communities will relate to their communities more effectively than outsiders would, and that community monitoring will keep the teachers accountable and dedicated, there has not been any evidence found to support these assumptions yet. Furthermore, even when communities hire and monitor the teachers, training these teachers is the government's role.

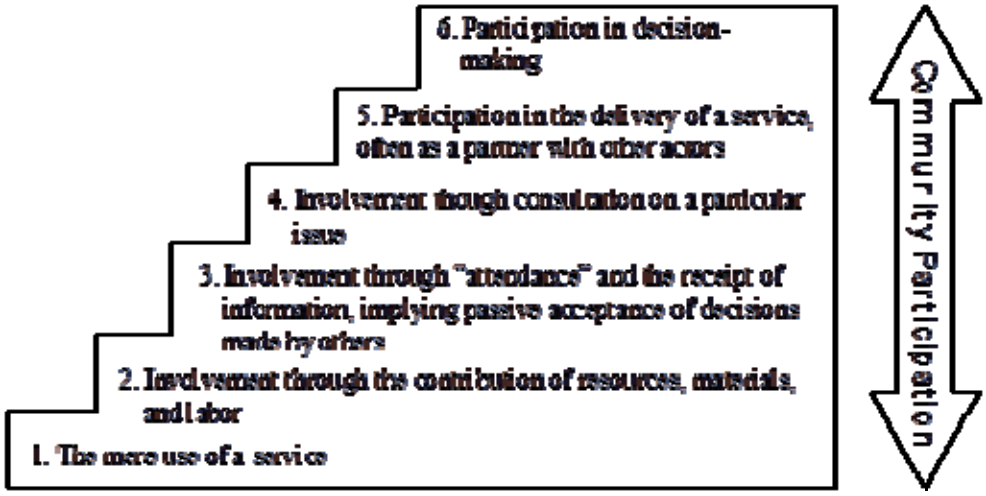
It is difficult to prove empirically the impact of community partnerships to students' educational outcomes because many other factors affect achievements, and evaluations cannot easily isolate the specific effects of community partnerships. An evaluation of El Salvador's Community Managed School Program (EDUCO) found that student absences were lower in community-managed schools compared with traditional public schools, after controlling for student, school, and participation characteristics (Jimenez and Sawada 1999). However, this is challenged by Chuellar-Marchelli (2001) as the results may not be accurate since differences in private costs of education are not considered. Children in Bangladesh's BRAC schools perform at an equivalent level to their counterparts in government schools in reading and numeracy. In life skills and writing, the BRAC students perform better according to Nath et al. (1999). However, the achievements may reflect the good organization of the NGO that runs BRAC rather than the specific community linkages of the model. Regarding equity tensions, there are many dimensions, including regional, rural/urban, socio-economic, ethnic, racial and gender. In general, community self-help initiatives are likely to increase rather than decrease geographical and social disparities. This is because the groups that are already advantaged are in a better position to help themselves than the disadvantaged groups. Some disadvantaged districts have remained disadvantaged because they have had low incomes in the first place and therefore found it difficult to embark on a self-help process (Mwiria, 1990). If disadvantaged groups are targeted and government support is provided for the disadvantaged groups, it could help to decrease the disparities. The political dimensions of community partnerships are considerable. Even though the notion of partnerships is the state and its partners work together in harmony, it is not always the case. In some countries, such as Fiji and Kenya in the 1960's and 1970's school committees may be influenced by local and national political forces. In Pakistan, where NGOs working in the education sector are major players, in the 1990s the government conducted periodic crackdowns of the schools run by the NGOs that were highly critical of government performance.

As discussed, community partnerships in education are not almighty. Even though the community partnerships are proved to be effective to improve students' enrollment and attendance, the success of partnerships relies on various contexts of the communities. It is obvious that the partnerships should be designed by carefully considering the socio-economic, geographic backgrounds of each community, and that the partnerships require clear and mutually accepted roles of each partner and a mutual trust. Governments must also play a role in fostering successful community partnerships.

2.3.2 Degree of Community Partnerships in Education

Figure 2.1, prepared by the author based on the definition of community partnerships by Shaffer (Shaffer, 1999), shows a ladder that describes the differing degrees of community participation in education. As discussed in the previous section, it is valuable to clearly define what community participation means.

Figure 2.1: Ladder of Community Participation in Education



Source: Shaffer (2004) and modified by the Author

The first ladder stands for passive recipients of school programs, such as a health clinic, vaccination program, and literacy and sewing classes. The second ladder is for community members to contribute resources, such as labor and money when the school builds or repairs classrooms. The third ladder means that community members participate in school meetings, such as school committee meetings and parental meetings as an observer to gain information about school activities. The fourth ladder stands for the community members' participation in discussions about specific educational issues, such as the obstacles to improving girls' education. The community members' opinions are then taken into consideration by schools to resolve the issues that they face. The fifth ladder is that the community members and the school work together to improve educational services that the school provides. For instance, the school and community collaboratively recruit teachers from the local community, develop curricula and teaching materials based on the local community's values and their daily life demands. At last, the sixth ladder means that the community members participate in the decision making of school management and activities through school-based mechanisms such as school committees.

As discussed, it is important to build successful partnerships among the central government, local governments, schools and communities. These steps of community partnerships in education should be shared among relevant stakeholders to avoid the community to be extracted from the government for financial contributions. This ladder also implies the necessity of capacity development for the community members. Forming community partnerships is a process that takes time and requires a long-term commitment. Starting from the first ladder, the government and donors need to support the community to gain the capacity to climb up the ladder step by step. Marginalized people, such as women and illiterate people especially need to have an opportunity to participate in and get accustomed to participation. Furthermore, to lead the community's participation in order to reach the top of the ladder, which is participation in decision making, it requires the school to set up a place for discussion. There are different mechanisms to do this, such as Parent-Teacher Associations (PTA), School Committees, School Boards, Fathers' Council and Mothers' Councils. Policy makers should decide on the most appropriate way to advance community participation by considering the local context.

As discussed, community participation, called as partnerships among all stakeholders, including governments, schools and communities in this study, is promoted by a top-down approach. To make this top-down community participation a genuine participation, a system to promote cross-sectional community members, regardless of their gender, wealth, of literacy, to participate in decision-making of the school management is essential. In addition, it is necessary to provide opportunities for capacity building for the community to play their delegated functions. This process requires a long time. Even though there is no evidence to measure positive impacts of community partnerships in learning outcomes, it could help to empower community members if capacity building programs are appropriately designed and implemented.

2.4 Conclusion

In summary of this chapter, educational decentralization is a global trend and it is believed to improve efficiency, effectiveness and quality of educational services despite the fact there is little evidence. It is important to make an appropriate balance between centralization and decentralization. Although there are many different categories, including levels of authorities delegated, aims of decentralization, and functions decentralized, they could be simplified into two types, which are transferring authority to lower levels of governments and to individual schools and/or school committees directly. The concept of the WSD is one type of educational decentralization approach that gives autonomy directly to schools. Since the concept is developed in Anglo-Saxon countries, the application of the concept should be modified into a country context of developing countries. In particular, levels of capacity in schools in developing countries are completely different from that in developed countries. For example, schools lack facilities and teachers, head teachers are less experienced, and local education officers do not have much experience in supporting schools. Under such conditions, providing differentiated support according to the capacity of schools and training opportunities to support the capacity development of communities, head teachers, teachers and local education officers are urgently needed. In addition, since the whole school development approach is not a stand-alone approach but part of the decentralization policy, the government should play a role to design the approach and to conduct monitoring and evaluation to secure accountability and equity of educational services provided by schools. One of the most important components of the WSD is community participation. Community participation in education has been emphasized by international donors especially since the 1990s under the trends of educational decentralization. To make the community participation genuine, partnerships among all stakeholders including governments, schools and communities, an appropriate design of the mechanism of participation, and training for the community members to play a delegated function are needed. Otherwise, there is a risk that under the name of community participation, people in the community are exploited just to supplement resources that the government could not offer.

A consensus found among scholars on decentralization, whole school development and community partnerships is the importance of reflecting the socio-economic conditions of the countries and communities in designing and implementing these approaches. Thus, this study emphasizes the Yemeni context of educational decentralization, whole school development and community partnerships in the following analyses.

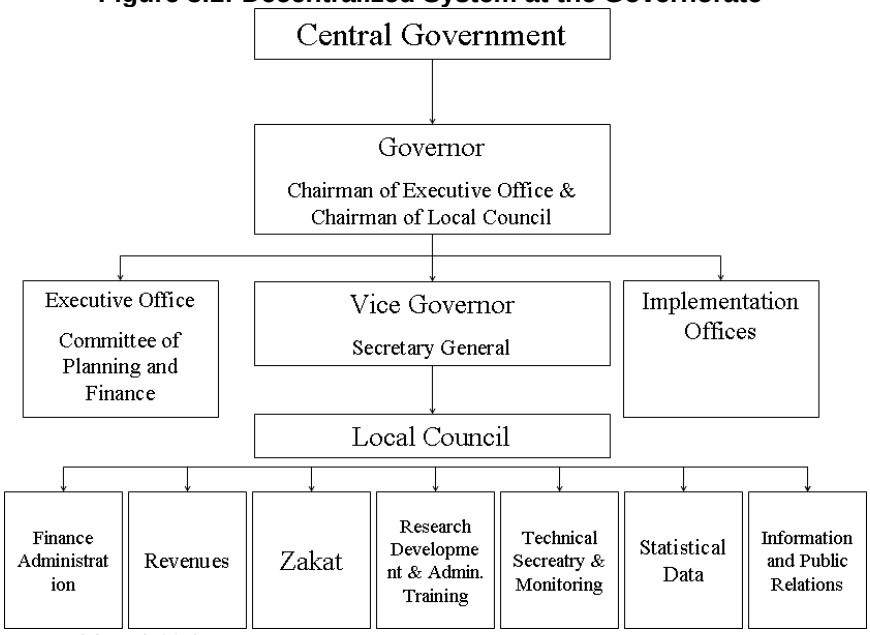
Chapter 3: Application of Whole School Development Approach in Yemen

Based on discussions in the previous chapter, this chapter analyzes the current situation of educational decentralization and introduces whole school development activities currently being implemented in Yemen.

3.1 Decentralized System in Yemen

First of all, this section reviews the country's structure under decentralization. The Ministry of Local Administration is the responsible body for decentralization in Yemen. Political administration is divided into three levels, which are the central government, governorate and district. Though sub-districts exist under each district, they do not have any administrative structure. Chart 3.1 and 3.2 show the structures at the governorate and district levels. The Governor, who is appointed by a Republican Decree and has the rank of a minister, is the head of the governorate level. He is responsible for supervising over the implementation of laws and the general policy of the state in all spheres. The Vice Governor plays a role as the Secretary General and is Vice Chairman of the governorate local council and supervises over public affairs or the management of activities of the governorate. The Local Council at the governorate is not an elected body, but consists of two representatives appointed from each district council, which is selected by election. The local council has seven management bodies, prepares the overall plans and annual budgets of the governorates, implements services, develop projects within their scope at the governorate level, and supervises implementation of public policies, such as those in education public health, social development and social welfare[9].

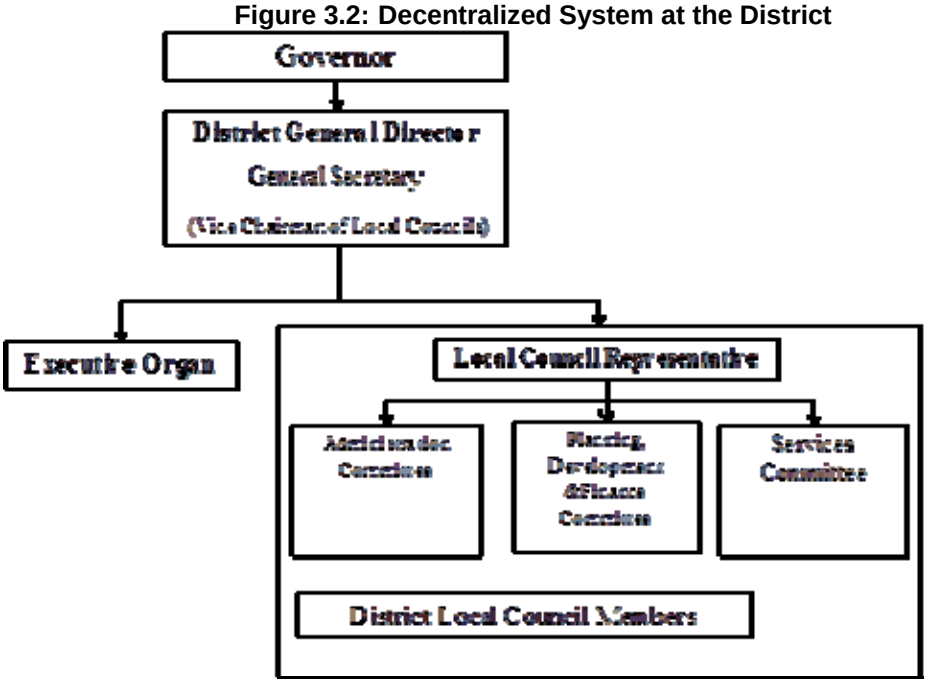
Figure 3.1: Decentralized System at the Governorate



Source: USAID (2004)

[9] Republican Decree No. 269 of 2000 Concerning the Executive Regulation of the Local Authority law, Ministry of Legal Affairs (September 2000) describes the detailed responsibilities and duties.

Figure 3.2: Decentralized System at the District



Source: USAID (2004)

Figure 3.2 describes the decentralized structure at the district level. It is headed by the District General Director and is comprised of the executive organ, representing ministry branches and technical offices, and the local council, which is popularly elected every six years. The size of the local council for each district depends on its population. The fundamental responsibility of the district local council is to represent the needs, demands and interests of their local populace (USAID, 2004).

3.1.1 Framework and Progress of Educational Decentralization in Yemen

The process of educational decentralization is carried out according to the framework of BEDS, which has two strategic objectives of reform and development of basic education programs, and the development and modernization of strategic performance of basic education. Among the eight axes[10] that represent the areas of improving the education process, one axis is the decentralization of education. In the decentralization of education axis, the Ministry of Education aims at achieving the following three programs:

1. Restructuring the MOE to improve the management of institutional buildings and their offices in the governorate and districts. This includes articulating the roles and responsibilities of the MOE as an executive and supervisory leader in educational services and establishing a comprehensive education information system that links the MOE to its offices in the governorates, districts, and schools.
2. Establishing the legal organizational and administrative structures to incorporate the Local Authority Law and its Executive Regulations. This aims at devolving administrative and financial authorities to the governorate and district levels.

[10] The remaining seven axes are: teacher and guidance axis, curriculum and evaluation axis, school administration axis, education funding axis, girl's education axis, school building axis, and community participation axis.

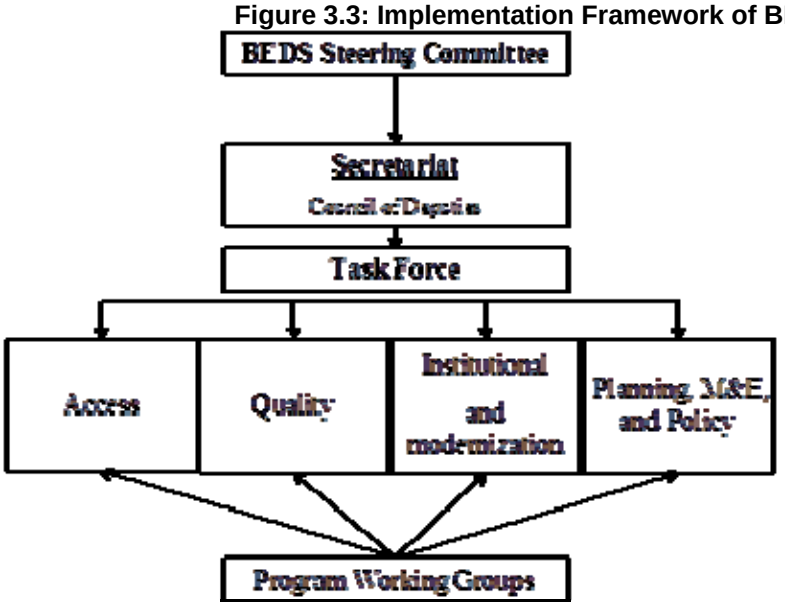
3. Strengthening the institutional and technical structure of the governorate and district offices by providing training in management and administrative work.

In Yemen, which became a unified country in 1990, it could be said that the grip of the central government is relatively weaker than other governments that have enjoyed decades of centralization. Thus, since the enactment of the Law of 2000, decentralization has advanced in terms of establishing structures at each level of government. Local elections were successfully implemented to elect its members both in 2001 and 2006. Each governorate and district has the Governorate Education Office (GEO) and the District Education Office (DEO). However, regarding the details of implementation, there are gaps, contradictions and a lack of details in the legal and institutional frameworks. Yemen seeks for devolution of educational services by transferring authority over financial, administrative, or pedagogical matters to the sub-national levels, which is the most advanced level of decentralization according to the typologies discussed in Chapter 2. Thus, the gap between the reality and the goal is large. In this sub-section, the study examines the current development of educational decentralization from the central point of view.

Decentralization of educational services is discussed under the institutional and modernization task force under BEDS (see Figure 3.3). The objective of the task force is to ensure that the organizational and structural changes (decentralization) required for a coordinated and effective implementation of National BEDS by all partners. The uniqueness of the task force is in its members. Since it requires inter-ministerial coordination, it was originally composed of five different ministerial representatives from the Ministry of Education (MOE), Ministry of Civil Services (MOCS), Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation (MOPIC), Ministry of Finance (MOF), and the Ministry of Local Administration (MOLA)[11]. MOCS is responsible for the personnel management in the public sector. MOPIC is a coordinator of donors and government national plans. MOF is in charge of finance, then MOLA is a main organ to promote decentralization from the central to local government levels. The task force works on strategies to align education with national strategies and policies. It also enhances the skills and sets up the organizational and institutional structures needed to ensure effective government leadership in sector level planning, budgeting and financing, implementation coordination, technical capacity at sector level, effective policy management and an effective and efficient organization and institutional structure (MTRF, 2006). Its key tasks are listed in Table 3.3.

[11] According to the interview of the MOE senior official, MOPIC, MOLA and MOF were deleted from the member due to lack of budget to pay their travel allowance. Current member is MOE, MOCS and GEO representative.

Figure 3.3: Implementation Framework of BEDS



Source: Ministry of Education (2006)

Table 3.1: Tasks of the Institutional and Modernization Task Force under BEDS

Task 1	Defining institutional and organization structures to implement key functions needed to implement BEDS such as planning function, coordinated implementation, technical capacity of sectors, effective monitoring.
Task 2	Defining process for integration with national policies and strategies
Task 3	Defining standards for key functions and the strategy to establish the organization structures and skills to achieve them
Task 4	Implementation coordination and progress reports
Task 5	Coordinating implementation of programs
Task 6	Monitoring prioress

Source: Ministry of Education (2006)

In 2007, the task force on institutions and modernization is expected to produce its report which covers the terms of reference for each position at the educational offices at each government level. Since education is the largest social service in the country, educational decentralization is paid attention to as the key to success of the country's decentralization process. However, the Mid-Term Results Framework (MTRF) report (2006) points out that a key challenge is to establish an inter-ministerial and inter-donor planning framework to deliver the programs. The situation is complicated where Districts and Governorates have autonomy on their own allocation of resources under the decentralized system.

A draft report of the MOE on capacity building (2006) defines the role of the MOE as follows:

- Setting policies, standards and indicators;
- Monitoring performance, quality and differences in service levels; and
- Carrying out some national services, including preparation of teachers, and the development of curriculums.

From the above, it is clear that the MOE keeps its role as a policy maker and is responsible for monitoring and evaluation. However, it is not clear what kinds of

educational services the MOE still keeps its control of. The report also points out some issues in the current situation, including:

- Appointments of senior governorate and district education staff continue to be made by the Ministry, which creates dual loyalty
- Planning is decentralized but without clear resource allocated for these plans to be carried out.
- Training is still centralized, resulting in an inappropriate timing of activities and poor selection of trainees. Training and capacity building is not budgeted at the local council level.
- Decentralization is not applied to the Adult Literacy Organization.
- Salaries and some investment spending are decentralized but operational costs are not yet transferred to local councils.

In particular, with the lack of operational funds and a capacity building budget it is hard for local education officials to share the ideas of BEDS with local people and local leadership.

3.2 Whole School Development in Yemen

In Yemen, the concept of whole school development has recently been introduced by DfID (British Department for International Development) and the World Bank under their Basic Education Development Project (BEDP) (World Bank, 2004b). BEDP aims to support the Government of Yemen's education initiatives and strategy proposed in the Basic Education Development Strategy (BEDS), such as to establish a sustainable framework for good quality universal education by 2015 through policy and institutional reforms targeting to expand access to basic education in a sustainable manner.

In the BEDP, whole school development is regarded as one type of support program to strengthen the capacities of education officials at the governorate and district levels, and to extend community participation in schools. Efforts of capacity building at local governments and community participation in schools from the previous project by the World Bank, GTZ and UNICEF have been successful.

Having donor's support, the Government of Yemen has established an institutional framework of community participation in schools and its supporting system by the district education offices. For example, the Ministry of Education has established an organizational structure and functions, which aims at devolving responsibilities, to the Governorate and District levels. One example is the establishment of the Community Participation Unit (CPU) at each Ministry, Governorate and District level. The Ministry of Education also issued Ministerial Decree No. 103 in 2002 to set up regulations for establishing fathers' and mothers' councils at schools[12]. Social workers have key roles to actively communicate with people and school to consolidate these two into school activities. Based on the decree, the community's participation in school construction and maintaining school building is already being realized.

GTZ and UNICEF have developed a series of training manuals on school based management and community participation. The training program is 20 days and divided into two parts. Part I focuses on understanding concepts of school management, preparing a school plan, financial reports and learning about problem solving. Part II

[12] According to the interview with the MOE senior officer, currently MOE is reviewing and revising the decree No. 103 to integrate the fathers' and mothers' councils into one 'fathers' and mothers' council'.

aims at handling specific issues, such as girls' education, community participation, school maintenance, and learning and teaching environment. The MOE now provides trainings based on these manuals to governorate education officers in the country. Based on these successful experiences in community participation and the introduction of school based management, the following project, BEDP plans to strengthen the capacity of the local government and community by introducing the whole school development process and provision of a small capitation grant for quality focused school plans. BEDP aims at applying the whole school development approach to 60 schools in two governorates in 2007 and 600 schools in 10 governorates by May 2010. USAID also started to support whole school development in 2006 by improving the school environment, teacher trainings and initiating community participation in school activities at 77 schools in 3 governorates. Furthermore, UNICEF has just announced to launch a Child Friendly School Approach to make their schools child-friendly by improving the situation in five areas through participatory processes in which school management, teachers, children and parents are involved. The approach will be implemented from September 2007 at 10 schools each in the five governorates of Dhale, Hodeidah, Ibb, Lahaj, and Taiz. This is aiming at improving schools through giving them decision making power and space to change, through cash grants, institutional, and community support and capacity building.

Ahead of other donors' implementation of a whole school development program, JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) first started the BRIDGE project in Taiz Governorate in June 2005, aiming at increasing girls' attendance at basic schools. The BRIDGE project takes a whole school development approach, even though it is named as a girls' education project. The Project's activities emphasize strengthening the capacity of schools and local education governments through the provision of school grants in order to improve schools through implementing pilot activities. To support active community participation in schools, especially parents' participation, the Project implements awareness-raising activities to foster mothers' and fathers' initiatives.

In April 2006, the Mid Term Results Framework (MTRF) 2006-2010 included a program of the whole school development under the access target, which is school level management and community participation program. Although the program did not use the word of the whole school development, it contains the provision of school grants and community participation to achieve the enrollment target of the framework (MOE, 2006).

3.2.1 Selection Criteria of Districts and Schools

In the JICA-BRIDGE Project, the target area is in 6 districts (Maawiyah, Same, Maqbanah, Al Makha, Al Waziiyah and Dubab) in Taiz Governorate. The government of Yemen and JICA selected these target districts as the ones where the educational disparity of boys and girls is particularly wide. The following 4 criteria were used for the target area selection:

1. Districts that have a large disparity in their Boy-Girl student ratios in Grades 1-9;
2. Districts that the drop-out rate for girl students is high;
3. Districts that the number of girl students per female teacher is high; and
4. The firm intention of the districts to participate in the project.

In order that the various geographical conditions of the country are reflected, two districts were selected from coastal areas (Dhubab and Al Makha), two from mountain areas (Same and Maawiyah), and the remaining two (Maqbanah and Al Waziiyah) were from the middle. Within these 6 target districts, the project team then selected pilot sub-districts based on access to the schools for monitoring and the total number of schools. Once sub-districts were selected, all the basic schools in the sub-districts were selected as pilot schools. In Year 1, 56 schools were selected as pilot schools and in Year 2, one school in Same and two schools in Maqbanah were added which increased the total to 59 schools. Table 3.2 below lists all the pilot schools.

Table 3.2: List of the 59 Pilot Schools

S.N	No	District	Sub-District	School Name	S.N	No	District	Sub-District	School Name
1	1	Same	Sarabeiat	Al-Nagda	35	1	Al-Makha	Al-Gomah	Al-Esha'a
2	2			Al-Eman	36	2			Al-Shahead Al-Zubairi
3	3			Al-Forqan	37	3			Asem Bin Thabit
4	4			Saba Yolyo	38	4			Gabir Bin Abdullah
5	5			Al-Sa'eed	39	5			Al-Ershad
6	6			Al-Qods	40	6			Sae'ed Bin Gobair
7	1	Maawiyah	Kamahera	Al-Shahead Al-Bahr	41	7			Saba Yolyo
8	2			Osaid Bin Hodair	42	8			Al-Nasr
9	3			Mo'ath Bin Gabal	43	9			Al-Fath
10	4			Al-Hamza	44	10			Al-Wahda
11	5		Akharak	Al-Farooq	45	11			Al-Hamza
12	6			Al-Tawhead	46	12			Al-Farag
13	7		Al-Awman	Baha Al-Dean	47	1	Dhubab	Bany Al-Hakam	Al-Sha'ab
14	8			Omar Al-Mokhtar	48	2			Bab Al-Mandab
15	9			Al-Shahead Al-Thoulaih	49	3			Al-Amal
16	1	Maqbanah	Al-Akhooz	Al-Shahead Alokia	50	4			Sa'ad Bin Obada
17	2			Al-Tawhead	51	5			Al-Sahwa
18	3			Al-Magd	52	6			Al-Fath
19	4			Abdullah Bin Rawaha	53	7			Al-Dawsh
20	5			Al-Gabiri	54	8			Ka'ab Bin Malik
21	6		Al-Habaiba	Al-Wahda / Al-Masna	55	9			Gazerat Mayoon
22	7			Al-Salah	56	10			Amr Bin Abdulaziz
23	8			Al-Esha'a	57	11			Al-Tomoh
24	9			Al-Thawra	58	12			Al-Wahdah
25	10			Al-Hayah	59	13			Al-Yaqadah
26	1	Al-Waziiyah	Al-Daraifa	Al-Zahra					
27	2			Al-Methaq					
28	3			Al-Fakead Ahmed Saif					
29	4			Al-Fawz					
30	5			Al-Nagah					
31	6			Al-Farooq					
32	7			Gail Bani Ali					
33	8			Al-Wahda					
34	9			Al-Shahead Ali Saif					

Source: JICA (2006b)

3.2.2 Diversified Environment by District

The conditions among the 6 districts are varied. It is worth while discussing about the diversity here. Same District is newly established; in 2001 it split off from Al Mawaset District. The district is surrounded by a series of mountains which are 2620 m above sea level, with a 98 km^2 area, and with about a population of 50,000. A high population density is one of its key features. It is located 40 km away from Taiz city, but access to the schools is very difficult due to their location at the top of mountains. Seventy-four percent of the population work in agriculture (coffee and fruits), and they are also

famous for carpentry. Women are relatively active but kept busy with water collection. Maawiyah District, which is 50 km away, is easiest to access Taiz City among the 6 pilot districts. The district has 770 km^2 area with about a population of 143,000. Most of the population is in agriculture and they are famous for qat production. The water situation has been worsening since the 1980s because all the water is used for qat production; making women busy with water collection and raising animals. Teachers commute from the city to schools near main roads due to the close location to the city. However, in the district, schools are scattered and out of contact with each other. Maqbanah District is the largest district in Taiz Governorate with 1168 $km^{2\ of}$ land. It is located 18 km away from Taiz City and is 2000 meter above sea level. Out of the population of 193,487, 80 percent are settled down and 20 percent are moving around because they are Bedouins. Most of the people are working in agriculture and grazing live stock, but they are poor and have suffered from a drought in 2005. There is a strong tradition to segregate women from men. Al Waziiyah District is located at 1,000 to 1,500 meter high above sea level with diversified landscapes, such as plains, mountains, and valleys with an area of 550 km^2 and a population of about 26,600. It is 68 km far from Taiz city and located in the south west of Taiz Governorate, and was formerly bordering South Yemen. The district's people keep a very strong traditional culture, such as strong tribal relationships in their isolated society. Women's participation outside of family matters is strictly limited. They are busy gathering wood, collecting water and washing in the field. People live on agriculture and herding. Seven pilot schools out of the 9 receive WFP assistance, thus there is a high ratio of girls' students to boys' students. Al Makha is a coastal district along the Red Sea and its central town, Al Makha, is 150 km away from Taiz city. Sixty-two thousand people are living scattered over 1,750 km^2 of land. The central town had a famous port that exported coffee to Europe in the past. Pilot schools are located in Al Goma sub-district, which is isolated inland and the poorest area in the district. Dhubab District faces the Red Sea and Arab sea with an area of 7000 km^2 and a scattered population of about 20,000. It is 155 km away from Taiz city. Seventy percent of the population who lives in the coastal area work in fishery for three months out of the year, the rest lives inland, and those who are Bedouins survive by herding a few number of goats and collecting wood to sell. The area is very poor and hot. The Coast guards are stationed here and support schools near their areas. Women are not busy for water collection and normally stay at home. The women here are very assertive even in front of the men. The World Food Program supports 8 schools in the district.

3.2.3 Implementation Mechanism

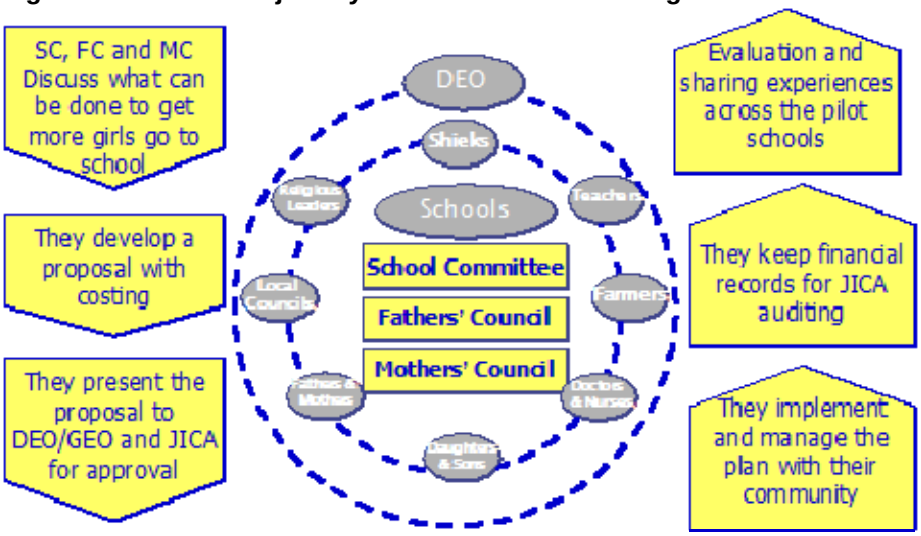
In the Project, the School Committee helps to include both school and community's participation in planning, implementing and evaluating the school's pilot activities (See Figure 3.4 for the project cycle). The School Committee is composed of 20 members, which includes a head teacher, teachers, representatives of fathers and mothers councils, community leaders, such as a sheikhs and preachers. Each school was encouraged to form their School Committee to represent diversified members from the community. This diversified approach was also taken for organizing the fathers' and mothers' councils.

The chairperson of the School Committee plays a central role at the school to develop a contract with JICA regarding the school's pilot activities, to supervise the whole implementation process of the pilot activities, including accountability of the

funding. In most of the pilot schools, the chairpersons are the head teachers of schools. There are some exceptions made, in cases where there are inexperienced and weak head teachers, community leaders (called Shiekhs in Yemen) become the chairperson.

Each school committee has a treasurer and auditor in addition to a chairperson. These three members; chairperson, treasure and auditor, are key players in the school committee and are provided with training twice every year by the DEOs on how to prepare proposals (2 days) and financial reports (1 day) on their school pilot activities. Based on the schools' proposal, the school grant, which can amount up to 500,000 YER[13], is provided to each school. The Project does not impose, but encourages the school to add local contributions. Each school committee opens a bank account to receive and manage the school grant. Only two people can have access to the account, which are the chairperson and treasurer of the school committee. Each school committee is requested to keep financial records of all the expenses and submit financial reports with all the receipts and bank account records attached at the end of each project year.

Figure 3.4: Project Cycle and School Level Organization



Source: JICA (2006)

3.2.4 Supporting Mechanism

In the Project, the Governorate Education Office (GEO) and District Education Office (DEO) were originally regarded to be responsible for supporting schools. However, there's not clear division of responsibilities between the GEO and DEO. Therefore, after the first year of the project cycle, the Project team defined the different roles and responsibilities of each office based on the reality. Since the DEOs are supposed to know the best about their schools and community, their role is defined as supporting schools based on the schools' different needs. Before the Project, not all the DEOs had ever visited all the pilot schools. After a year's experience with the Project, the DEO could identify the levels of the head teachers' management capacity and the schools' collaboration with the community. For weak schools, special support is extended to the head teachers by DEOs, in addition to the implementation of pilot schools because prior

[13] Exchange rate as of November 25, 2006: 1USD=197YER

to the implementation, the weak schools tended to have a conflict with a part of the community or teachers. Therefore, at times the DEOs need to play the role of a mediator to solve their problems. The DEOs also support schools as a mentor to enable the schools to implement their own pilot activities by themselves. There is a difference between support and control of the DEOs. The Project emphasizes that the DEOs' role is not to control and/ overwhelm schools. The following are the roles and responsibilities of the DEOs in Year 2:

1. Attend monthly and individual meetings with the JICA Team;
2. Understand the following aspects of their district's school situation:
    - Enrollment of boys and girls and drop-outs by analyzing school statistics;
    - Ability of school management;
    - Level of community participation;
    - Quality of teaching;
    - Condition of school environment;
3. Assign a grade to each school based on the project criteria for judging schools as either excellent, satisfactory or weak;
4. Agree with the JICA team on what support each school requires based on the grading and information about the school;
5. Plan a program of school visits depending on the needs of the school. A weak school will require more school visits than an excellent school. A workshop regarding this topic will be part of the next DEO meeting;
6. Carry out training for schools to disseminate JICA policy;
7. Visit schools to help pilot schools to prepare proposals and reports;
8. Monitor schools implementing pilot activities and ensure the accountability of the school activities (use of funding with realistic prices and professional arrangement);
9. Attend SC meetings and providing inputs when necessary;
10. Disseminate good practices to other schools;
11. Support JICA team to carry out awareness activities in the districts; and
12. Take steps to include mothers' council (MC) representative to be involved in decision making.

The GEO's roles and responsibilities are also defined. Their main role during school visits is to monitor accountability of the use of the school grant and to check the progress of implementation of pilot activities. In addition to supporting schools, the GEO is to share the pilot districts' experiences among other districts in the Taiz Governorate. Also, the GEO are responsible for implementing awareness raising activities in the Taiz Governorate. Based on the division, each roles and responsibilities were divided as seen in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Roles and Responsibilities of GEOs and DEOs in Year 2

JICA/GEO	**DEOs**
July 2006 Observe DEO's trainings to schools.	July 2006 Give trainings to schools on how to prepare proposals.
August 2006 Visit all the pilot schools for approving their proposals September 2006 Sign the contract with school committee chairperson. October- January 2007 ■ Visit all the pilot school at least once in the 4 months to check the progress of implementation and financial records. ■ Motivate women with new ideas of women's participation and develop a supporting program for mothers' activities by visiting their activity sites.	August 2006 Visits all the pilot schools once and visit weaker schools more than once to support them to finalize their proposals. September 2006 Organize a signing ceremony for school and GEO-JICA. October- January 2007 ■ Visit all the pilot schools once in a month and visits weak schools 2 times in a month to identify success and issues for schools to implement their pilot activities. ■ Support head teachers at weak schools to improve his management and leadership skills in school improvement. ■ Talk with head teachers, SC chairperson and women to support mothers' activities and implement supporting program for mothers' activities.
February 2007 Visit some schools needed any follow ups to complete school financial reports.	February 2007 Visit all the schools to support schools to finalize their financial reports.

Source: JICA (2006d)

As pointed out in the previous chapter and section, it is very important to have a supporting system for schools to achieve a successful whole school development. Since the idea of school-based management is totally new to both schools and communities and local education officers either at the district and governorate level, the Project needs to support the capacity building of all the players through the implementation of the Project.

3.2.5 Implemented Activities

As of December 2006, the Project funded school pilot activities twice for the 1st and 2nd year. Currently, the 2nd year pilot activities are under implementation. Based on information for these two years' activities, some features could be drawn from Table 3.4:

Table 3.4: Comparison of School Pilot Activities Between Year 1 and Year 2

Activity	Year 1	Year 2
Building & maintaining school	38%	19%
Hiring teachers	36%	53%
Buying school materials	17%	7%
Organizing extracurricular events	2%	4%
Mothers' activities	3%	14%
Others	4%	3%

Source: JICA (2006a and 2006b) (percent funding allocated)

- Although building and maintenance of school infrastructure was the largest portion of funding in Year 1, it was decreased by almost half the percentage in Year 2. In Year 1, 82 classrooms were newly built or rehabilitated under the Project. This indicates that the urgent needs of classrooms were met. However, as indicated in the previous section, many schools still have many outside classrooms suggesting that the supply of classrooms could not be met with the growing number of students. Among 56 schools, only 37.5 percent of schools could offer classes for grades 1 to grade 9. The Project's presence has helped schools to offer complete classes from grade 1 to grade 9, which requires additional classrooms.
- Hiring teachers is increasing. 145 teachers were hired under the Project in Year 1 and 165 teachers in Year 2. While the total number of contract teachers increased from 145 (Female 65, Male 80) to 165 (F63, M102), the number of female teachers decreased despite the Project's efforts to increase the number. This fact shows the difficulty in finding and contracting female teachers. The project encouraged to hire female teachers when available because lack of female teachers is believed as one of constraints for parents to hinder daughters from sending the school. On the other hand, the community's willingness to hire local teachers for their daughters regardless of gender was revealed.
- Organizing extracurricular activities, such as school trips, and awarding excellent schools also increased. Since these activities do not cost much, the increase from last year in terms of funding was only 2 percent. However, by number of activities, these increased from 10 percent to 20 percent. In the 2nd year, more schools started to organize these types of events
- Mothers' activities also increased mainly because including mothers' activities became a requirement for all schools. The most popular events were holding literacy class and sewing class at school. These activities helped mothers to start to come to school, which is quite new to mothers in rural areas in Yemen.

From the Project experiences, it could be found that there are misconceptions about girls' education. The baseline survey shows that the largest obstacles for girls' education are the absence of female teachers, lack of independent classes and toilet facilities for girls. However, even though the school could not find female teachers, if the school had male teachers from the local community, it helped convince parents to send their daughters to school. Communities have also agreed on using limited classrooms, not to separate girls' students from boys, but to open an upper grade class. The project also found that even though the school could build toilette facilities, it was not easy for girls, especially older girls to use the toilette in front of the boys.

3.3 Conclusion

As discussed, in Yemen, educational decentralization is in progress. At the same time, the Government of Yemen has started to support whole school development with donors, such as GTZ, UNICEF, USAID, JICA and the World Bank. Among the different types of support, the World Bank's BEDP, UNICEF's Child Friendly School, and JICA's BRIDGE Project have a similar approach to provide grants directly to schools to improve school-level planning by strengthening the capacity of schools, communities and local educational officers. JICA has already been implementing the BRIDGE Project for two years as of the end of May 2007. The success of the BRIDGE Project has received attention from the MOE and other donors. Even though the BRIDGE Project started as a bottom-up approach from the schools and communities in Taiz Governorate, it is now about to be scaled up in other governorates. From these trends in the basic education sector of the country, it seems that the Government of Yemen has been taking a double track approach of educational decentralization by developing institutional and policy arrangements of educational decentralization from the central level as well as by encouraging local levels, such as local educational authorities, schools and communities to strengthen their capacities through implementation of whole school development activities.

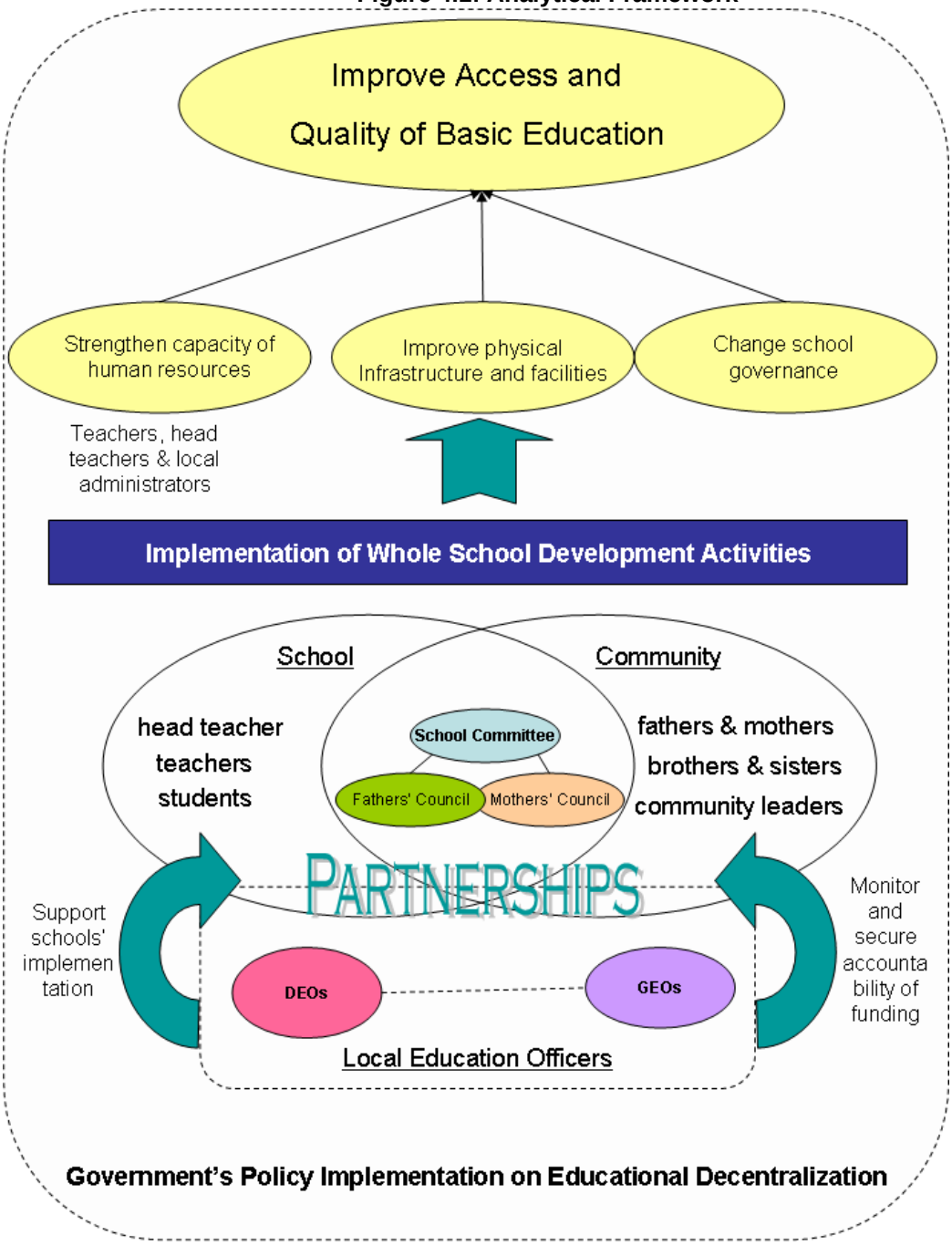
Chapter 4: Research Methods

As discussed in Chapter 1, there are three objectives of this study: they are i) to identify elements of the WSD activities that should be localized in the context of rural basic schools in Yemen; ii) to assess the impact of the WSD activities to improve access and quality of education in rural basic schools in Yemen; and iii) to provide a set of recommendations for the MOE. The first objective was partly discussed in Chapter 3, and the same frame of mind is kept in setting up the analytical framework in this chapter and analyzing the results in Chapter 5. This chapter mainly presents an analytical framework of the second objective, which is to assess the impact of the WSD activities in rural basic schools in Yemen. The assessing the impacts also contribute to identify elements of the WSD activities in Yemen. The third objective will be mainly discussed in Chapter 6 based on discussion and conclusions of the study.

4.1 Analytical Framework

As shown in Figure 4.1, in the analytical framework, implementation of the WSD activities is regarded as a part of educational decentralization in Yemen. It is aimed at giving autonomy to each school through the provision of school grants. At each school, a school committee is formed as the main decision-making body of planning, implementing and monitoring and evaluating the WSD activities. As discussed in Chapter 3, the school committee is formed with mixed members from the school and community. The local education officers play important roles, and the GEO is mainly responsible for monitoring and securing accountability of the school grants, which are expected from the Governorate level. On the contrary, the DEOs are responsible for supporting schools and head teachers in improving access and quality of education at each school. Through the implementation of the WSD activities, it is expected that partnerships will be formed among the schools, communities and local education officers by building trustful relationships and working together to solve issues during the implementation of the project.

Figure 4.1: Analytical Framework



Source: Created by the Author

The goal of the Yemeni WSD activities is to set up a mechanism to improve the access and quality of basic education in rural areas. Since school environments lag far behind in rural areas of the country, the quality of education could not be achieved without improving access to basic education. At the same time, improving access to basic education is not enough to realize sustainable access without improving the quality of basic education. This is one distinction of the Yemeni WSD approach. Although improving student achievement as an indicator to measure quality of education is recognized, research literatures have not proved yet direct relationships

between decentralization and increased student achievement, between school-based management and students' achievement, and between community partnerships and students' achievement [Brown（1994, Malen, Ogawa and Kranz (1990), Winkler and Gershberg, (2000) and Bray (2000).]. Actually, it is difficult to measure these impacts of interventions quantitatively using indicators, such as level and distribution of learning and years of schooling attained by school children because these data are not available. In addition, these school outcomes usually change slowly in response to any kind of educational intervention, including decentralization. Therefore, this study assesses the impact of WSD activities by focusing on the process of changes that happens in schools and among major stakeholders, such as the DEOs, people in schools and communities by implementing the WSD activities.

This study analyzes input variables that according to UNESCO's framework on quality of education enable the realization of access and quality of basic education (UNESCO, 2005a). In this study, these input variables include changing school governance, improving physical infrastructure and facilities, strengthening the capacity of human resources, including teachers, head teachers and district education officers (DEOs).

The following are questions presented from the analytical framework shown above.

1. To what extent do the WSD activities contribute to improving school infrastructures and facilities?
2. To what extent do the WSD activities contribute to increasing number of students' enrollment?
3. To what extent do the WSD activities contribute to improving gender disparity in students' enrollment?
4. How much do the WSD activities contribute to improving the quality of teaching?
5. How much leadership could the head teacher play to implement the WSD activities at each school? What kinds of qualification and experiences does the head teacher have?
6. What kinds of support do the DEOs provide schools and head teachers to improve access and quality of education at each school?
7. To what degree of community partnerships are realized by implementing the WSD activities at schools? How do the community partnerships improve the accountability of school decision making?

4.2 Hypotheses

This study examines the following four hypotheses based on the analytical framework to assess the impacts of whole school development activities implemented in Taiz Governorate.

Hypothesis (1)

The WSD activities in Yemen could contribute to improving access and equity of basic education at rural basic schools.

Other countries' experiences, such as in Ghana and El Salvador, indicate that providing school grants directly to schools to support WSD, increased students' enrollment and improved school infrastructure. Ghana achieved a substantial increase in enrollment numbers in primary education since the government introduced the capitation grant scheme in 2004. GER increased 9.4 percent from 83.3 percent in 2004 to 92.7 percent

in 2005[14]. El Salvador's experience confirms that one of the major achievements of WSD has been its contribution to expanding educational supply to rural areas (Cuellar-Marchelli, 2003). Since the launch of the EDUCO, or Education with Community program in 1991, the number of classrooms and teacher working under the supervision of parents' association increased. Between 1991-1998 enrollments in EDUCO schools grew from 8,416 to 206,226 students, which represent about 25 percent of total public enrollment and 40 percent of rural enrollment from preschool to basic education. At the same time, EDUCO's experience shows that the increase of enrollment remained modest because socio-economic conditions of the rural populations, such as poverty, hindered a further increase in enrollment. Based on these empirical facts found in other countries, this study sets the first hypothesis as the WSD activities in Yemen could improve access to basic education by improving the school environment and improving enrollment numbers. In addition, it could improve the gender balance in enrollment.

To examine this hypothesis, the study compares the students' enrollment first between pilot schools and control schools among the 2004/2005 school year (Year 0), 2005/2006 (Year 1), and 2006/2007 (Year 2) by combining the baseline survey in 2004 and school statistics for 2005 and 2006, and then by analyzing enrollment by each pilot district. This study examines the changes in enrollment between male and female students. Furthermore, this study conducts a detailed analysis on the eighteen World Food Program (WFP) recipient schools, where only girls' students received food support in the BRIDGE pilot schools, to find whether any significant changes occurred in these WFP schools. After understanding changes in enrollment, the study then analyzes the school environments before the BRIDGE Project (2004) began and after the BRIDGE Project began (2005 and 2006) by the number of classrooms, bathrooms, and classes offered by grade, and teachers. Furthermore, the study selected outstanding schools in terms of the increase in the number of girls from Year 1 to Year 2 to analyze the reasons behind the significant increase.

Hypothesis (2)

Providing school grants to schools is not enough for schools to make efforts to improve the quality of education, especially in rural areas due to the lack of experiences of head teachers and a shortage of teachers.

A consensus is found in the literature that effective leadership especially that of head teachers is a key factor in school improvement. For example, a 'transformational' leadership that emphasizes the role of a leader in setting a vision for a school typically focuses around improving teaching and learning, and effectively inspiring and stimulating other stakeholders of schools to commit to the pursuit of this vision (Leithwood, et al, 1996). However, research on this is developed mostly in developed countries and there is little research on the roles of head teachers in developing countries. Furthermore, there is a growing concern about the degree to which concepts and especially prescriptions can be easily translated from one culture to another (Dimmock & Walker, 1998). It has been argued that "school-based management has made life harder for school principals by increasing their administrative and managerial workload to the detriment of their role as pedagogical leaders" (De Grauwe, 2005,

[14] Ghana Ministry of Education, Science and Sports: http://www.edughana.net/ges.htm access on April 25, 2007.

p.276). Therefore, when observing the roles of head teachers in developing countries, it is important to understand that head teachers in rural areas of developing countries have limited professional training, and that head teachers have little authority given to them until recently to improve their own schools under existing bureaucratic and hierarchical structures which may encourage autocratic management styles, and aversion to risk (Simkins, et al, 2003).

Considering these reservations, this study sets up a hypothesis that providing grants to schools is not enough to make schools pay attention to improve the quality of education, especially in rural areas because of the lack of experience of head teachers and the general shortage of teachers. To test the hypothesis, first of all, the study analyzes pilot activities financed under the WSD activities in Taiz and identifies the activities that contributed to improving the quality of education. Since hiring contract teachers is the major activity among schools, the study analyzes profiles of contract teachers to identify whether they are capable of providing quality teaching. Furthermore, the study examines the profiles of head teachers and assesses their current management capacities to improve schools. Then, drawing from case studies of weak head teachers, the study analyzes the reality that head teachers face in these areas.

Hypothesis (3)

The whole school development activities in Yemen could contribute to strengthening the capacity of district education officers (DEOs) if appropriate opportunities of capacity development and financial support are given.

Based on analyses of Asian countries' educational decentralization experiences, Chapman (1998) argues a point that organizationally, provincial, regional and district education bureaucracies tend to duplicate the structure of the central ministry. The main responsibilities of the intermediate levels of ministry management are to: (1) convey policy and program information from the central ministry to the schools; (2) convey data (student enrollment) and other information (book orders) from the schools to the central ministry; (3) ensure that schools are abiding by government policies; and (4) occasionally, provide instructional leadership and supervision. The bottleneck of effective intermediate level administration is that provincial, regional, and district officers often lack the authority to do their job effectively or the resources necessary to do their job at all. Because of the insufficient delegation of authority many mid-level administrators do not have authority to make decisions or to act on information available to them.

Considering the points raised by Chapman and previous chapters' discussion, the study draws a hypothesis that DEOs have the potential capacity to support schools if they are given opportunities for capacity development and financial support. In other words, what they have been lacking has been the authority to do their job effectively under a centralized system. To test this hypothesis, the study first analyzes the DEO's profiles, which are currently supporting the WSD activities in Taiz, to identify their educational backgrounds and experiences in education and management skills. Then, the study describes different management styles among each district. Secondly, based on the roles and responsibilities of the DEOs in Chapter 3, the study then draws a competency list of the DEOs in supporting the WSD activities and examines what kinds of skills are required for the DEOs to support schools.

Therkildsen (2000) analyzes the local decision making process on primary education in Tanzania through his observations of 15 districts between 1987 and 1993. He concluded that the decision making process on primary education matters at local district levels is influenced by central level elites, local bureaucrats, and local political and economic elites. The DEO is just one of them and not a very prominent actor in having influence over the decisions. With the heavy influence of politicians and local elites over education, both political values and political tactics influence the outcome. As a result, equity between areas (i.e. the constituencies of elected councilors) rather than equity between social state (i.e., poor/rich) or institutions (i.e. schools) are of major concern over decision making of district development plans and budget. Considering the points raised by Therkildsen, the study further analyzes the decision making at the district level in Yemen over basic education by drawing case studies to see how the decision making is influenced by local politicians and elites.

Hypothesis (4)

Strong leadership is indispensable for the school and community to collaborate in the decision-making of school management.

As discussed in Chapter 2, community partnerships in education have been emphasized under educational decentralization where the communities are given a role to secure accountability of the services given by schools. Analysis of the implementation mechanism of the whole school development initiative in Yemen shows that the community becomes a part of school decision making as a member of the school committee. There are some successful examples of community participation in schools, such as El Salvador, Cambodia, Argentina, and Nepal (World Bank, 2004d). Also, from experiences in Latin America (Di Gropello, 2006), community empowerment was confirmed through the implementation of school based management because the school councils could have decision making power that they did not have previously. It also argues that even without previous experience in managing schools, poor rural communities have certain skill-sets and motivation to manage their schools and that the reform was able to harness and develop the local capacity despite the lack of parental education, resources and management experience. On the other hand, El Salvador's case shows that existing social and economic structures have influence on the level of achievement. For example, in communities where parents are mostly fishermen and individual agricultural workers had lower achievement and management capacity than schools that had parents in agriculture cooperative associations and urban occupations, or small landowners (Lindo, 2000 in Cuellar-Marchelli, 2003). In addition, there is another argument that establishing a mechanism of community participation in education is not enough to foster genuine community participation. Without the provision of support, communities can not fulfill their devolved functions properly (Rose, 2003).

Taking these points into consideration, the study hypothesizes that leadership is needed to realize partnerships between the school and community in decision-making in addition to a mechanism of community participation. To examine this hypothesis, the study first evaluates degrees of community partnerships realized under the WSD activities in Yemen by using Shaffer's ladder for community participation. Then, the study assesses relationships between community participation and the head teachers'

leaderships and management capacities by using a set of criteria developed by the JICA-BRIDGE Project. These criteria tell which schools are good or weak in community participation in implementing school improvement activities. Based on the evaluation, the study identifies different patterns of community partnerships by using actual school examples.

4.3 JICA-BRIDGE Project as a Case Study

The study is based on field studies that were conducted for two years from June 2005 to May 2007 in Taiz Governorate in the Republic of Yemen. The study uses the JICA-BRIDGE Project as a case of the WSD activities in Yemen. Research and observations were conducted in Taiz, working directly with local education officers, such as the GEOs and DEOs. Having established a strong and trustworthy working relationship through the implementation of the BRIDGE Project, the author was better equipped to conduct the academic research. Through simultaneously conducting academic research and actually implementing the Project, the author was able to gain a conceptual and comprehensive yet practical perspective on the situation. The study pays careful attention to validating the accuracy and neutrality of the findings. For example, the study is designed to conduct both quantitative and qualitative analyses, which helps to provide objective information from the data. The quantitative analyses use both pilot school data and control school data, which also supports the neutrality of the results. Additionally, for the qualitative analyses, the study identifies schools for case studies based on the evaluations of pilot schools by the DEOs, which maintains the neutrality of selecting specific schools and describes the findings based on the reality. The study also covers negative information that runs counter to the themes to discuss contrary information. Other project experiences in the country are used to compare with the experiences in Taiz Governorate. These settings can help to increase the credibility of the study's results.

4.4 Data and Information Collection

The following are the major activities in the field study.

- **School Visits**: During the 13 month field survey period, the author visited 50 out of the 59 pilot schools at least once. School visits included site observations and interviews with the school head teachers, chairperson of School Committees, representatives of fathers and mothers councils. Table 4.1 shows the timing of these school visits.
- **Interviews with government officials**: Interviews were conducted with the Ministry of Education Officials, international donors, Government Education officers, and district officers. Table 4.2 shows the list of interviewees and the dates of the interviews.
- **Baseline survey data**: The baseline survey that was conducted in August 2005 in 56 pilot schools and 50 control schools within Taiz Governorate was used for the quantitative analyses. The baseline survey is composed of questionnaires and focus group interviews. In this study, questionnaires for head teachers and parents were mainly used to analyze their perception towards school management, community participation and girls' education. Head teacher surveys covered 52 head teachers at the pilot schools. Parents' surveys had 540 samples from 56 schools.

- **School related statistics and information**: In addition to the baseline survey data, in May 2006 and February 2007 school statistics were updated. The study uses 2004 school registration numbers from the baseline survey, and 2005 school registration numbers from February 2007 data. The study uses school environment statistics from the May 2006 data. Additionally, teacher information (such as numbers and profiles) as well as head teacher profiles are used in the study.

Table 4.1: List of School Visits

District	District	School Name	Month of Visit			
Same	Sarabeiat	Al-Nagda	Jan-06			
		Al-Eman	Aug-06			
		Al-Forqan	Mar-07			
		Saba Yolyo	Jan-06			
		Al-Sa'eed	Jan-06			
		Al-Qods	Mar-07	Aug-06		
Maawiyah	Kamahera	Al-Shahead Al-Bahr	Nov-05	Jan-06		
		Osaid Bin Hodair	Nov-05			
		Mo'ath Bin Gabal	Nov-05			
		Al-Hamza	Nov-05			
	Akharak	Al-Farooq	Nov-05			
		Al-Tawhead	Nov-05			
	Al-Awman	Baha Al-Dean	Nov-05	Aug-06		
		Omar Al-Mokhtar	Nov-05	Aug-06	Dec-06	
		Al-Shahead Al-Thoulaih	Nov-05	Aug-06		
	Al-Akhooz	Al-Shahead Alokia	Aug-06			
		Al-Tawhead	Apr-06			
		Al-Magd	Apr-06			
		Abdullah Bin Rawaha	Aug-06			
		Al-Gabiri	Aug-06			
		Al-Wahda / Al-Masna				
		Al-Salah	Nov-06			
		Al-Esha'a	Aug-06	Nov-06		
		Al-Thawra	Aug-06	Nov-08		
Maqbanah	Al-Habaiba	Al-Hayah	Nov-06			
Al-Waziiyah	Al-Daraifa	Al-Zahra	Dec-05	Dec-05		
		Al-Methaq	Dec-05	Dec-05		
		Al-Fakead Ahmed Saif	Nov-05	Dec-06		
		Al-Fawz	Dec-05	Dec-06	Aug-06	Jan-07
		Al-Nagah	Dec-05			
		Al-Farooq	Dec-05			
		Gail Bani Ali	Dec-05	Mar-07		
		Al-Wahda	Dec-05			
		Al-Shahead Ali Saif	Dec-05			
Al-Makha	Al-Gomah	Al-Esha'a	Jun-08			
		Al-Shahead Al-Zubairi				
		Asem Bin Thabit				
		Gabir Bin Abdullah	Dec-06			
		Al-Ershad	Dec-06			
		Sae'ed Bin Gobair				
		Saba Yolyo				
		Al-Nasr	Aug-06			
		Al-Fath	Aug-06			
		Al-Wahda				
		Al-Hamza	Aug-06			
		Al-Farag				
Dhubab	Bany Al-Hakam	Al-Sha'ab	Aug-06			
		Bab Al-Mandab	Aug-06			
		Al-Amal	Feb-06			
		Sa'ad Bin Obada	Dec-06			
		Al-Sahwa	Aug-06			
		Al-Fath	Aug-06			
		Al-Dawsh				
		Ka'ab Bin Malik				
		Gazerat Mayoon	Aug-06			
		Amr Bin Abdulaziz	Mar-07			
		Al-Tomoh	Mar-06			
		Al-Wahdah				
		Al-Yaqadah	Dec-06			

Source: Created by the Author

Table 4.2: List of Interviewees

Organization	Names and Positions	Month/Year
Ministry of Education Officers	Deputy Minister of General Education	Jun-05
	Director, Girls Education Department	Nov-05
	Director, Community Participation	Apr-06
	Deputy Minister of Girls Education	Nov-06
	Deputy Minister of General Education	Feb-07
	General Directorate of General Education	Feb-07
	General Directorate of Planning and Statistic	Feb-07
	General Directorate of Supervision	Feb-07
	General Directorate of Community Participation	Feb-07
	Aman Al- Ba'adani, General Directorate of Girls' Education	Feb-07
	Assistant General Directorate of General Education	Feb-07
	General Education Sector	Feb-07
	General Direcorate of Childhood Education	Feb-07
Donors	World Bank	Jan-07
	UNICEF	Nov-05
	GTZ	Nov-05
	Embassy of the Netherlands	Jan-07
	DfID	Sep-06
	Social Development Fund	Aug-05
	World Food Program	Feb-07
GEO in Taiz	Director General	Occasionally from June 2005 to March 20007
	Director, Girls Education Unit	
	Director, Community Participation Unit	
	Training	
	Statistics	
	General Education	
DEOs in Taiz	DEO-BRIDGE Team Maawiyah	Monthly
	DEO-BRIDGE Team Maqbanah	Monthly
	DEO-BRIDGE Team Same	Monthly
	DEO-BRIDGE Team Al Waziiyah	Monthly
	DEO-BRIDGE Team Al Makha	Monthly
	DEO-BRIDGE Team Dhubab	Monthly
	District managers in Dhubab and Same	Feb-07

Source: Created by the Author

Table 4.3: Components of Baseline Survey

Questionnaire Survey	Focus Group Interview
School Survey	Survey for Students
Survey for Principals	Survey for Teachers
Survey for Teachers	Survey for Fathers' and Mothers' Councils
Survey for Parents	Interview with a Community Chief

Source: JICA (2005b)

Table 4.4: Sample Size of Questionnaire Surveys

Types of Questionnaire	School	Sample per school	Total
School Survey	Pilot: 56 Control: 50	1	Pilot 56
			Control 50
Principal Survey		1	Pilot 56
			Control 50
Teachers Survey		5 teachers in total	Pilot 280
		both female and male	Control 250
Parents Survey		Father 5	Pilot 560
		Mother 5	Control 500
Total	106	32	

Source: JICA (2005b)

• **DEO's school evaluation**: The study examines school profiles that were compiled by the DEO Team in November 2006. Table 4.5 shows the criteria for school evaluation. This study uses these results as a basis for analyses.

Table 4.5: Criteria Used for DEO's School Evaluation

Criteria for "Community Participation"	
Q1	Community leaders recognize the importance of girls' education
Q2	Collaboration between community and headteacher
Q3	Community leaders' initiative to encourage women's participation
Q4	Women's participation in decision making
Criteria for "Headteacher Leadership and Management"	
Q1	Headteacher's community collaboration
Q2	Headteacher's professionalism
Q3	Headteacher's ability to solve problems
Q4	Headteacher's ability to organize and use new resources
Q5	Headteacher's working attitude
Q6	Headteacher's leadership
Q7	Headteacher's support for the quality of teaching
Q8	Headteacher as a communicator

Source: JICA (2006b)

• **DEO Survey:** DEO survey was conducted in October 2006 to identify profiles of 20 DEO BRIDGE team members and their work environment and annual schedules. The study analyzes the DEO survey.

Chapter 5: Results

Based on the analytical framework discussed in the previous chapter, Chapter 5 presents the results of examining the four hypotheses, such as impact to improving access and equity, quality of teaching, capacities of the district education officers, and to promoting community participation in school decision-making, in order to assess the validity of whole school development activities in Taiz Governorate. The results are focused on the implementation process and changes that occurred in schools, communities, and local educational authorities.

5.1 WSD Activities to Improve Access and Equity of Basic Education

5.1.1 Improved Physical Infrastructures of Schools

Physical conditions of pilot schools located in rural areas of Yemen are very poor. In 2004, prior to implementation of the project, 304 classrooms were available for 13,781 students among the 59 pilot schools, averaging at 45.3 students per classroom. However, these numbers do not show the reality. In lower grade classes, the average number of students in one class is much higher. For example, at 6 schools in Same district, 54 percent of total students are studying in grade 1 with 6 in-door classrooms and 4 outside of the school buildings. It means that in average 110.5 students are studying in one out of the 10 classes offered. In addition, many classrooms were located outside of school buildings. There was only one girls' school among the pilot schools, and only 5 schools that offered classrooms separating girls' students from boys' students. A library and laboratory was only available at one school out of the 56 schools in 2004. Only 4 schools could offer drinking water to students, and only 4 schools had electricity. Only 5 schools had walls in their building structure. Bathrooms were also only available at 5 of the schools.

Implementation of pilot activities using the funds provided to school committees helped to improve the schools' environment. Table 5.1 indicates improvement of classrooms and bathrooms in the two-year period of the WSD implementation. In Year 1, 64 classrooms and 30 bathrooms were either newly added or rehabilitated. In Year 2, 44 classrooms and 12 bathrooms were either built or rehabilitated.

Table 5.1: Number of Classrooms at the 59 Pilot Schools

	Number of classrooms	Classrooms built by BRIDGE	Classrooms repaired by BRIDGE	Bathrooms built by BRIDGE	Bathrooms repaired by BRIDGE	Classrooms built by BRIDGE	Classrooms repaired by BRIDGE	Bathrooms built by BRIDGE	Bathrooms repaired by BRIDGE
District	Year 0	Year 1	Year 1	Year 1	Year 1	Year 2	Year 2	Year 2	Year 2
Same	34	3	0	8	0	4	4	0	4
Maawiyah	47	9	2	4	2	2	7	1	2
Maqbanah	59	2	7	1	3	0	10	0	1
Al Waziiyah	51	1	17	6	0	1	2	0	0
Al Makha	49	0	9	1	2	0	10	2	0
Dhubab	64	10	4	3	0	2	0	2	0
Total	304	25	39	23	7	9	33	5	7

Source: Created by the Author.

Table 5.2: Demands for Classrooms at the 59 Pilot Schools

	Year 1	Percentage
Number of Classrooms	368	72.6%
Number of Classes Taught Outside	139	27.4%
Number of Classes	507	100%

Source: Created by the Author.

As seen in Table 5.2 above, 139 classes or 27.4 percent of the total number of classes offered were taught outside at the end of Year 1. Due to the rapid increase of student enrollment, average number of students per classroom at pilot schools slightly worsened from 45.3 at Year 0 to 46.7 at Year 1. These data show the growing demand of classrooms after the implementation of the Project. A positive sign is that not only JICA funding but other donors, such as local councils, social fund for development (SFD) and the Embassy of Japan, also started to support classroom construction at the pilot schools.

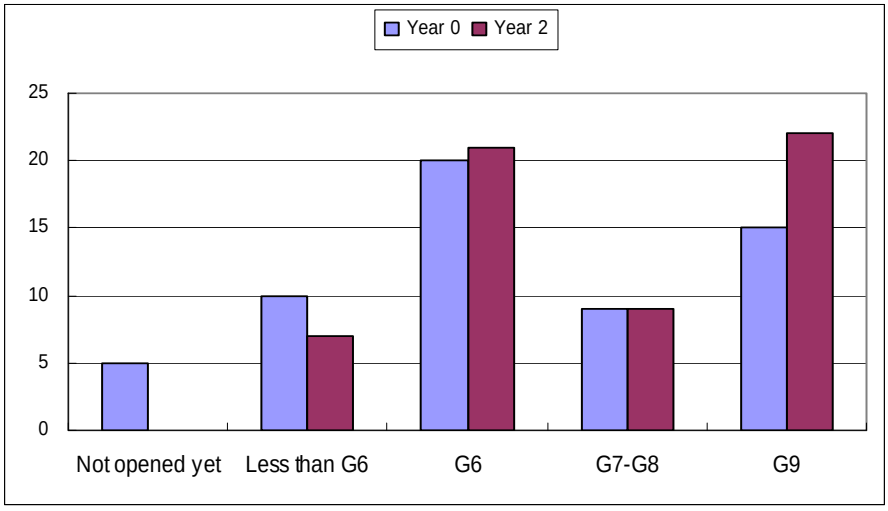
Table 5.3 and figure 5.1 shows the improvement toward complete schools with classes offered from grade 1 to grade 9 as a basic school. Before the Project, only 25.4 percent out of the 59 schools were complete schools, which offer classes from grade 1 to grade 9. After two years of project implementation, this figure has improved to 37.3 percent. Five schools newly opened or re-opened after the Project, and number of schools that could only offer up to grade 6 decreased from 16.9 percent to 11.9 percent in three years. Schools that could offer up to grade 6 also increased from 33.9 percent to 35.6 percent out of the 59 schools. In Al Makha district, there were no schools that could offer classes completely from grade 1 to grade 9 prior to the project. However, after three years, 3 schools in the district could offer classes from grade 1 to grade 9.

Table 5.3: Number of Schools by Offered Classes as of January 2007

Year 0	Not opened yet	Less than G6	G6	G7-G8	G9	Total
Same	1	0	2	1	2	6
Maawiyah	0	1	3	1	4	9
Maqbanah	2	0	5	1	2	10
Al Waziiyah	0	1	3	2	3	9
Al Makha	2	4	3	3	0	12
Dhubab	0	4	4	1	4	13
Total	5	10	20	9	15	59
Percentage	8.5%	16.9%	33.9%	15.3%	25.4%	100.0%
Year 2		Less than G6	G6	G7-G8	G9	Total
Same		1	1	1	3	6
Maawiyah		0	1	3	5	9
Maqbanah		1	5	1	3	10
Al Waziiyah		0	3	3	3	9
Al Makha		4	4	1	3	12
Dhubab		1	7	0	5	13
Total		7	21	9	22	59
Percentage		11.9%	35.6%	15.3%	37.3%	100.0%

Source: Created by the Author

Figure 5.1: Distribution by Number of Grades Offered at Pilot Schools (N=59)



Source: Created by the Author

5.1.2 Increased Number of Teachers

As seen in Chapter 3, one of the main pilot activities funded by the 59 school committees is to hire local contract teachers. This reflects the high demand for teachers at the schools. Three criteria were set up in selecting teachers by each school committee: i) completing at least 10th grade; ii) living in the same school community; and iii) female teachers preferable if available. It is ideal to hire female teachers from local communities for the purpose of promoting girls education. However, female teachers are rare to be found living in the community, while male teachers could be found relatively easily. Therefore, head teachers and community leaders look for candidates from their own personal networks. Eventually, many female teachers were found who were wives, daughters or relatives of local families, but not living in the school's community. They came to teach at schools by staying at their relative's houses, which sometimes made it difficult for those teachers to continue on in the long term.

One hundred and forty five teachers were hired among 56 pilot schools in Year 1 and 168 teachers among 59 schools in Year 2. Among them, 65 were female teachers in Year 1 and 63 in Year 2 (see Table 5.4). Though the number of female teachers is lower than that of male teachers, the ratio of female teachers against male teachers shows remarkable improvement as a result of the WSD activities (Compare Tables 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7). Before the WSD implementation, only 5.0 percent were female teachers among GEO teachers at pilot schools. In Same and Al Makha, there were no female GEO teachers at pilot schools in the respective districts 2 years ago (Table 5.6). With the WSD activities, female teachers newly started to teach in all the districts including these two (Table 5.5). In Same, all the contract teachers are female even though the government could not find any female GEO teachers.

Table 5.4: Number of Contract Teachers

	Male teacher	Female teacher	Total
Year 1	80	65	145
	55.20%	44.80%	100%
Year 2	105	63	168
	62.50%	37.50%	100%

Source: Created by the Author

Table 5.5: Contract Teachers in Year 2

Year 2	Male	Female	Total	% of female
Same	0	6	6	100%
Maawiyah	0	12	12	100%
Maqbanah	6	36	42	14.30%
Al Waziiyah	7	9	16	43.80%
Al Makha	11	29	40	27.50%
Dhubab	21	31	52	40.40%
Total	105	63	168	37.50%

Source: Created by the Author

Table 5.6: GEO Teachers by District in Pilot Schools in 2004

GEO teachers in 04	Male	Female	Total	% of female
Same	75	0	75	0.0%
Maawiyah	159	17	176	9.7%
Maqbanah	62	6	68	8.8%
Al Waziiyah	76	3	79	3.8%
Al Makha	60	0	60	0.0%
Dhubab	95	2	97	2.1%
Total	527	28	555	5.0%

Source: Created by the Author.

Table 5.7: GEO Teachers by District in Pilot Schools in 2006

GEO Teachers in 06	Male	Female	Total	% of female
Same	83	0	83	0.0%
Maawiyah	148	23	171	13.5%
Maqbanah	60	9	69	13.0%
Al Waziiyah	63	4	67	6.0%
Al Makha	50	2	52	3.8%
Dhubab	97	2	99	2.0%
Total	501	40	541	7.4%

Source: Created by the Author.

While the number of contract teachers has increased since the WSD activities were implemented, on the contrary, the number of GEO teachers slightly decreased from 555 in 2004 to 541 in 2006. However, the number of female GEO teachers increased from 28 to 40 while the number of male teachers decreased from 527 to 501. Demands for teachers are growing in the pilot schools with the increasing number of students as discussed earlier in this section, and it could be said from the analysis that the whole school development activities that transfers authority and budget from the central government to local school committees to recruit local teachers helped to hire teachers, especially female ones in rural and deprived areas. It could be said that it also contributed to improving the gender balance of teachers. However, the fact that the total number of GEO teachers had decreased should be closely analyzed as it has the potential risk to impede the school community's efforts to improve their schools.

While the number of female teachers increased from Year 0 to Year 1, the number of female teachers decreased from Year 1 to Year 2. Although the local recruitment of teachers contributed to improving the gender balance of teachers, the WSD experiences shows that challenges exists in continuously finding female teachers and retaining them. Table 5.8 shows the ratio of teachers that continued their contract from Year 1 to Year 2. It shows that the share of continued teachers for both male and female are almost the same (67 percent and 65 percent respectively). From interviews with the schools, it was

found that male teachers are replaced mainly due to not meeting the minimum qualification of grade 10 completion. On the other hand, situations for female teachers were found to be more complex. In addition to the fact that some female teachers were simply unqualified, there were other reasons for female teachers to leave the school. Firstly, for female teachers commuting from district centers, the salary level of 15,000 YER per month offered for the job was not acceptable because of the high daily transportation costs. Secondly, some female teachers became mothers and could not continue to teach. Thirdly, some of them could not stand the living conditions in rural areas, even though they had relatives in the school community, since they are not originally from the community.

Table 5.8: Continued Contract Teachers in Year 2

Year 2	Male	Female
Repeater	70	41
%	66.7%	65.1%
Total	105	63

Source: Created by the Author.

Another barrier is that the project covers the most disadvantaged areas in the district, which makes it difficult to find female teachers. In Maqbanah, the ratio of female contract teachers is fewer than any other districts. Even though there are qualified women residing in the center of the district where teacher training centers were once located, the DEO and schools do not have enough of a budget to arrange transportation for the qualified teachers to commute to pilot schools in their region. Furthermore, in Al Makha, where the ratio of female contract teachers is the second lowest, the DEO team had to eventually give up the idea of arranging female teachers from the center of the district. There are NGOs in the central town of Al Makha district and they are willing to send their female teachers, but the community people strongly demanded to contract with male teachers who are from the same community rather than hiring female teachers who they were not familiar with.

These examples suggest that if there are qualified male teachers in a community, the community prefers hiring those male teachers within their community, rather than hiring female teachers who comes from outside of the community because they are not familiar with them, the community needs to cover their food and accommodation, and it is expensive to arrange their transportation. Since the foremost reasons to promote girls' education in the pilot schools is low enrollment of girls, it is natural for the school to face difficulties to find qualified female teachers from the community because well-educated female are limited. Therefore, it takes time for the community to hire their own female teachers. More importantly, schools have a shortage of qualified teachers regardless of their gender. Until the community can have their own female teachers educated in their own community, the hiring of local male teachers should be continued in order to increase qualified teachers in schools. Above all, the most urgent need is for the Governorate to take actions on hiring qualified local contract teachers as official GEO teachers.

5.1.3 Increased Number of Students' Enrollment

Student enrollment has improved at pilot schools from school year 2004/2005 (Year 0) to 2006/2007 (Year 2). The total number of students increased from 13,907 to 20,282, and both the number of female and male students have increased (Table 5.9). The

increase rate of female students (1.67) is higher than that of male students (1.35) from Year 0 to Year 2 (Table 5.11). As a result, the female to male student ratio has improved from 0.63 in Year 0 to 0.78 in Year 2.

Enrollment numbers also improved in control schools (Table 5.10). Students' numbers increased from 12,540 in Year 0 to 17,372 in Year 2. However, the increase rate of enrollment is lower at control schools (1.39) from Year 0 to Year 2 compared to the rate in pilot schools (1.47) during the same years (Table 5.12). The female to male student ratio in control schools (0.91) were originally higher than that in pilot schools (0.63) in Year 0. Although the female to male student ratio in pilot schools improved from Year 0 to Year 2, that of control schools did not improve but slightly lowered (0.91 to 0.90) from Year 0 to Year 2. From these comparisons between control and pilot schools, it could be concluded that the WSD activities contributed to increase student enrollment and to improve female to male student ratio at the pilot schools.

Table 5.9: Enrollment Numbers at Pilot Schools

	Number of Enrollment			Female/ Male
School Year	Male	Female	Total	
2004/2005 (Year 0)	8,519	5,388	13,907	0.63
2005/2006 (Year 1)	9,719	7,484	17,203	0.77
2006/2007 (Year 2)	11,381	8,901	20,282	0.78

Source: Created by the Author.

Table 5.10: Enrollment Numbers at Control Schools

	Number of Enrollment			Female/Male
School Year	Male	Female	Total	
2004/2005 (Year 0)	6,579	5,961	12,540	0.91
2005/2006 (Year 1)	9,561	7,577	17,138	0.79
2006/2007 (Year 2)	9,167	8,205	17,372	0.90

Source: Created by the Author.

Table 5.11: Rate of Student Increase at Pilot Schools

	Increase of Enrollment		
School Year	Male	Female	Total
Year 0 → Year 1	1.14	1.39	1.24
Year 1 → Year 2	1.17	1.19	1.18
Year 0 → Year 2	1.34	1.65	1.46

Source: Created by the Author.

Table 5.12: Rate of Student Increase at Control Schools

	Increase of Enrollment		
School Year	Male	Female	Total
Year 0 → Year 1	1.45	1.27	1.37
Year 1 → Year 2	0.96	1.08	1.01
Year 0 → Year 2	1.39	1.38	1.39

Source: Created by the Author.

Enrollment numbers by districts increased in all pilot districts (Table 5.13). The increase rates from Year 0 to Year 2 ranged from 1.26 as the lowest in Maawiyah to

1.67 as the highest in Dhubab. The female to male student ratio improved in all districts except for Al Waziiyah (1.08 in Year 0 to 1.05 in Year 2), where these schools have been receiving WFP's food program for the girl students for five years. With the WSD activities, more male students that had been excluded from the food program were encouraged to attend schools because the whole school development activities benefited both male and female students. In addition, in Al Waziiyah, the female to male ratio has already reached over 1.0. Thus, the Project has contributed to improving the female to male ratio in these districts. The female to male ratio was worst in Maqbanah district in Year 0 (0.41) and the situation was the same in Year 2 (0.52). However, the increase rate of female enrollment was 1.76 from Year 0 to Year 2, which was the second highest among the districts.

Table 5.13: Student Enrollment by Pilot District Between Year 0, Year 1 and Year 2

Same

Number of Enrollment				Female/ Male
School Year	Male	Female	Total	
2004/2005 (Year 0)	1,151	722	1,873	0.63
2005/2006 (Year 1)	1,281	917	2,198	0.72
2006/2007 (Year 2)	1,422	1,123	2,545	0.79

Increase of Enrollment			
School Year	Male	Female	Total
Year 0 → Year 1	1.11	1.27	1.17
Year 1→ Year 2	1.11	1.22	1.16
Year 0 → Year 2	1.24	1.56	1.36

Maawiyah

Number of Enrollment				Female/ Male
School Year	Male	Female	Total	
2004/2005 (Year 0)	1,997	974	2,960	0.49
2005/2006 (Year 1)	1,960	1,299	3,259	0.66
2006/2007 (Year 2)	2,235	1,506	3,741	0.67

Increase of Enrollment			
School Year	Male	Female	Total
Year 0 → Year 1	0.98	1.33	1.10
Year 1→ Year 2	1.14	1.16	1.15
Year 0 → Year 2	1.12	1.55	1.26

Maqbanah

Number of Enrollment				Female/ Male
School Year	Male	Female	Total	
2004/2005 (Year 0)	1,993	817	2,810	0.41
2005/2006 (Year 1)	2,175	1,120	3,295	0.51
2006/2007 (Year 2)	2,751	1,436	4,187	0.52

Increase of Enrollment			
School Year	Male	Female	Total
Year 0 → Year 1	1.09	1.37	1.17
Year 1→ Year 2	1.26	1.28	1.27
Year 0 → Year 2	1.38	1.76	1.49

Al Waziiyah

Number of Enrollment				Female/ Male
School Year	Male	Female	Total	
2004/2005 (Year 0)	740	802	1,542	1.08
2005/2006 (Year 1)	1,080	1,186	2,266	1.10
2006/2007 (Year 2)	1,159	1,212	2,371	1.05

Increase of Enrollment			
School Year	Male	Female	Total
Year 0 → Year 1	1.46	1.48	1.47
Year 1→ Year 2	1.07	1.02	1.05
Year 0 → Year 2	1.57	1.51	1.54

Al Makha

Number of Enrollment				Female/ Male
School Year	Male	Female	Total	
2004/2005 (Year 0)	1,546	932	2,478	0.60
2005/2006 (Year 1)	1,833	1,480	3,313	0.81
2006/2007 (Year 2)	2,103	1,811	3,914	0.86

Increase of Enrollment			
School Year	Male	Female	Total
Year 0 → Year 1	1.19	1.59	1.34
Year 1→ Year 2	1.15	1.22	1.18
Year 0 → Year 2	1.36	1.94	1.58

Dhubab

Number of Enrollment				Female/ Male
School Year	Male	Female	Total	
2004/2005 (Year 0)	1,027	1,080	2,107	1.05
2005/2006 (Year 1)	1,390	1,482	2,872	1.07
2006/2007 (Year 2)	1,711	1,813	3,524	1.06

Increase of Enrollment			
School Year	Male	Female	Total
Year 0 → Year 1	1.35	1.37	1.36
Year 1→ Year 2	1.23	1.22	1.23
Year 0 → Year 2	1.67	1.68	1.67

Source: Created by the Author.

5.1.4 Improved Equity

Among the 59 pilot schools, there are 18 schools that receive World Food Program(WFP)'s food assistance available only for female students from G1 to G9. The names of the schools and the numbers by district are shown in Table 5.14 below. Under the WFP program, each female student receives a take-home ration of 416 grams of wheat and 22.5 grams of oil per day. These distributions per school year amount to 150 kilograms of wheat and 8.1 kilograms of oil per person, distributed on condition that unexcused non-attendance does not exceed 20 percent of annual school days. The value of the income transfer to households of the beneficiaries amounts to US$16 per ration, or US$48 per nine-month school year, amounting to 9 percent of the average monthly per capita income (WFP, 2006). At each recipient school, a parent-teacher association (PTAs) is established for them to be responsible for distribution of the food and monitoring the attendance of female students.

Table 5.14: List of Schools with WFP Assistance by Pilot District

District	School Name
Al Waqiiyah	Al Wahda, Al Fawz, Al Nagah, Al Shahead Ali Saif, Al Farwak, Gail Bani Ali
Al Makha	Al Eshaa, Aseam Bin Thabeet, Gabair Bin Abdullah, Al Ershad
Dhubab	Bab Al Mandeb, Al Amal, Sud Bin Obada, Al Sahwa, Al Dawsh, Kub Bin Malek, Omar Bin Abdulaziz, Al Twomoh

Source: Created by the Author.

Table 5.15 compares the female to male student ratio between 18 WFP pilot schools and 41 non WFP pilot schools. It shows that before the WSD activities at these 18 WFP schools, more female students were enrolled than male students (F/M ratio: 1.06 in 2004). This is because the WFP had started to support these schools in 2001. The trend of changes in WFP schools appears the same as non-WFP schools, which means that the F/M ratio improved in 2005 and dropped in 2006. However, as shown in Table 5.16, when comparing the changes in enrollment, interesting findings may be pointed out. In 18 WFP schools, when the WSD activities started in 2005, the number of male students increased at almost the same pace as female students. On the contrary, in non-WFP schools, in 2005 first female students increased more than male students. Since the WSD activities aim at promoting girls' education, female students at schools where previously they were not encouraged to attend, were motivated to come to school. However, in the WFP schools, there were already more female students than male students, so that the male students that used to work for the family were also encouraged to come to school. In 2006, in the WFP schools, the increase rate of male students was higher than that of female students even though the pace slowed down from the first year of the WSD activities (2005). In the non-WFP schools, in 2006, the increase rate of male students was higher than that of female students even though both increased. As a result, in 2006 in both WFP and non-WFP schools, the female to male student ratio was lower from the previous year due to a higher increase of male students.

From the analyses above, it could be said that the WSD activities could contribute to improving students' enrollment. Increase of enrollment in the first year was very high because of the effect of the announcement of the Project and thus leading to a flood of in-coming students who used to be contained at home. In the second year, even though the pace slowed down from the first year, the increase of enrollment still continued. In addition, the whole school development approach could contribute to

improving equity to access. Unlike an approach which only supports female students, the whole school development approach could contribute to improving the enrollment of both female and male students. In rural and deprived areas in Yemen, students' enrollment is low regardless of gender. Therefore, supporting schools to conduct their own school improvement activities could help to encourage parents and students to come to school regardless of their gender. However, if the approach is not specified to support girls' education, it may exclude female students coming to school. Therefore, emphasizing the importance of girls' education as well as education in general is required to achieve equity to access in basic education.

Table 5.15:Comparison of F/M Ratio between WFP and Non-WFP Schools

F/M ratio	2004	2005	2006
WFP Schools (N=18)	1.06	1.07	1.01
Non WFP Schools (N=41)	0.55	0.69	0.62

Source: Created by the Author.

Table 5.16: Changes in Enrollment Numbers by Gender

18 WFP	Female 04	Female 05	Female 06	Male 04	Male 05	Male 06
Number	1529	2316	2474	1449	2162	2448
Increase		1.51	1.07		1.49	1.13
41 Non-WFP	Female 04	Female 05	Female 06	Male 04	Male 05	Male 06
Number	3672	4870	5341	6729	7053	8558
Increase		1.33	1.10		1.05	1.21

Source: Created by the Author.

At the end of Year 2, each DEO selected the best school in terms of increasing female students in their district. Table 5.17 shows the list of names by district. From the analyses of actual school examples, each school has different factors which contribute to increasing the number of female students. For example, Al Shahead Al Thoulaya School was evaluated as one of the weakest schools both in community participation and head teacher. However, the school achieved the largest increase in female students in Year 2. According to the DEO, in the School contract female teachers contributed to the increase of female students by visiting families after the class and weekends to convince parents to send their daughters to school. At the same time, the improvement of the school environment after two years implementation of the WSD activities, such as having additional classrooms and female teachers, helped parents to see changes at the school even though the head teacher was very weak. In Al Waziiyah, Al Fawz School was awarded as the best in female students' increase. From the observation, the main reason of the increase was the changes in the head teacher. When the WSD activities were implemented two years ago, due to the traditional idea, the community was not supportive to girls' education. Thus, the head teacher was very negative and skeptical toward the WSD activities. During the two years working with the DEOs and other schools in the district, the head teacher became more confident and supportive to promote the WSD activities. Not only receiving the WFP assistance, the head teacher organized to use the school radio to give female students' opportunities to talk about their education. The head teacher worked closely with the community sheikh to organize literacy classes at the sheikh's house by hiring the female graduates from the school. Gradually, with visible outcomes of the activities under the leadership of the head teacher, the community felt comfortable in sending their daughters to school. In

Al Makha, Al Ershad was chosen as the best school. As mentioned in the following section, at the school the deputy head teacher who is the only one GEO teacher at the school played a great role to attract female students in coming to school. In Dhubab, Al Twomoh School was selected as the best. In the School, the reason was very obvious. In Year 2, a new head teacher came to the school after the previous head teacher was replaced because of his misuse of the funds. The previous head teacher decided everything without any consultation from the community. The new head teacher collaborated with the community to implement the WSD activities. This helped to encourage the community members to send their daughters to the school.

Table 5.17: Best schools in increase of female students

District	School Name	District	School Name
Same	Al Eman	Al Waziiyah	Al Fawz
Maawiyah	Al Shahead Al Thoulaya	Al Makha	Al Ershad
Maqbanah	Al Hayat	Dhubab	Al Twomoh

Source: Created by the Author.

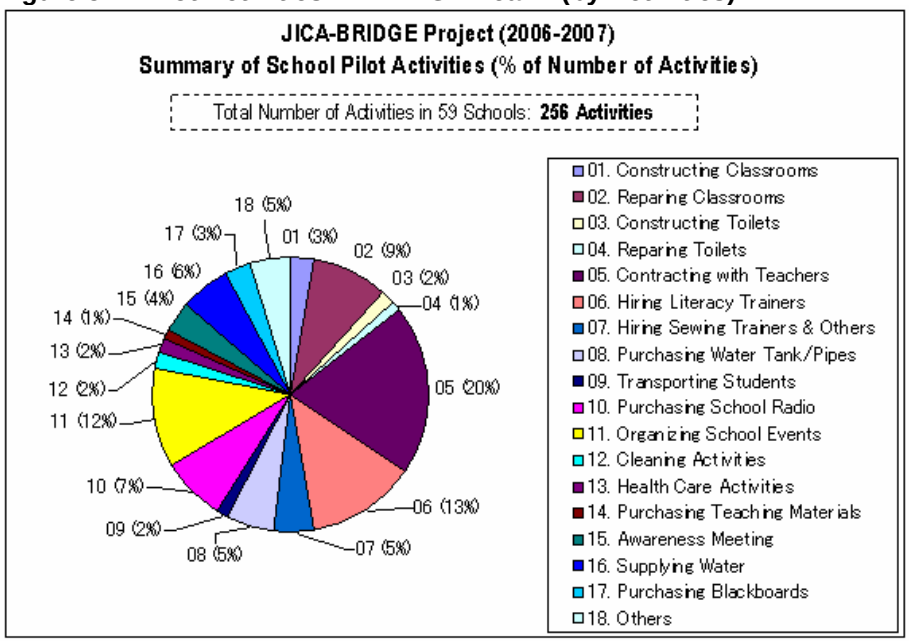
5.2 WSD Activities to Improve the Quality of Basic Education

5.2.1 School Improvement Activities that Contribute to Improving Quality

Purchasing teaching materials, awarding the best students and organizing student competitions under the category of school events are activities that directly support the learning of students. As seen from the comparison of Figure 5.2 and 5.3, the share of school events is 12 percent in the number of activities and 3 percent in the amount of funding allocated. Teaching material is 1 percent in the number of activities, and less than 1 percent in terms of funding. These activities do not require much cost. Even though the WSD activities emphasized the importance of improving quality of education and inclusion of activities related to the field, these efforts were not much reflected in proposals submitted by pilot schools. Major reasons for low attention to the quality of education are: first of all, demands to improve school environment, such as hiring teachers and building and rehabilitating school facilities are still huge in the schools; and that school committee members were not fully aware of the meaning of improving the quality of education and what kinds of actions should be actually taken to improve the quality. In more advanced cases, schools are given authority to make changes in the curriculum and pedagogy; directors are given the authority to provide a substantive evaluation of teachers' performance; and schools are given the authority to make their own decisions as to the type of training to be provided to teachers (Winkler and Gershberg, 2000). However, in the reality of Yemen, these are too advanced to be implemented. There is a severe shortage of teachers in schools in Yemen. Most contract teachers teach lower grades from grade 1 to grade 3 as general teachers. Specialized teachers are difficult to find from the community. Teachers could not receive enough support from the head teachers because they are also unaware of the importance of quality teaching. Concrete examples that could be fit to rural basic schools in Yemen are:

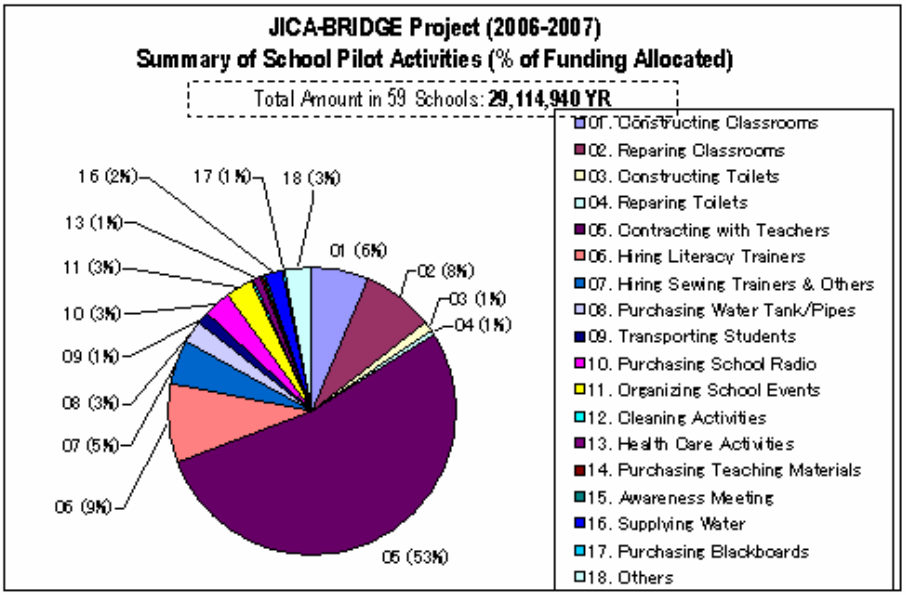
- Meeting between headteachers and teachers for class preparation;
- Organizing school gathering efficiently;
- School cleaning activities.

Figure 5.2: Pilot Activities in BRIDGE Year 2 (by Activities)



Source: JICA (2006b)

Figure 5.3: Pilot Activities in BRIDGE Year 2 (by funding)



Source: JICA (2006b)

5.2.2 Contract Teachers' Qualifications

Table 5.18 shows the educational background of contract teachers in Year 1 and Year 2. In both years more than half of the contract teachers had completed secondary education. Thirty five percent in Year 1 and 39 percent in Year 2 have either a bachelor or a diploma degree. Similar trends are found in female teachers. For example, in Year 2, 84.1 percent of all teachers had over a secondary certificate. It revealed that there are qualified teachers available from local communities. Even though the Project requested replacement of unqualified teachers below grade 10, there are a certain percentage of unqualified teachers still observed in pilot schools. This indicates difficulties in replacing unqualified teachers to qualified teachers because teachers' positions can be

bargained for with the right local ties. In other words, even though the teachers were disqualified, if they received support from influential people in the community, it was difficult for the school to make personnel changes without persuading these influential people about the importance of having qualified teachers in their schools. Since working opportunities in the community are very rare, it is very difficult to replace disqualified teachers if they are paid by the school.

Table 5.18: Education Background of Contract Teachers

Education	Year 1 total		Year 1 female only		Year 2 total		Year 2 female only	
Bachelor	12	8.3%	7	10.8%	9	5.4%	5	7.9%
Diploma	39	26.9%	14	21.5%	57	33.9%	19	30.2%
Secondary	74	51.0%	33	50.8%	85	50.6%	29	46.0%
G11 or G10	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	10	6.0%	5	7.9%
G9 completion	13	9.0%	7	10.8%	5	3.0%	3	4.8%
N.A.	7	4.8%	4	6.2%	2	1.2%	2	3.2%
Total	145	100.0%	65	100%	168	100%	63	100%

Source: Created by the Author.
Note: There was no data available for the category of G11 and G10 completion in Year 1 data.

It is welcoming that contract teachers brought new experiences to rural schools in Yemen. They proved that qualified female teachers could be found and teach at these schools. Schools pay a minimum level of monthly salary or 15,000YER to contract teachers, which is according to the government scale. Payment is made every month either by the head teacher or the treasurer of the school committee. Schools basically only pay for the months that teachers actually teach. Also, due to administrative reasons, the fund only covered from September to March in Year 2 since the project fiscal year ends at the end of March. April and May salaries were covered by the community or by the teachers voluntarily. Most contract teachers teach lower grade students since the number of lower grade students rapidly increased. Contract teachers are sometimes forced to teach not only one grade but multi-grade classes due to the shortage of teachers and classrooms. In some schools, the head teacher himself is one of the contract teachers. These situations are not preferable to the Project but could not be terminated immediately. It is required for the GEO to allocate the proper number of teachers and to provide trainings to teachers. There are strong demands for training of contract teachers among pilot schools, and the Project team tried to collaborate with the training department of the GEO to allow BRIDGE contract teachers to attend GEO teacher trainings. Regrettably, this has not been realized yet. Training for contract teachers is one of the most urgent issues to secure the minimum teaching quality of inexperienced teachers.

From interviews with schools, positive impacts from having contract teachers were observed. One example was that the official GEO teachers who tended to be absent from teaching started to come to school every day after the school started hiring qualified contract teachers. Since the GEO teacher was the only official teacher in that school, he started to feel that he was indispensable to the school and other inexperienced contract teachers. He became very proactive to provide advices to contract teachers and teachers started to meet regularly to discuss about issues and concerns in the classroom.

5.2.3 Heavy Dependence on the Contract Teachers

Table 5.19 compares the number of GEO teachers and contract teachers in pilot schools in the 6 districts. It indicates that pilot schools are heavily dependent on contract teachers. This is not negligible in considering the quality of teaching at schools. Especially, in Maqbanah, Al Makha, and Dhubab, the share of contract teachers out of all teachers including GEO teachers are more than half (Maqbanah 60.9 percent, Al Makha 76.9 percent, and Dhubab 52.5 percent). In Al Makha and Maqbanah, pupil to GEO teacher ratios are high, too, which are 75.3 in Al Makha, and 60.7 in Maqbanah.

Table 5.19: Number of Teachers and Teacher Pupil Ratio by District

	(a) Number of GEO teachers (06/07)	(b) Number of JICA contracted teachers (06/07)	(a)/(b) Share of Contracted Teachers among all the teachers	(c) Number of students (06/07)	(c)/(a) Pupil/GEO teacher ratio
Same	83	6	6.7%	2,545	30.7
Maawiyah	171	12	6.6%	3,741	21.9
Maqbanah	69	42	37.8%	4,187	60.7
Al Waziiyah	67	16	19.3%	2,371	35.4
Al Makha	52	40	43.5%	3,914	75.3
Dhubab	99	52	34.4%	3,524	35.6
Total	541	168	23.7%	20,282	37.5

Source: Created by the Author.

Furthermore, Table 5.20 shows that there are 10 schools that have no GEO teachers and only contract teachers teaching students in three districts. There are urgent needs, first of all, to provide proper training and support to contract teachers. Secondly, the GEO should allocate GEO teachers in these schools or re-hire qualified contract teachers as GEO teachers. Table 5.8 also shows that the number of GEO teachers in Maawiyah, Al Waziiyah and Al Makha decreased from the 2004 to 2006 school years (b-a). As a result, contract teachers are making up for these decreases of GEO teachers. Contract teachers should be contributing to increasing the number of teachers available at schools, and should not be substituting GEO teachers in these schools. Another concern found from interviews with DEOs and schools regarding teacher deployment were that after the Presidential and local council elections in September 2006, some teachers were transferred from one district to another within the Taiz Governorate without any explanation provided to the DEOs and schools who manage the teachers. Clear reasons are not yet found, but according to hearings from schools and districts it seems to have been due to political arrangements by a high official in the governorate to achieve campaign pledges. This telling example shows that GEO teacher deployment and allocation are quite politicized beyond the controls of schools and districts; resulting in the deteriorating quality of teaching in the schools.

Table 5.20: List of School Names with No GEO Teachers by District

District	Name of Schools	Number of contract teachers	Increased number of students from Year 1 and Year 2
Maqbanah	Al Thawra	5	207
	Al Hayat	5	207
Al Makha	Saba Yolyo	5	173
	Al Nasr	5	211
	Al Fath	3	135
	Al Hamza	4	161
	Al Farag	3	106
Dhubab	Al Suweida (Attached to Al Sahwa)	1	38
	Al Wahda	4	109
	Al Rawaa (Attached to Al Yakda)	1	40

Source: Created by the Author.

5.2.4 Head Teachers' Profile

First of all, average profile of head teachers at the 59 pilot schools is 36 years old with 5 years of teaching experience and 9 years as a principal (Table 5.21). Sixty-eight percent of the head teachers are in their 30s. Forty two percent have only less than 5 years experience as a head teacher. Years of experience as a head teacher are almost equivalent to years of the school in existence. Schools with senior age head teachers with long years of experiences as a head teacher mean that they have existed longer. In turn, almost 70 percent of the pilot schools were opened within the past 10 years. Eighty-one percent of the head teachers hold more than a secondary certificate. However, 19 percent (n=11) of the head teachers have either no education or less than secondary certificates, and they work as volunteer head teachers (Table 5.22). One might say that head teachers without official status are incapable of managing schools. The head teacher at Al Tawhead School in Maqbaha has no education and does not hold official GEO teacher status, but his school was awarded as the best school in community participation in BRIDGE Year 1. Even though he does not have an official education at all, instead he has the passion to devote himself to improving the school by collaborating with the community members and mobilizing financial resources to improve school infrastructure within his 16 years experiences as a head teacher at the school.

Table 5.21: Head Teachers' Age and Experiences (N=59)

	a) Age	b) Years as a principal	c) Years of teaching
Average	36 years old	9 years	5 years
a) Oldest; b)c) Longest	60 years old	26 years	12 years
a)Youngest; b)c) Shortest	18 years old	1 year	1 year

Source: Created by the Author.

Table 5.22: Head Teacher Profile by District (N=59)

District	Average age	Average years as a head teacher	Average years of teaching	Number of non-GEO head teachers
Same	36	9	6.8	0
Maawiyah	38.4	9.9	7.3	2
Maqbanah	36.6	8.3	7.2	1
Al Waziiyah	33	5.2	6.7	1
Al Makha	36.2	9.3	7.4	9
Dhubab	34.9	8.1	6.4	1

Source: Created by the Author.

The same trend has been found in the 6 pilot districts in terms of average age, and years of head teachers and teaching. The only difference is in the number of non-official head teachers which Al Makha has 9 non-official head teachers out of 9 pilot schools. The main reason for this difference is that the DEO and the community of Al Makha were not able to find any suitable candidates at these schools because GEO teachers do not stay long enough.

The regular process of selecting a head teacher at schools is as follows:

1. Community and schools identify a head teacher from teachers who actually work at the school and perform well. If there is no suitable candidate from the teachers of the school, then a community representative may be chosen as the head teacher.
2. If the head teacher is an official GEO teacher, the DEO approves the recommended candidate and reports their choice to the GEO.
3. GEO approves the candidate approved by the DEO as a head teacher.

As seen from table 5.23, schools with non-official head teachers in Al Makha have either a sheikh (community leader) or JICA contract teachers as the head teacher. Considering that these schools have 2410 students in total, this situation of not having experienced teachers as head teachers can not be dismissed. A possible action could be either hiring the head teachers who are currently JICA contract teachers as official GEO teachers if they are eligible and have the potential to be a head teacher. These teachers would then need to be provided with appropriate training as a head teacher. Another possibility is appointing a GEO teacher as a head teacher or deputy head teacher for the schools which have official GEO teachers,

From school visits, it was observed that head teachers should be from the same community. Many examples are observed where head teachers from outside of the community face problems in gaining trust from the community. Thus, the most effective way is not to send a head teacher from outside, but to find someone eligible and capable from the same community. It requires time because these schools lack official teachers. Thus, the first priority should be put on placing official teachers from the same community at these schools.

Table 5.23: List of Schools with Non-official Head Teachers in Al Makha

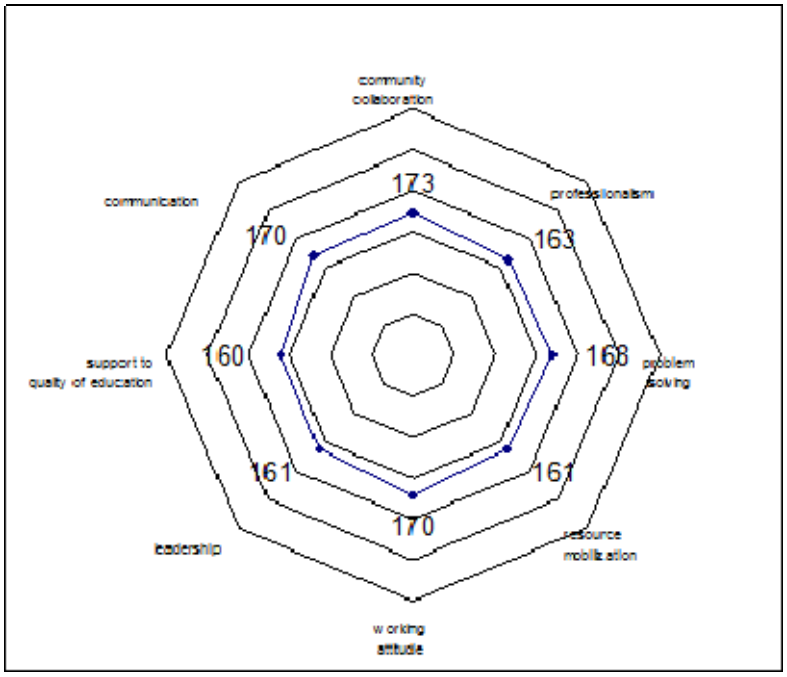
School Name	GEO teachers	JICA teachers	Head teachers' qualification	Head teachers original job	Number of students in Sep. 2006
Gabair Bin Abdullah	3	4	None	Shiekh	463
Al Ershad	1	4	G9	Shiekh	403
Saba Yolyo	0	5	G9	Shiekh	173
Al Nasr	0	5	None	Shiekh	211
Al Fath	0	3	G6	Shiekh	135
Saed Bin Gobair	2	3	G9	Shiekh	168
Al Hamza	0	4	Secondary	JICA teacher	161
Al Farag	0	3	Secondary	JICA teacher	106
Al Wahda	1	3	Secondary	JICA teacher	127

Source: Created by the Author.

5.2.5 Head Teachers' Leadership and Management Capabilities

Figure 5.4 indicates results of the DEOs evaluation of their pilot head teachers as of November 2006. Each figures show the accumulated scores of all 59 pilot head teachers for each criteria using 1-5 scale (1= poor, 2= satisfactory-. 3=satisfactory, 4= satisfactory+, and 5= excellent). Total scores for each criteria should be 295 (5*59). From the graph, it is hard to identify any significant criteria from the others since all averages are in the middle range. However, it could be pointed out that head teachers are relatively good at community collaboration, while relatively weak at their support to quality of education. For further analysis, school names with excellent and weak head teachers are listed in Table 5.24 and two weak head teacher examples are discussed as case studies.

Figure 5.4: DEO's Head Teacher Evaluation



Source: Created by the Author

Table 5.24: Weak and Excellent Head Teachers

District	Weak	Excellent
Same	Al Forqan	Al Eman
Maawiyah	Al Tawhead	Al Shahead Al Bahr
		Baha Al Dean
Maqbanah	Abdulah Bin Rawaha	**Al Tawhead**
		Al Shahead Alokia
Al Waziiyah	**Gail Bani Ali**	Al Methak
Al Makha	Gabil Bin Abdulah	Al Esha'a
	Al Hamza	
Dhubab	Al Yakda	Al Sahwa
	Omar Bin Abdulaziz	Kub Bin Malik

Source: Created by the Author

Head Teacher at Gail Bani Ali, Al Waziiyah

Mr. Abdullah Mohammed Ahmed Saif, 33 years old, is the new head teacher at the school. He has a teaching diploma in Arabic and 7 years of teaching experience at the school and became the head teacher in 2006. The former head teacher was not from the same community and did not attend the school everyday. Thus, the DEO of Al Waziiyah decided to replace him with Mr. Saif after discussing with the community.

The school is located in an isolated region on a wadi (water resource), after 30 minutes driving off-road from the main paved roads. The school has 4 GEO teachers and 1 contract teacher, offering 5 classes from grades 1 to grade 6 in this year, with 124 male and 99 female students. Grades 4 and grade 5 are taught together due to the shortage of teachers and classrooms. Before the BRIDGE project, the school had only 2 classrooms for classes for grade 1 to grade 4 students. Thus, students were learning outside of the classroom building or in the stairwells. The Project helped to hire a volunteer teacher and build two classrooms and teachers' accommodation in the two years of the Project term. Since the teacher's accommodation was built, GEO teachers, who were unable to come and teach classes everyday due to commuting difficulties, can now stay at the school and attend their classes everyday. Even though these GEO teachers come originally from outside of the community, they are gradually being integrated into the community and starting to gain trust from the community.

Mr. Saif, the head teacher, is the oldest among the GEO teachers at school and trusted by the other teachers. As the new head teacher, he started his duty without any major conflicts brought from other teachers of the community. The DEO also supports him well. Mr. Saif was born to a poor family in Al Waziiyah. He overcame the difficulty of continuing his post secondary education after working as a volunteer teacher. He had two good teachers or mentors that he was able to follow during his studies. One was a Sudanese teacher at grade 3, who took care of his students very well. Another one was an Egyptian teacher at grade 7, who offered extra classes every morning before the official hours of teaching started. Based on having good role models, he understands the roles of the head teacher as:

- Keeping teachers' discipline and attendance
- Keeping students' discipline and attendance
- Supporting teachers to focus on the reading and writing ability of students
- Solving problems when teachers face any difficulties.

Thus, he arranges weekly meetings with all the teachers on Wednesdays. He confessed that he has difficulty to organize students' gatherings every morning.

From observations of the school, the school is well controlled and maintained. Classrooms, halls and stairs are well cleaned. Teachers' materials are displayed on the wall of classrooms. Textbooks are stored tidily. However, students' registration was kept at the school, and no single teacher made any lesson plans. Students were quiet in the classroom. The author received an impression that the head teacher is heavily supported by one of the DEO since he lives near the school. Thus, it is not clear whether the head teacher could take a proactive role by himself yet. He needs to build his confidence as a head teacher on his own by accumulating experience. Based on criteria on head teachers' school management, he could be assessed by the author as follows:

Table 5.25: Evaluation of the Head Teacher at Gail Bani Ali School

Criteria	Observation	Grade
1. ability of community collaboration	Got familiar with the community people after 7 years of teaching at school. Could organize meetings with the community people, but still needs to receive supports from DEOs	W
2. professionalism	He is respected by teachers but unknown by the community. Tries to play a role of the head teachers by organizing regular meetings with teachers, but needs to receive trainings on how to behave as a head teacher	S-
3. ability of problem solving	He could bring teachers together to identify any issues at classrooms and give guidance to solve problems. Already took action to arrange textbooks for students.	S-
4. ability to organize and use new resources	So far, BRIDGE resources are well maintained, but unknown to mobilize additional resources from the community.	S
5. working attitude	He lives in the school and attend the school everyday. Also teaches grade 6.	S
6. leadership	He has a problem to organize a school gathering. He is still shy to take leadership.	W
7. support for the quality of teaching	He does not know how to improve quality of teaching. So far, did not support teachers to develop teachers' planning.	W
8. communication ability	Hold regular meeting with teachers and try to listen to them. Show his commitment to improve his school as a new head teacher.	S

Source: Created by the Author

Head Teacher at Omar Bin Abdulaziz, Dhubab

Mr. Omer Mohammed Ali Asselo, age 35, is the head teacher of Omar Bin Abdulaziz. He has been the head teacher at the school for 8 years after having 2 years of teaching experience. He has a diploma and is an official GEO head teacher. The school was opened in 1992 with 96 students from grades 1 to grade 3. The school covers three villages, one where the school is located, and the other two villages which are located 3 hours away on foot from the school. The school is located 5 minutes from the main road but 23 km away from the center of Dhubab. So far the JICA Project has helped to build two wooden classrooms and hire 2 contract teachers and 1 literacy trainer.

In September 2006, there were 94 male and 146 female students registered at the school. However, the number of students has been fluctuating from year to year. In 1996, the school became the second largest school in Dhubab with 250 students from

grade 1 to grade 6, followed by Al Shab school, when the World Food Program started its assistance. However, even though the food program has been continuing its assistance to the school, the number of students has been decreasing in these recent years due to frequent absences by the teachers. In 2004, 63 male and 91 female students from grades 1 to grade 5 were enrolled. With the JICA project, students came back to school because 2 contract teachers were hired by the Project in addition to the 4 GEO teachers. Nevertheless, the community still feels disappointed with the school and the head teacher because the official GEO teachers do not come to school every day.

A community meeting was held in January 2007 to discuss pressing issues at the school with the head teacher. At the meeting, it was found that the GEO teachers do not come to school everyday because transportation costs from the center of the district to the school costs 400 YER per day. Thus, the community agreed to contribute money to pay the transportation fee for the GEO teachers. The head teacher agreed to inform the teachers of the decision to make them aware of the community's contribution, even though it should be the GEO teachers' responsibility and duty to cover their transportation cost by themselves.

Issues of drop-out as well as barriers faced by students to continue studying at the secondary level were also pointed out at the community meeting. At this school, while 85 students were enrolled in grade 1, there were only 8 remaining by the time they reached grade 6. Even with the food program, drop-outs could not be prevented. It is also difficult for students to continue to study after grade 6 as they need to go to Al Shab school located at the center of Dhubab which is a daily 23 km commute through the desert with strong winds and sunlight. A secondary school is needed in the northern part of Dhubab for students to continue to study.

After a month from the community meeting, an interview with the head teacher was conducted. The head teacher is a very quiet person but devotes himself to his school with passion. He started his career in education as a district supervisor after completing grade 10. While working, he continued to study and earned his diploma, and in 1996 became a GEO teacher, then the head teacher of the school in 1999. He holds regular meetings with teachers and gives them advice on how to improve the quality of education, such as improving students' writing ability by checking students' notebooks.

From observation of the school, it was found that no sticks were used for punishing students. This was due to the fact that one of the parents whose daughter was beaten by the teacher complained about the use of the stick 4 years ago. Afterwards, the head teacher decided not to use any sticks for punishment at the school. Even without sticks, a traditionally accepted method of punishment at schools in Yemen, the head teacher and teachers still control their students well. The teachers' attendance and student registration were kept at school, showing the head teacher's strong administrative skills. On the other hand, there are desks and chairs for students left uninstalled in the classrooms, and textbooks are found on the ground with dust. Based on the observation and interviews, the following evaluation was given:

Table 5.26: Evaluation of the Head Teacher at Omar Bin Abdulaziz School

Criteria	Observation	Grade
1. ability of community collaboration	Community is good and very keep to education. HT listens to the community well.	S
2. professionalism	Attending school everyday. Hold a regular weekly meeting with the head teacher. Keeping good records of teachers and students.	S+
3. ability of problem solving	So far, solving problems, such as use of sticks. But, teacher absence problem was kept unsolved for long. Needs to take proactive actions to get support from others if the problem could not be solved by himself.	S-
4. ability to organize and use new resources	BRIDGE classrooms are well maintained.	S
5. working attitude	Very serious and committing himself to the school. But, weak to be a role model to others.	S
6. leadership	Weak leadership. Without having DEOs support, could not take any actions.	W
7. support for the quality of teaching	Understand the theory but still weak to motivate teachers to commit to their teaching.	W
8. communication ability	Very weak to deliver his opinions to others if not to be listened carefully and patiently by others.	W

Source: Created by the Author

The school has many problems that the head teacher could not solve by himself. The school needs support from DEOs and the community to solve these problems, and they are actually available. But, the head teacher has been so far very ineffective in coordinating this support to change the situation, even though he has the willingness to change. Since the environment to support the head teacher is in place, he now should take actions to perform his commitment to students and to collaborate continuously with the supporters like DEOs and the community and build confidence over his achievements.

5.3 Capacity Development of the DEOs through Supporting the WSD

5.3.1 District Education Office (DEO)

The District Education Office is organized according to the organizational structure of the Governorate Education Office. Among the six pilot districts, common sections observed within the DEOs in all six districts are: education section, teacher training section, statistics section, examination section and personnel affairs section. In all except one or two districts, the project section, inspectorate section, school activities section, and monitoring section are also organized in the DEO. In addition, according to the creation of the girls' education section and community participation section in the GEO in 2005, these positions were also requested to be set up in DEOs. Now, all the districts except Dhubab District have established these positions. The size of each DEO is different reflecting numbers of students and schools. Among the six pilot districts, the DEO of Maqbanah district is the largest with 39 staff members, 128 inspectors, and covering 115 schools, since Maqbanah District is the largest district in the Taiz Governorate. On the contrary, the DEO of Dhubab is the smallest. Detailed information can be found in Table 5.27 below. Same District is a newly created district that separated from Al Mawaset District in 2004 due to its high population density and difficult location.

Table 5.27: Number of DEO Personnel by District

	Same	Maawiyah	Maqbanah	Al Waziiyah	Al Makha	Dhubab
Number of DEO staff	17	38	39	31	17	7
Number of district inspectors	23	65	128	21	30	9
Number of schools in the district	26	76	115	30	51	13
Number of students in the district	11,343	23,265	37,211	6,902	11,966	3,212
Number of GEO teachers in the district	530	1,230	1,405	401	352	105

Source: GEO teachers from GEO Statistics department (2004); all the others from JICA (2007)

Table 5.28: DEO's Annual Work Schedule

Month	DEO's Work	School Event
August	Approve and agree on exam. results (pass/failure) and analyze the results.	School holiday
September	Receive and distribute textbooks, teaching materials to schools.	Start of New School Year
October	Follow up students' registration.	
	Distribute inspectors to supervise schools.	
November	Deploy new GEO teachers to schools allocated by GEO to each district	
December	Submit student registration for exam.	
January	Supervise mid-term exam. operation by school visits and submit exam. sheets from schools to GEO.	Mid-term exam
	Prepare district education plan and request of new teachers to GEO	School holiday
February	Supervise start of 2nd semester by school visits.	Start of new term
March	Receive students' registration card and distribute them to schools.	
April	Prepare final exam. Distribute stationary and exam sheets received from GEO to schools.	
May	Supervise final exam. operation by school visits and submit exam. sheets from schools to GEO.	Final exam.
June	Supervise general exam for G9 and G12 by school visits and submit exam. sheets from schools to GEO.	General exam for G9 and G12
July	Prepare budget with district local council	
	Report of annual performance of DEO employees to GEO.	

Source: Created by the Author

Table 5.28 shows the annual work schedule of a DEO. From the table, it is found that the major role of the DEO is to intermediate between the GEO and schools in the districts. The major part of their work is to collect school statistics, such as the number of registered students, teachers' attendance, and the results of each examination. Even though educational decentralization is underway in Yemen, evidence of delegation of authority from GEO to the local DEOs to manage their schools could not be found from the table. In addition, the DEOs are requested to submit quarterly and annual reports, an annual activity plan, and an annual budget plan to the GEO. Table 5.29 shows the annual budgets of each pilot district. Salaries and benefits of DEO staff, and utility charges (electricity and water) are accounted for in the GEO budgets, so the DEO

budgets are allocated to purchasing of equipment, office rent, traveling allowance, and maintenance and repair of educational facilities. Maawiyah has the largest annual budget of 457,872 YER, but even the largest budget amongst the districts is still less than the fund of 500,000 YER allocated to each school annually. This shows the financial difficulty that all districts face in pursuing local educational governance.

Table 5.29: DEO Budget in School Year 2005/2006

	Same	Maawiyah	Maqbanah	Al Waziiyah	Al Makha	Dhubab
Purchase of stationeries and equipments	48,000	58,800	60,000	66,000	60,000	72,000
Travel allowance and transportation for DEO staff	64,992	52,992	52,992	54,000	79,992	84,000
Office Rent	144,000	234,000	180,000	96,000	132,000	96,000
Repair and maintenance for educational facilities	72,000	43,200	72,000	36,000	84,000	4,000
Others (Specify: Phone calls)	12,000	23,520	12,000	12,000	36,000	N.A.
Others (Specify: Transfer of duties)	12,000	12,000	12,000	24,000	12,000	N.A.
Others (Specify: Maintenance of equipments, machines, and furniture)	12,000	21,600	24,000	12,000	12,000	N.A.
Others (Specify: commodity expenditure)	24,000	11,760	12,000	12,000	24,000	N.A.
Total	388,992	457,872	424,992	312,000	439,992	256,000

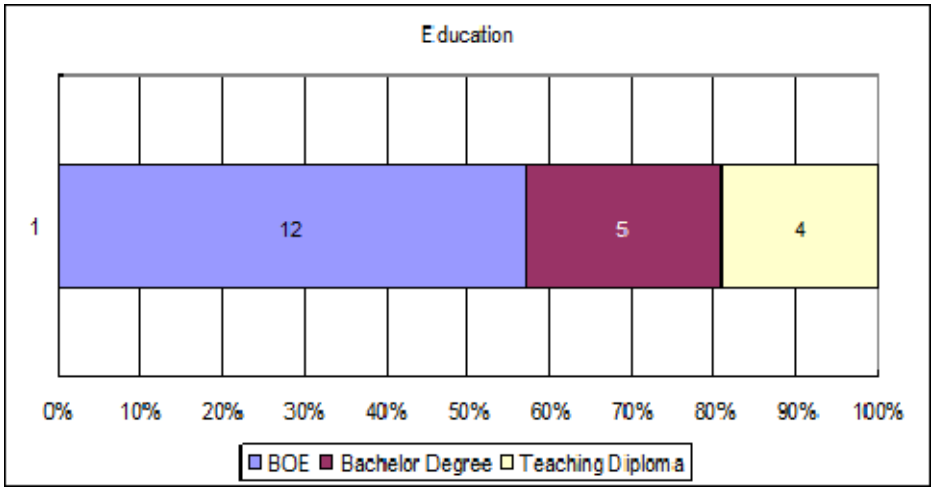
Source: Created by the Author.

From observations and interviews with DEOs, it was found that some authority is delegated to the DEO level. For example, DEOs have the authority to terminate payment of teachers' salary when a teacher did not perform their duties as mandated such as regular attendance to schools, deployment of new teachers to schools once new teachers are allocated from the GEO to the DEO, and assignment and replacement of a head teacher. However, it still requires approval from the the GEO for the DEO to undertake the authority that is delegated to the DEOs. Approval by the GEOs requires layers of procedures and time which could not be controlled by the DEOs and becomes bottlenecks to actions needed at the school district level. One example is the transfer of teachers among districts. In Al Qods School, Same, which was newly opened in 2006/2007 school year, the head teacher was selected from the local community and approved by the Same DEO. However, since the head teacher is registered as a teacher in Khadeer district, he could not be an official GEO head teacher at the school until the procedure to transfer him from Khadeer district to Same district was finalized. There is a condition of transferring a teacher from one district to another district, which is to exchange teachers between two concerned districts to keep the number of registered teachers the same. Even though Same district had prepared the teacher who would be transferred to Khadeer, it could not be realized after one year due to the delayed decision making process at the General Education Department of the GEO in the Taiz Governorate. Another concern at the district level is that the GEO's decisions are made without notification to the DEO, which occurs because of the unclear division of decision making authorities between the GEO and DEOs. For example, in 2006 after the local council election was held, the GEO teachers were transferred from district to district by the GEO without having any authorization from the DEO. Also, it was found that there was no clear guideline about who could appoint head teachers to new schools. One DEO said that it was under GEO authorization, but another said it was under DEO authorization. These examples illuminate the reality that there are many unclear divisions of authority between the GEO and the DEO.

5.3.2 Profile of DEO Teams to Support WSD Activities

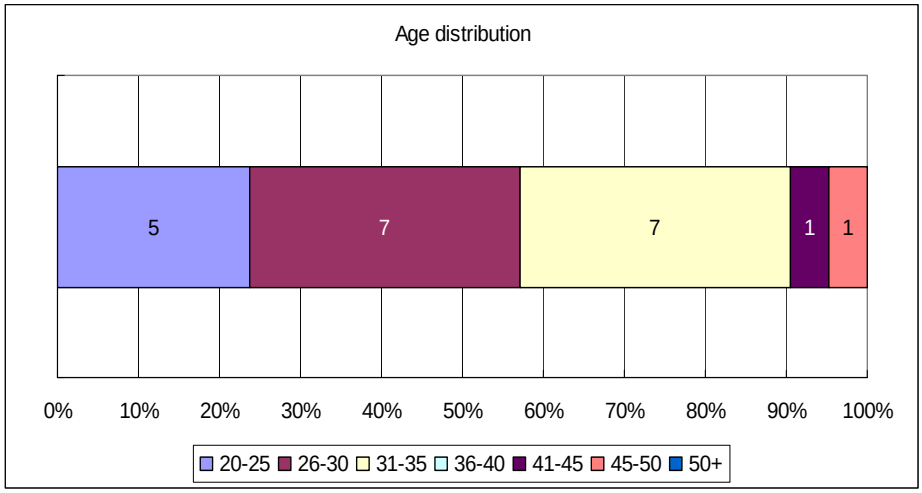
In Chapter 3, the roles and responsibilities of the DEOs in the whole school development initiative implemented in Taiz by JICA, are defined to support schools by visiting schools regularly to assess the level and capacity of schools in terms of their school environment, quality of teaching, enrollment of students, level of community participation, and to extend support to schools according to the situations of each school. In this section, the study analyzes profiles of the DEO teams to understand what kinds of background they have to perform these roles and responsibilities based on the DEO survey conducted in November 2006 among 6 pilot districts' DEO members (N=21). Each DEO team is composed of 3-4 members. Each has a girls' education officer and/or female member in the team except Dhubab district. Out of the 21 DEO members, 15 members are male, and 6 are female. The average age of the teams is 34 years old. Sixty-seven percent of members are in the 30s. Only Maawiyah and Maqbanah districts have senior and experienced managers who are over 45 years old. Even though the majority of the members are relatively young, they have rich experiences in the education sector. All of them have teaching experience with an average of 4.7 teaching years. In addition to teaching, 13 members out of 21 have either head teacher or inspector experience. Two members have a combined experience as a teacher, head teacher and inspector. Female members are younger and have relatively less experiences overall. The average age is 29.2 years old and 67 percent are in their late 20s. Only one has 1 year experience as a head teacher in addition to teaching experience. However, in average they have 5.8 years of teaching experience which is more than the male members. In terms of average teaching experience and education, female members are equivalent to or better than the male members. Five out of 6 have a bachelor's degree in education. It should be noted, however, that these profiles revealed in the survey do not represent the average of all the DEOs, since the DEO team members who were surveyed were selected from amongst the best by the General Director of the Taiz GEO in order to make the project successful. Even among the best, observing the performances of each DEO member through implementation of the BRIDGE project, it has been proved that outstanding performers in the district have either head teacher or inspector experience. Since the DEO team members are required to provide advice and support to schools in terms of school management in addition to monitoring progress of pilot activities, these experiences either as a head teacher or an inspector could help DEOs to perform their duties (Figure 5.5, 5.6, 5.7 and Table 5.30).

Figure 5.5: Educational Backgrounds of DEO-BRIDGE Team



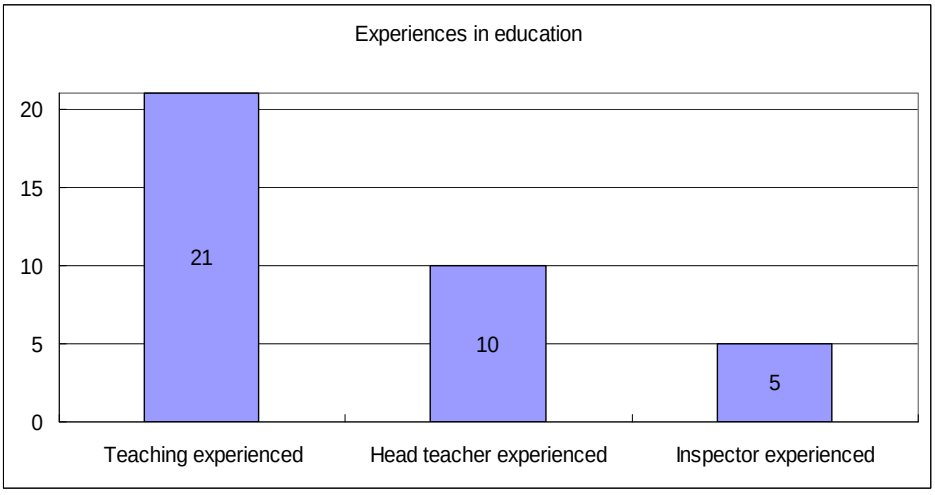
Source: JICA (2007)

Figure 5.6: Age Distribution of DEO-BRIDGE Team



Source: JICA (2007)

Figure 5.7: Experiences in Education of DEO Team



Source: JICA (2007)

Table 5.30: Average and Longest Years of Experiences (years)

Average years of teaching	4.7	Logest years of teaching	11.0
Average years as a head teacher	3.2	Longest years as ah ead teacher	13.0
Average years as an inspector	1.6	Logest years as an inspector	11.0

Source: JICA (2007)

The management style of each DEO is different. For example, in Maawiyah, the DEO manager is like a father to everyone. He takes care of everyone in the team and his schools; he listens to them very well and delegates well within the team. He is an experienced head teacher and many head teachers in his district are his former students. Maawiyah has a female member in the team. She is very active and works almost the same as the other members in performing school visits. She receives full support from the DEO manager to conduct her job. The DEO manger in Maqbanah is a great sheikh in the district. His family owns a vast amount of land in the area and many schools in the district were built by his family. He is respected by all in the district. He has a very capable second in command on his team and almost all the administrative work is done by this person who he gives directions to. Two female members' roles are limited to take care of women's matters. Since they have another teaching job, they cannot solely concentrate on the Project work. Since Same district is new, the DEO manager has less experience compared to the ones in Maawiyah and Maqbanah. It took a year for the DEO manager and his team to fully understand about the schools in his district. The manager is a very serious and shy person in character. However, he has capable staff on his team so they work closely together. One woman, who is a girls' education officer in Same district, takes care of women's activities and does not visit schools regularly since she needs to be accompanied by her husband for traveling. Another male member failed to establish a good working relationship with the team, so he has not been working for the Project.

Al Waziiyah is not yet stable as a working team. Since the DEO manager and a male member were replaced in the middle of Year 1 due to his poor work attitude, the team has a new manager. The new manager and the remained male colleague could not work well with each other because the manager has less experience in the education sector and his educational qualification is lower than the other member. Therefore, the manager failed to get respect from him. Even though the male member who worked for the Project is very capable, experienced and respected by the community, there were difficulties in forming team due to the issues between him and the new manager. After the new manager was assigned, another member also joined, who was assigned as community participation officer in the DEO. However, due to conflicts between him and the girls' education officer, he was forced to leave the team. As a result, two officers supervise nine pilot schools in the district.

The Al Makha DEO team could be one of the best teams along with the Maawiyah Team. The manager is 37 years old but very committed to his work. Since he is from an important family in the district, he receives respects from others in the district despite his relatively young age. He has the best administrative skills among the DEO managers and he can complete all the required paper work on time. His weak point is that he undertakes all the work by himself. After some consultation and intentionally giving other members opportunities to work individually, the manager now understands how to allocate work within the team. All three members of the team are young in their 30s, but with the manager allocating jobs within the team, they are now functioning

well as a team and learning from each other. A women, who is a girls' education officer, is also very active in taking care of the women and girls' students' issues in the district.

The situation in Dhubab district is complicated. Due to the lack of commitment to the Project by the DEO manager, schools could not meet a satisfactory performance at the end of Year 1. This happened mainly because two members out of the three member team did not perform the schools visits as planned. As a result, these two members were replaced with new members at the end of Year 1, including the DEO manager. In renewing the members, a strong opposition came from the DEO manager and the local council to GEO. Their points of argument were; i) the DEO manager should stay as the manager even though he was out of the Project, ii) selection of new members should be arranged by the local council and iii) the remaining member should also be replaced. Having a series of meetings between the GEO and DEO with the district manager and local council chairperson, finally the new team was formed with the two new members and one remaining member and the DEO manager staying on as the manager but out of the Project. Even after the agreement, continuous disturbances took place in order to remove the remaining member from Year 1. It took almost 10 months to solve all the problems with the team. With the new members who are all deeply committed to supporting their schools, the team is stabilizing now under the team manager, who was selected from the three, even though they do not have a DEO manager. Since the team does not have a DEO manager, it sometimes limits the team to perform their full responsibilities. Therefore, the team works closely and directly with the District Manager if any cross-sectional decisions and arrangements are needed.

From the description above, regardless of their different management styles, each team is building their best approach to working as a team, accumulating experience and strengthening their capacity to manage the Project. It also indicates the difficulties of the female members to perform the same tasks as the male members. Only one in Maawiyah could do the work with full support from the manager. Finding a capable woman who could also visit schools by themselves is extremely difficult in rural areas of the country due to a strong belief that women should be protected by men and women should not be exposed into the public. In addition, leadership roles of the DEO manager is crucial to allocate each member a task, to provide feedback to the team on each tasks, and to coordinate other resources and contacts in the districts in solving any problems.

5.3.3 DEO's Competencies

Based on the observation of performances by the DEO teams over the two years, a competency list was drawn for the DEOs to support the WSD activities at their schools (Table 5.31). Competencies are a standardized requirement for an individual to properly perform a specific job. It encompasses a combination of knowledge, skills and behavior utilized to improve performance. More generally, competency is the state or quality of being adequately or well qualified; having the ability to perform a specific role (Spencer, 1993). The competencies are prepared based on the observation of the behavior and skills of capable people in this position. Development of competencies helps the DEOs not only to understand what kinds of tasks they need to perform but also to identify what kinds of skill sets are required to perform their tasks.

There are nine areas of concentration to be a capable DEO officer to support schools, which are; i)team work, ii) leadership; iii) networking; iv) resource mobilization; v) knowledge and skills to support schools; vi) communication with

schools; vii) personal maturity; viii) commitment to work and xi) presentation. The list can be used for all the DEO members including managers. The leadership field is applicable to managers. These are practical and realistic sets of skills and knowledge that the DEOs should acquire by undertaking day to day work. They could give the DEOs concrete images of what they need to do when they visit schools. Currently, the competency's list is used for the JICA expert to evaluate each DEO team members and to identify what kinds of additional support is needed for them. Beyond the Project, it could be applied to the general professional development of the DEO officers. Furthermore, this could give implications to the designing of training programs for the local education officers. Self-evaluation using the competency list was made by each DEO at the end of the Year 2. However, it turned out to be very difficult for the DEOs to be objective to themselves. The DEOs evaluated themselves almost perfect even though they were not from outside observations. Therefore, to make use of the list for self-evaluation, it requires setting up a certain standard to make the evaluators objective from their personal assessment.

Table 5.31: Competency List of the DEOs

	Field	Discription
1	Team Working	I cooperate and help the other member of the team.
2	Leadership	I give clear directions to the team and sets tasks for each member.
		I motivate team members to work hard.
3	Networking	I contact and bring any important people to the school community for BRIDGE events, such as signing ceremony, open day, awareness events.
4	Resource mobilization	I build good relationships with key stakeholders to bring new resources to support my pilot schools, such as introduction of local council, wealthy family in the community and other donors.
5	Knowledge and skills to support schools	I fully understand my own pilot schools in terms of: a) enrolment of boys and girls students; b) ability of the head teachers to manage their schools; c) level of community participation, including women's participation; and d) conditions of school environment.
		To solve problems, I organize meetings with appropriate school committee members, facilitate discussions before visiting schools and reach a conclusion at the end of the meeting.
		I organize meetings with women at my pilot schools by consulting with the community leaders and head teachers.
		I prepare reports on what has been discussed and list next steps.
		I provide training and make sure that all the participants understand the contents.
		I keep a well-organized file of the project documents.
		I provide different levels of supports according to different levels of head teachers' capacity and different conditions of schools.
6	Communication with pilot schools	I encourage and listen to schools and communities, including illiterate and women.
		I establish good relationships with people and solve conflicts.
7	Personal Maturity	I manage personal emotion and provide good advice even under tight schedule and stressful environment.
8	Commitment to work	I meet deadlines of all report submissions.
		I attend all the meetings with JICA-BRIDGE team on time.
9	Presentation	I can make presentations on importance of girls' education and community participation in front of large groups of people I am able to provide concrete examples.

Source: Created by the Author

5.4 Community Participation in Implementation of WSD Activities

5.4.1 Changes in the Community's Attitude towards School

According to a parents' questionnaire (477 fathers and 64 mothers in the pilot schools) in the baseline survey conducted in August 2004, 82 percent of the parents did not know whether they respected their children's teacher. Sixty-seven percent of parents did not know whether they were willing to help the school or not. 83 percent of parents did not know whether they must cooperate with the community to improve education. Most parents just did not know about their children's school and teachers, but still 54 percent of the parents felt that they were not satisfied with the school. On the contrary, parents were supportive to girls' education. 94.9 percent of parents agreed that males and females have equal rights to education. 80.1 percent of parents disagreed that it was enough for girls to just read and write. 98.2 percent of parents agreed that women's participation in education was necessary to improve education. From the baseline survey, a strong demand to girls' education among parents was identified. The result indicates that not being familiar enough with the schools makes parents hesitant to keep sending their daughters to school.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the whole school development initiative in Yemen encourages the community's participation in the decision-making process by the establishment of school committees, fathers' and mothers' councils. The establishment of school committees with school grants helped to encourage various community members to participate in different activities at different levels in the school, contributed to enhance the community's ownerships toward their school, and diminished the psychological distance between the community and the school. Based on Shaffer's ladder of participation (1994) shown in Figure 2.1 in Chapter 2, the study assesses the degree of overall community participation based on observations of the 59 pilot schools.

1. **The mere use of a service**: Most of the women's participation started from this stage, such as attending literacy and sewing classes when the schools started offering these services.
2. **Involvement through contribution of resources**: All construction work was completed by local fathers' participation. Since laborers were brought in from the community, construction was quickly completed once members of the community became excited about the Project and increased their participation. For instance, one toilette was constructed in just a week at one school with local participation. Data also shows that 6 percent of total funding spent for the Project activities was mobilized from the community in the first year.
3. **Involvement through attendance and the receipt of information; that is passive acceptance of decisions made by others**: The Project encourages each school to hold regular meetings at each school committee, fathers' and mothers' council to discuss the progress and concerns regarding activity implementation. Although the official discussions were undertaken among the limited number of members, such as the head teacher, treasurer, and chairperson of the School Committee, community people, including mothers, were willing to discuss at any social events, such as wedding parties or qats-chewing gatherings.
4. **Involvement through consultation on specific issues**: In the course of implementing pilot activities, there were many issues raised. Implementation involves more people than decision making. Even after the activities were decided

by the school committees, community members outside of the school committee expressed different opinions, for example, instead of buying a water tank, some people preferred to rehabilitate one classroom. When some conflicts between schools and communities arouse, they were resolved one by one through consultations between the school and the community with support from the Project team as well as the DEO team.

5. **Participation in delivery of service**: Community people were actively involved in finding candidates for contract teachers. Female teachers hired under the Project were identified among their family networks, such as a wife of a local man who is currently living in the city. Since they found teachers within their networks, the people have more trust in them and are willing to send their daughters to school even if the teacher was male.
6. **Participation as implementers of delegated authority**: Since school committees play a central role in receiving and managing funds, the planning and implementation of pilot activities were actively undertaken by the committees at most schools. Even though the core members participating in the committees are still limited to people such as head teacher, community leaders, wealthy men, and politically important men, this is a positive start for school management. The remaining challenge for the schools is to broaden the participation from the community to include mothers.

As seen above, different levels of community participation have been realized by introducing school committees at each school. However, it is valuable to note that this participation could not happen automatically by just establishing school committees. Table 5.32 shows the level of community participation in four different criteria, which are the community leader's recognition of girls' education, collaboration between the head teacher and the community, the community leader's initiative to encourage women's participation and women's participation in decision making. These criteria were developed by the JICA-BRIDGE team for the DEOs to assess their pilot schools in the district. The table shows the result of the assessment done by the DEOs in November 2006. The table reveals that 40.7 percent of all pilot schools are still weak in collaboration between the head teacher and the community. It could be interpreted that the members of the community do not think they need to help the head teacher to improve the quality of education in schools. They think that the school is only the responsibility of the government. Since the BRIDGE Project is aimed at improving girls' education, the criteria emphasize gender issues. The table also indicates that communities understand the importance of girls' education and encourage women to participate in school activities; however, women's participation in decision making is still limited, as 71.2 percent of schools are regarded weak on this matter.

Table 5.32: Community Participation in the 59 Pilot Schools

	Excellent		Good		Weak		Total	
	n=59	%	n=59	%	n=59	%	n=59	%
Community leaders' recognition of girls' education	16	27.1%	40	67.8%	3	5.1%	59	100.0%
Collaboration between head teacher and community	5	8.5%	30	50.8%	24	40.7%	59	100.0%
Community leaders' initiative to encourage women's participation	5	8.5%	38	64.4%	16	27.1%	59	100.0%
Women's participation in decision making	1	1.7%	16	27.1%	42	71.2%	59	100.0%

Source: JICA (2006c)

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the community people felt distance from the school before the Project. In addition, from the observations, some community members felt mistrust towards the government when the Project was started. Gradually, people changed their behaviors and attitudes toward the Project, DEOs and GEOs. Though initially people felt distance from and distrust in schools and the government, once the DEOs and GEOs started its regular visits to schools, the people began to expect that "they could actually do something for us." However, in some schools that had past experiences of other donor projects, people were not willing to participate in the activities without being rewarded in some ways which was the case in their past experiences. In most schools, complaints were often heard from the school and the community in Year 1 - such as "500,000 YER is not enough to build classrooms. We need more!" In other cases, water tanks were purchased but not used because the school did not have enough funding to supply water for the tank. The people said, "We could not use the water tank because JICA did not give us money for purchasing water." "We could not complete the classroom because the money was not enough. So, we left the classroom incomplete without using it." These were the complaints that were heard often in Year 1. During monitoring the implementation of activities, the DEOs and GEOs patiently explained, "You need to think how to find other sources when the JICA money is not enough". Schools then started to come up with ideas on how they could supply water by asking contributions from wealthy families, by collecting contributions among teachers and parents, and by asking local NGOs to support water. Through accumulating such experience and receiving advice from the DEOs, the pilot schools started to feel that they are responsible for improving their own schools in a proactive way. This change happened gradually from school to school. In this process, the DEOs played an important role in sharing one school's experience to others. This also created a feeling of competition and motivation to make their own school better for their children, leading to better implementation of the Project activities.

Another point that should be noted is that especially at the beginning of the Project, frequent and regular school visits were essential in convening the school and the community for discussion. It was especially needed for women to participate in the decision-making process. At schools that had never experienced community participation in the past, both the school and the community did not know what to do even after establishment of a school committee. Therefore, when the monitoring team visited the schools, the DEOs requested the school to invite members of the school committee, fathers' council and mothers' council to convene at the school to discuss issues of their own school. Through such intermediation by the DEOs, the school and the community were able to start discussions.

In the case of women's participation, the situation was more complicated. In the Year 1, women could not attend the meetings even if the DEOs asked them to come without first gaining trust from men, since the people were very cautious about outsiders in their community. In addition, women were too busy for house works and could not have time to attend any meeting without supports from the family member. But after several visits to the school, women also started to attend the meetings. Women's attendance was promoted by first getting family members of head teachers and school committee members to come to the meetings. At some schools, however, women could not attend the same meeting with men and express their opinion in front of men. Thus, female government officers, in most cases the girls' education officials

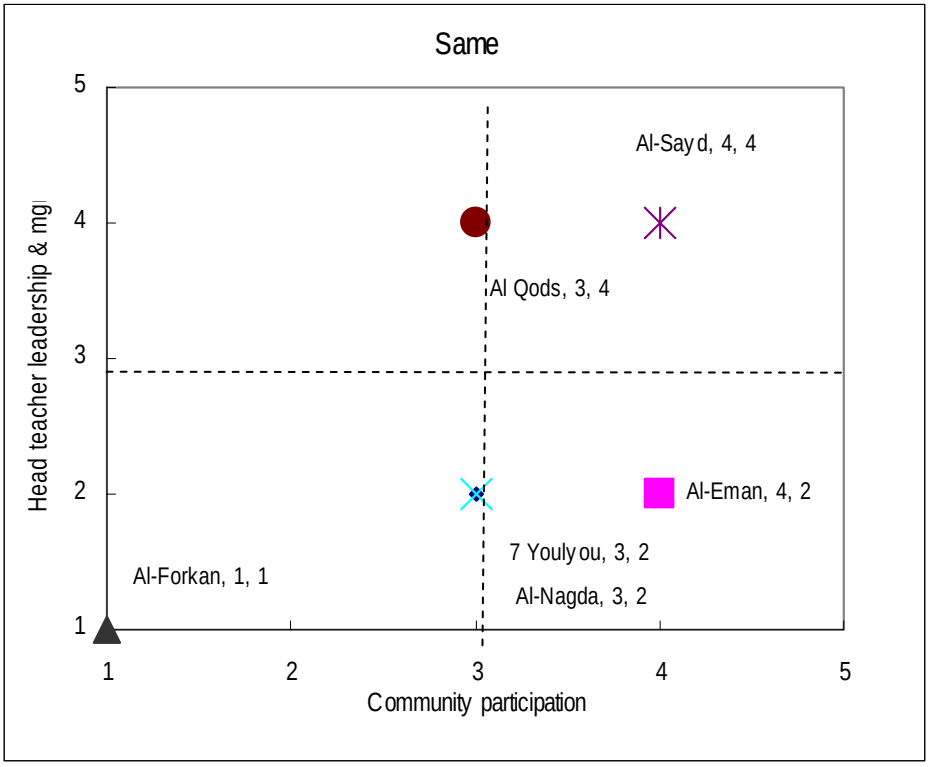
of the DEOs or the GEOs, met with women in a separate room or outside of the school, such as a neighboring house, to listen to the women's opinions and then bring back their opinions to the school committee meetings. In Dhubab, Same and Al Makha, gradually men and women started to attend the same meeting once they got accustomed to meeting together. Participation of women in a co-ed environment very much depends on the openness of the community.

Another factor that successfully encouraged women's participation was that the Project made it an obligation that each pilot school in Year 2 included at least one activity for women. The most popular activity has been literacy classes. In most schools, the women can become a recipient of these services by attending the class. For instance, in some exceptional schools, women were active in recruiting female trainers for their literacy classes. However, such active participation by women could not be realized without the support from men, including the head teacher.

5.4.2 Relationship between Community Participation and Head Teacher

This section examines the relationship between the head teachers and community participation by using the DEO's school evaluation conducted in November 2006. Since the pilot schools' evaluation at each district was made by the DEOs, the results are shown by each district. The scale shown in the figures is as follows: 5=excellent; 4= satisfactory+; 3=satisfactory; 2= satisfactory-; and 1= weak. When the DEOs evaluated their pilot schools, a strong sense of egalitarianism was observed. Some DEOs wanted to evaluate all the schools equally and hesitated to give the schools a low evaluation. As a result, in some districts not much of a difference was found among the evaluations of each school. Even though it is difficult to identify the differences in the middle ranged schools in their evaluations, the outstanding schools in both directions, excellent and weak, give some implications of why they are evaluated the way they were. In addition, at the timing of the evaluation, all the DEOs could not fully understand the roles of head teachers in the WSD activities. Therefore, the accuracy of the evaluation is questionable. However, if focusing on the best and worst schools in the context of community participation and head teacher's capacity, it could be valuable to identify some patterns between community participation and the head teacher's management capacity and leadership.

Figure 5.8: Community Participation and Head Teacher Leadership in Same



Source: Created by the Author

In Same district, as seen in Figure 5.8 the best schools in both community participation and head teacher quality are Al Qods School and Al Sayd School. On the contrary, Al Forqan School is weakest in these perspectives. Al Eman School is weak in the head teacher category but strong at community participation. Al Forqan School has been a problematic school in the first two years of Project implementation. Firstly, the school is located at the top of a mountain which is very difficult to access. Therefore, the DEOs had never visited the school before the Project and they were reluctant to make the visit in the first Project year. The school was originally built by a community leader. The former head teacher was the founder of the school, and the current head teacher is the son of the former head teacher. The former head teacher holds a strong, almost personal, ownership because he has established the school and has been taking care of it ever since. He distrusts the government and DEOs since they have not supported the school in the past. Because of his strong sense of ownership, the community people were excluded from the decision making even though the school committee has been set up by the Project. All the decisions and use of funds were determined by him and his son. Once the DEO started to visit the school regularly, the community started to express their complaints toward the head teacher and his father, the founder. They wanted to participate in the decision making of their school once the mechanism was put in place. Therefore, the DEOs, supported by the GEO and JICA experts, started to set up a series of meetings for the school and the community to meet together. At the beginning, the head teacher and his family strongly resisted to release their decision making authority to the community. However, after two years of continuous dialogue between the DEOs and the head teacher's family, and with strong pressure from the District Manager and the DEOs, the founder, the former head teacher,

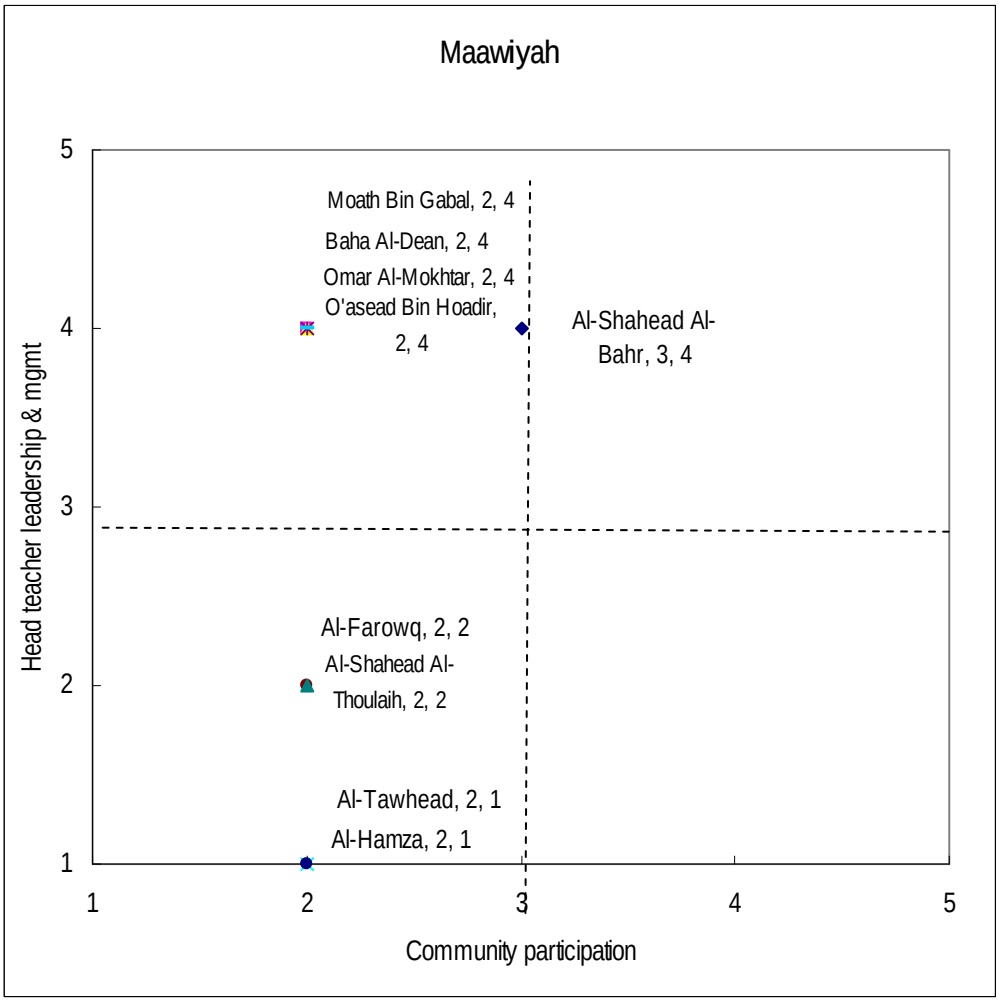
gradually started to understand the importance of community participation. At the end of Year 2, the school started to hold literacy classes by their own funding for women in the community.

Al Qods School is strong in both community participation and head teacher ratings. The school was newly opened in 2006. The head teacher is a very sociable person and has extensive networks among the people. He contacted a wealthy man doing business in Taiz and local families that are currently living in Saudi Arabia to ask for donations for establishing the school. He successfully raised 0.8 million YER for building new classrooms in addition to the JICA funding. The school hired two female contract teachers from the community. He supported them to prepare their classes and observes their teaching in the classroom to provide advice. Even though the head teacher is good and enthusiastic in managing and improving the school, he also has a problem that needed support from the GEO. The problem is that he is registered as teacher in a neighboring district and not Same where the school is located, even though he is originally from the local community in Same. Regardless, he was assigned as the head teacher of Al Qods School by the DEO since the opening of the school, and he therefore needs to teach in the other district to earn his salary which makes it difficult for him to concentrate on his role as head teacher of AL Qods School. The process to transfer a teacher from one district to another is a very time consuming process within the GEO and it has not yet happened in this case.

Al Eman School has an interesting combination with a weak head teacher and strong community participation rating, which resulted in achieving the highest increase of female students' enrollment among pilot schools in Same District in Year 2. Al Eman School has a head teacher and teachers from outside of the community. From the interview with the DEO of Same, it was found that before the Project, the school was managed only by itself and did not involve the community. Since the head teacher and teachers were outsiders, the community people did not pay much attention to their children's school and education. However, once the school was opened to the community by the Project, the community people started to participate in the school management. For example, the head of the fathers' council is a person who lives next to the school. He is not a community leader but is good at socializing. He opens his house for gatherings with members of fathers' councils and takes the initiative to observe teachers' attendance at the school.

7 Youlyo School has a satisfactory level of community participation. However, the school, the community and the DEOs are not consolidated. A series of letters accusing the DEOs and the school of misuse of the grants have been sent to the JICA project office. After closer investigation of the school and the community, there was no concrete evidence to support the accusations. Therefore, these letters were regarded to be from someone who was not involved in the school committee with some dissatisfaction towards the school. This incident implies the importance for the school committee to make the decision-making process transparent to others in the community. The project office now recommends to the school to purchase an announcement board to display the school improvement plan at the school.

Figure 5.9: Community Participation and Head Teacher Leadership in Maawiyah



Source: Created by the Author

Figure 5.9 shows the case of Maawiyah. There is a huge gap between the best school, Al Shahead Al Bahr School, and the weakest school, Al Hamza School. Al Shahead Al Bahr is located alongside of a main road leading to Taiz city. The school community is one of the wealthiest among all the pilot schools. The school has separate buildings respectively for male and female students. Once the Project started, the school received funding from the local council to build a new school building to offer secondary education for girls. The school has a very supportive community sheikh as the head of the fathers' council, who makes a significant amount of donations. The school has become a model school for others in the district, for example starting both literacy classes and sewing classes for women and even inviting other school community members to attend.

On the contrary, Al Hamza School is located deep in the mountains and in a very poor area of the district. The head teacher is a non-official head teacher, who is the founder of the school but lacking qualified education and leadership. Since the community is very poor, there is not a strong leader in the community. The school's physical condition was very poor, such as having classes being taught outside, so the attention has been focused mainly on building new classrooms. The comparison between Al Shahead Al Bahr and Al Hamza shows that there is more of a need for the DEO to support weak schools with poor physical conditions. If the school could not

have enough capacity to manage the school on their own, the local education officers need to provide extra support to these weak and poor schools to avoid further disparity within the district.

Figure 5.10: Community Participation and Head Teacher Leadership in Maqbanah

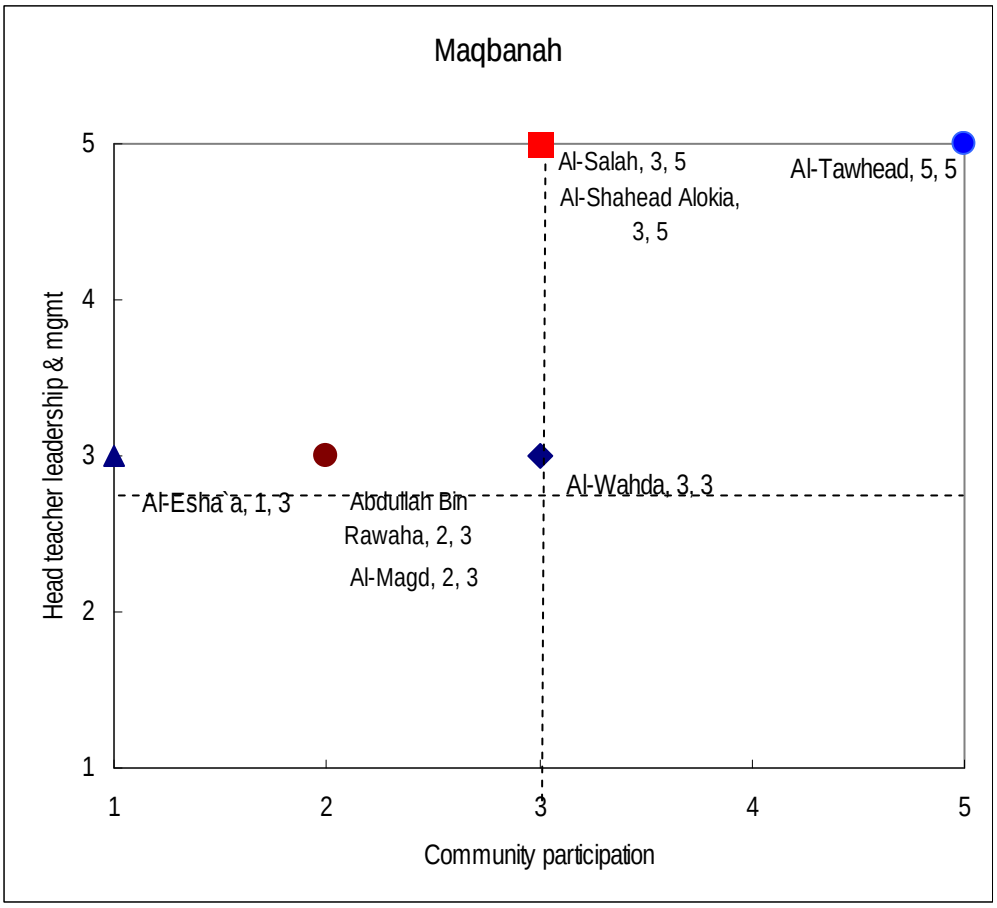


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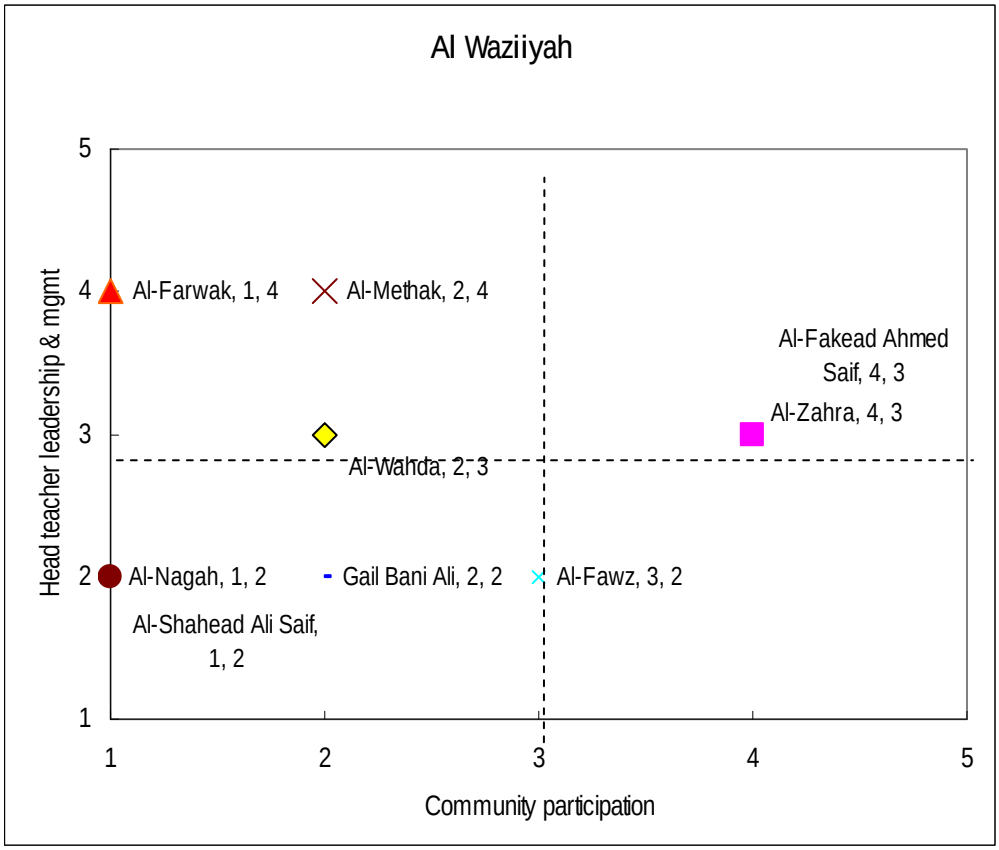
Figure 5.10 shows the case of Maqbanah district. In Maqbanah, Al Tawhead is outstanding both in head teacher and community participation ratings even though the school is located deep in the mountains, and they have a non-official head teacher. Strong collaboration between the community and the head teacher had been established even before the Project took place. Since the area has many families and relatives living abroad, the people's interest in education is high. The head teacher has been making efforts to mobilize financial contributions from the local families that live in the United States to build classrooms. This School is an example of a school managed mainly by the community, as it has not received much support from the government before. For example, the school has only two official teachers. Others have been working as volunteers and now as contract teachers. In Year 2, one of the official teachers was transferred to another school. Even though the school has strong community participation and a devoted head teacher, the school cannot continue to offer education without proper government support, thus foiling the efforts made by the devoted head teacher and the community.

Al Magd School and Abdullah Bin Rawaha School are examples of difficult cases in establishing good relationships between the community and head teachers. In both schools, head teachers are from outside of the community, which makes it difficult for

the school councils to function well. At Abdullah Bin Rawaha School, the new head teacher was assigned to the school three years ago. However, the former head teacher, who is also a founder of the school, never allowed the new head teacher to take office. Since his commitment to the school has been recognized by the community, the community people support him. Naturally, the new head teacher was often absent from the school. Even though the Project has started and the DEO tried to improve the situation, the situation could not be improved to date. The Project objectives were never fully understood by the community and the school, which led to a decreasing number in female student in Year 2, even though the number of male students increased. The female to male student ratio worsened drastically from Year 1 (0.48) to Year 2 (0.19). This example indicates that schools in rural areas are usually part of a very isolated community which makes it very difficult for outsiders to manage the school. These schools could not be managed well without the support from the communities. The head teacher should be selected with full consensus from the community.

Figure 5.11 presents Al Waziiyah's pilot schools. Al Fakead Ahmed Saif School, a boys-only school, and Al Zahara School, a girls-only school, score the highest. Community participation at Al Zahara School, the all-girls school, especially by women is stronger than other schools. The school hires 4 female contract teachers, who are active in communicating with the mothers. There are no obstacles for women to come to the school since the school has only girls students since the environment is already secured for the girls students with a wall. Even so, the situation surrounding the school quickly worsened, when the head teacher had to be absent from the school due to family reasons in the latter half of Year 2.

Figure 5.11: Community Participation and Head Teacher Leadership in Al Waziiyah

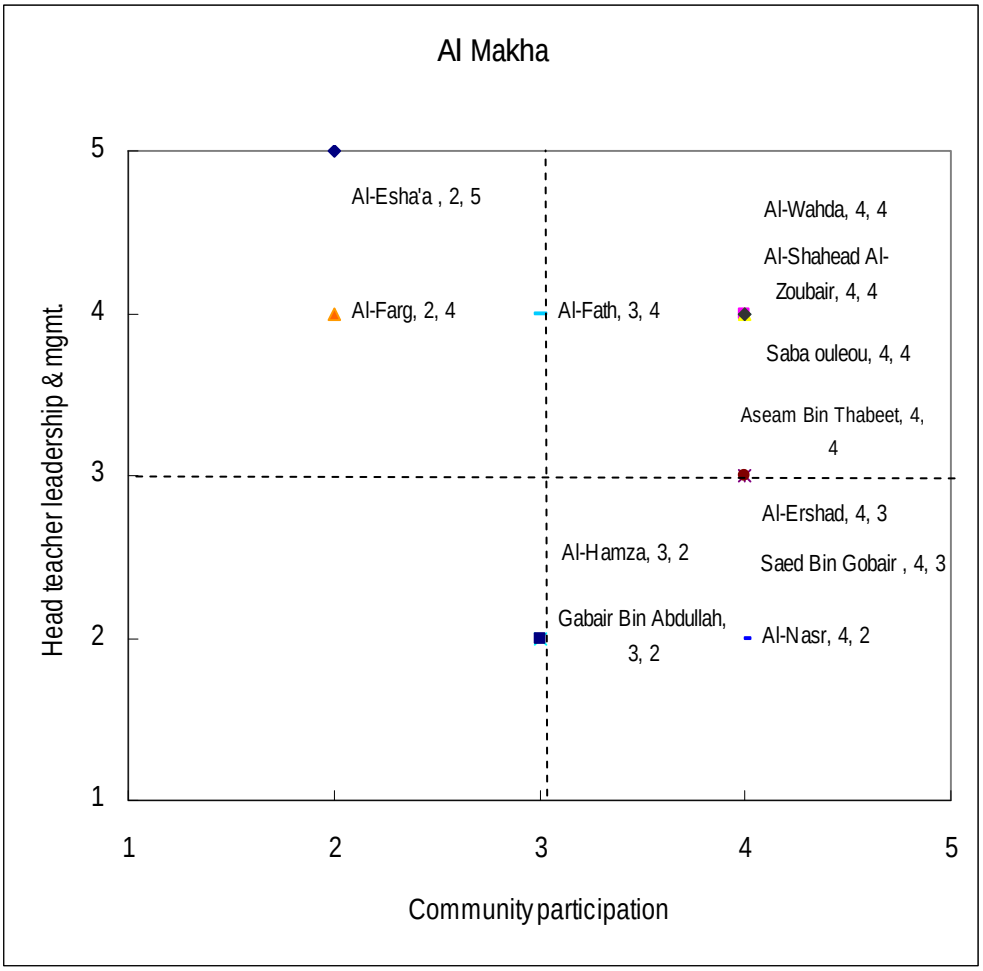


Source: Created by the Author

For example, when the female students used the school radio purchased by the grants to make announcements to the community, some of the community members protested that women should not be taking part in such activity. This is partly because the community, especially in Al Waziiyah, is a very conservative closed society with strong tribalism, but this incident also tells the importance of the head teacher's presence at the school in persuading the community to support their activities.

On the contrary to Al Zahara School, Al Fakead Ahmed Saif School is an all boys school from grades 1 to grade 6. In the 2 years of implementation, the school performed remarkably well. In Year 2, the School organized two women's activities, which were a literacy class and sewing class open for women. It is normal in Yemen for women to be prohibited from going to public spaces where many unknown men gather. Some schools cannot open literacy classes for women in the afternoon because male teachers are living in the school. However, the case of Al Fakead Ahmed Saif School shows that women could come to a boys' school if the school is secured for women. The head teacher was very considerable and thoughtful to arrange these classes for women since the school had experiences working with a local NGO to organize literacy classes. First, the head teacher decided to place a rule that illiterate women should come to the literacy class first, and then they could join the sewing class after reaching a certain level in the literacy class. Also, the sewing class produced school uniforms and bags for students to be sold. There are many schools that organize sewing classes where women want to produce children's dresses and are less interested in producing goods and clothing that are directly related to the school. The head teacher was successful in persuading the women by helping them to understand how it could improve the school. Now, many women, even female students from other schools, are coming to attend the afternoon sewing and literacy classes at this school.

Figure 5.12: Community Participation and Head Teacher Leadership in Al Makha



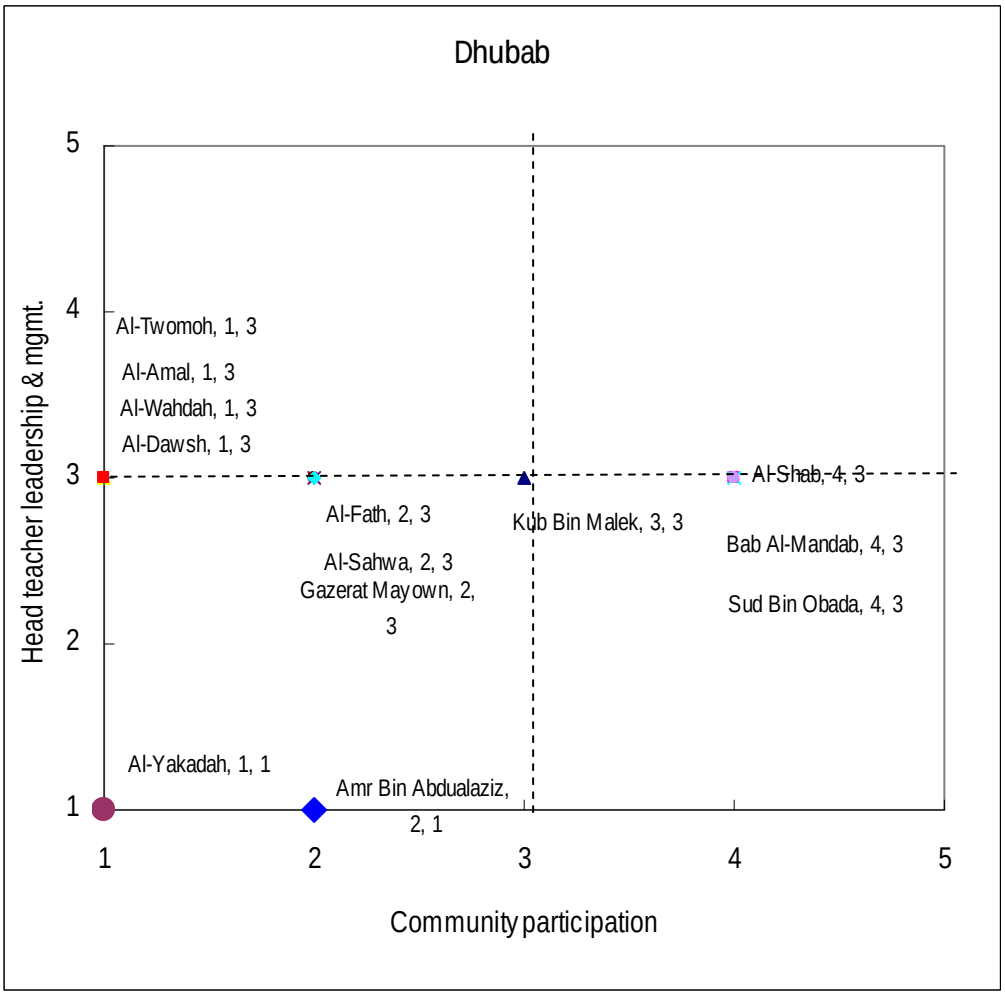
Source: Created by the Author

Figure 5.12 shows Al Makha's example. In Al Makha, Al Esha'a School is exceptional, which is not surprising as Al Esha'a is the only school that has everything (from classes offered up to grade 12, a GEO head teacher, sufficient number of teachers, sufficient number of classrooms even with poor conditions, to support from the World Food Program) among pilot schools in Al Makha. In addition, the school received a grass-root small grant program from the Embassy of Japan. Receiving a lot of support from different sources, Al Esha'a became the best school in Al Makha. Among the pilot schools that are in poor condition without enough classrooms, few or no GEO teachers, no official head teacher, and no WFP support, Al Wahda School performed the best. The strong performance of Al Wahda School is supported by a GEO teacher who teaches in Al Esha'a School and due to the small community with strong integrity. Even though the teacher from Al Esha'a is not teaching at the school, he takes on a leadership role to unite the community and the head teacher.

7 yolyo School also shows good community participation even though the school is located in the middle of a desert. This is because the Isla Party, one of the major opposing political parties, supports the school. Another example is Al Ershad School. Though the school is relatively better in its situation compared to others in terms of the receiving WFP support and being closer to the main road, the head teacher is a volunteer, who also provides land for the school. The head teacher does not have any

education but the only GEO teacher in the school and the deputy head teacher play very active roles in collaborating with other teachers and the community.

Figure 5.13: Community Participation and Head Teacher Leadership in Dhubab



Source: Created by the Author

Figure 5.13 is Dhubab district's one. Bab Al Mandeb School, Al Shab School and Sud Bin Obada School are the best performing schools. Good performances by Bab Al Mandeb and Al Shab are reasonable and were expected because they have experienced head teachers in place at the center of the district. These two schools are the core schools of secondary education in Dhubab, where the coast guard and military are based. There are many children in these two schools from families of military personnel and the schools are able to receive donations from them. Al Amal, Al Twomoh, Al Wahda, and Al Dawsh Schools received the same evaluation from the DEOs, which are least community participation but satisfactory head teachers. There are differences, however, between the DEO's evaluation and the reality. Al Dawsh is better in community participation under the leadership of the head teacher. The school organizes sewing classes very well. The head teacher supports women's activities by arranging a separate classroom near the school for the sewing classes in the afternoon. The school was awarded as the best women's activity school in Year 2 by the DEO. Al Twomh School is one example of how the head teacher changes community relationships. In Year 1, no community participation occurred since all the decisions were made by the former

head teacher, who was arrested because of theft and corruption charges and replaced at the end of Year 1. Once the new head teacher was in place, he established good relationships with the community. With the new head teacher, the School achieved the highest increase ratio of female enrollment between Year 1 and Year 2. The number of girls increased from 36 in Year 1 to 151 in Year 2, which was caused by good management of the school and the presence of female teachers in the school. It is expected that the evaluation could be improved in Year 3 in terms of community participation.

Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, the study discusses findings from the previous chapters and limitations of the study, and then draws conclusions of the study. Based on the discussion and conclusions, the study also makes recommendations to the MOE, GEOs and other donors for the successful implementation of WSD activities in Yemen.

6.1 Discussion

In Chapter 5, four hypotheses regarding WSD activities in Yemen were examined. The first hypothesis, that WSD activities could improve access and equity to basic education in rural areas of Yemen, could be supported by several pieces of evidence. Through the implementation of the WSD activities at 59 schools in 6 pilot districts of Taiz Governorate in two years, the numbers of students, both male and female students, have increased. A larger margin of increase was seen in Year 1, and the speed of increase slowed down in Year 2. The female students' increase is larger than the male students' increase because the WSD activities in Taiz give priority to promoting the enrollment of female students. However, the WSD activities did not exclude male students' from benefiting. As the activities contributed to improving the physical conditions of schools and increasing the number of teachers at schools, the schools' environment improved. This helped to attract more students to school education regardless of their gender.

The WSD activities in Taiz also emphasized increasing the number of female teachers at rural schools in order to improve girls' education. Even though when the government was not able to allocate female teachers to some areas, community members were able to find appropriate and qualified female teachers from their own networks. More importantly the analysis revealed that local teachers are more welcomed by the community people regardless of the gender of the teachers. In sum, the WSD activities that transfer authority and control over the budget to school committees, giving decision making power to choose what activities to undertake to improve their own schools, lead to improving access to basic education by in many cases through the improvement of school infrastructure and increasing the number of teachers. In addition to the WSD approach, emphasis on girls' education has helped to improve equity by increasing female students' enrollment without excluding male students from education since the approach has provided benefits for both male and female students.

The second hypothesis that providing school grants to schools is not enough for schools to pay attention to improve the quality of education especially in rural areas due to lack of experiences in head teachers and lack of number of qualified teachers, could be supported by several findings from the analyses. The bottlenecks to hinder schools to provide quality education are the shortage of experienced head teachers and teachers. The shortage of teachers in rural schools is serious. Even though the WSD activities enable the school and community to hire contract teachers, they need support from the head teacher on the daily teaching and preparation of the teaching and from the government to receive trainings. In reality, however, after two years since the WSD activities have been implemented in Taiz Governorate, trainings for these contract teachers have not yet been realized by the GEO. Furthermore, there are schools without official government head teachers, and schools with no government teachers but only

contract teachers. At these schools contract teachers are forced to teach students by themselves and to manage the school organization without the head teachers. For these schools, huge burdens and a great amount of pressure are put on contract teachers. These situations are not negligible. However, simply assigning someone to the head teacher position in these schools does not solve the situation. Without trust and respect from the community, the head teacher cannot take on leadership to improve the school. Some communities do not have any qualified people for the head teacher position in the first place, since those communities never had schools until recent years and are simply in short of professionals with even basic education. Even if the communities are very active to support its schools, professional educational experts are in great need to improve the quality of education at their schools and in their classrooms. There are roles that the local education offices can play to improve this situation, such as to support the deployment and allocation of qualified teachers, to provide school management trainings for head teachers, and to assign deputy head teachers to schools with less qualified and unofficial head teachers. Since the school conditions in terms of human resources, such as the head teacher and teachers, are diversified among schools, there are potential risks to widen these gaps if a proper support system is not provided, especially to schools lacking basic human resources.

The third hypothesis, that implementing the WSD activities could contribute to strengthen the capacity of DEOs if appropriate opportunities of capacity development and authorities are given, is supported by several findings. Firstly, by supporting schools that implement the WSD activities, the roles and responsibilities were clearly defined for the district education officers. Secondly, the process of implementing WSD activities helped to identify the necessary skill sets for the district education officers. Thirdly, visiting schools regularly made the DEO know their school conditions and needs better. Before the WSD activities were started, DEOs could not visit all the schools or conduct regular visits, and did not know about their schools due to the limited budget for visiting schools. Once the activities were started, the monitoring fees were supported by JICA which enabled DEOs to make the necessary regular school visits. Fourthly, the regular school visits contributed to establishing trustful working relationships among the school, community and the DEOs. When the WSD activities were started two years ago, some schools and communities had skeptical feelings toward the DEOs since they had never received any supports from the DEOs. However, once the DEOs regularly visited these schools and provided advice and support to improve their schools, the people's attitudes were changed in a positive way. There are cases that the relationships between the DEO and schools could not be well established due to personal conflict. In that case, the GEO should be intervened to take actions, such as putting the DEO person who has no conflict with the school. Lastly, monthly meetings between the DEOs and GEO/JICA experts were very helpful arrangement to facilitate discussions between the DEOs and GEO/JICA team regarding school needs and DEO's needs. When problems and issues were shared, immediate actions were taken if any support was needed from GEO/JICA. In addition, substantial discussions based on actual observations helped the DEOs to understand further about their own schools and to identify different level of needs that each school faced. Gradually the DEOs started to understand how to support schools instead of taking over them. Not only supporting the capacity development of the DEOs, rigorous and frequent monitoring by DEOs was also effective to secure proper and transparent use of the funds provided to each pilot school.

The last hypothesis, that a strong leadership is indispensable for the school and community to collaborate in school decision-making, is again confirmed by several pieces of evidence. Not all the pilot schools that performed well in community participation necessarily have a strong leadership in head teachers. In these schools, if a strong leadership is not seen in a head teacher, community leaders, called sheikhs, take up the leadership role to promote community participation.

For realizing good partnerships between the community and the school, a good school environment is not always required. The cases of Al Shahead Al Bahr in Maawiyah, Al Esha'a in Al Makha and Al Shab in Dhubab show that schools located close to the main road or the center of the district could easily benefit from resources available for improving school infrastructure. Then, the community's willingness to participate in school improvement could be raised. However, the case of Al Tawhead in Maqbanah indicates that due to strong community participation, the school's physical conditions were improved even without sufficient government support to the schools.

On the other hand, the cases of weak community participation were often seen with failure of establishing a good relationship among the school, the founder of the school and the community. The cases of Abdullah Bin Rawaha in Maqbanah and Al Forqan in Same are these examples. The founder family of the school dominated the decision making in the school in Al Forqan, and the founder refused to accept a new head teacher coming from outside of the community, and to introduce the school committee system to the school. Another example of a weak head teacher is Al Tawhead in Maawiyah. Since the head teacher had been absent due to sickness and no other people are playing the leadership role in the school, community participation could not be initiated yet.

In addition to the presence of a strong leadership either at the school or the community in community participation, the analyses confirmed the necessity of support to introducing and inaugurating school committee systems with diversified participation from communities. The school committee system is new to schools. Without having proper guidance and with no prior experience in the system, the school and the community could not implement the new mechanism on their own. Specialized experts are especially needed to gain women's participation in the school decision making process, to give opportunities to women to express their opinions in these processes, and to deliver these messages to men. For a long time, schools and communities in rural and deprived areas of the country have received little attention and support from the government. As a result, a strong distrust towards the government exists amongst schools and its communities. Until schools and communities become proactive to improve the school and feel ownerships toward their schools, frequent school visits and approaches from the local education officers to the school and community are required. Otherwise, the schools and the communities will not change their passive attitudes, even with provision of funding.

Strong tribalism[15] still exists in Yemen. The society in rural areas tends to be closed to outsiders, but the people help each other as one family within the community.

[15] The word 'tribalism' used in this dissertation means that each village and community is integrated by a leader with a strong cultural identity within the community. Under the leader, called a sheikh in Yemen, each community has egalitarian structure and mutual help system. Under the republic system and introduction of the multi-party system, tribal groups have been dissolved in recent years in Taiz Governorate. However, the people keep the spirit of the tribalism.

A leader of the community takes care of other community members. Therefore, it is not yet found that a small group of elites and wealthy people dominate all the decision making and benefits of the school grant within the group. However, these communities tend to exclude the outsiders from the community's decision making. It is not clear whether members of school committees represent all the villages within the school community. Further research is needed to identify whether this active community participation only occurs near the school, or involves all the villages within the school communities. The geographical balance within the same school community is not examined. From observation, active community participation seems to be limited to the villages near the school. In some of the pilot schools, immigrants from Ethiopia, called Akdam in Arabic, are residing. They are not included in the decision making process and are not allowed to have their children come to school. The Project approach does not cover these groups of people. Therefore, it cannot be said that the community participation realized in these pilot schools are fully genuine forms of participation.

Furthermore, the community participation in school committees has helped to secure a transparent and accountable use of school grants. Since the school committee mechanism was installed at each school, it made possible for the people from the community to keep their eyes on the use of funding and to express their opinions where in some cases the head teacher tried to dominate the decision making.

6.2 Limitations of the Study

Even though the analysis supported these four hypotheses with evidence, it should be noted here that there are limitations in the study. First, the duration of the Study was only for two years, and the JICA Girls Education Project will continue until November 2008. Therefore, the impacts and changes observed and discussed in this Study only apply to the first half of the project implementation. Further observation should be needed to confirm whether these impacts would be realized even after the JICA project ends.

Second, the Study was only limited to the case of JICA Girls Education Project and the case of Taiz Governorate. Taiz Governorate has received many benefits due to its location on the main routes from Sana'a and Aden, and on the boarder of the former North and South Yemen. There are also many successful wealthy families who had established big businesses in Aden when the British ruled there and moved from Aden when the communist took over power from Britain. Thus, even though the pilot areas covered are diversified, cautious examinations are needed on whether the experiences in Taiz could be applied to other parts of Yemen.

6.3 Conclusion

The Ministry of Education of Yemen has taken a two- track approach to promote educational decentralization. The first track is to implement institutional reform of the education sector to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the Ministry of Education among other government agencies, such as the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Local Administration, Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation, and Ministry of Civil Services, as well as between the central and local levels of the Ministry of Education. At the same time, the Ministry of Education has been trying to increase the autonomy of schools and to promote community participation by introducing the WSD

activities nationally at the lowest level of the education sector, which is at the school and community level.

These efforts are made by the MOE in order to achieve a 95 percent net enrollment rate in basic education by 2015, which is an international pledge by the Government of Yemen. Donors have recently emphasized that the country should improve both the access and quality of education due to the gaps between access and quality after the MOE's efforts to focus on improving access. The argument has emerged that only improving access could not be sustainable to keep students at school if the quality of education at the schools could not be provided. If teaching methods are not attractive to encourage students' learning, or textbooks are not delivered, parents will take their children back to their homes to help their families. Take the case of Africa. While abolishing school fees in many African countries has improved enrollment dramatically, the sudden increase of the students' enrollment derived by the fee abolishment has deteriorated the quality of education at the same time due to the lack of classrooms, textbooks and qualified teachers. Since the Government of Yemen aims at abolishing school fees for all grades in basic education, the ways to improve access and quality of education simultaneously should be seriously considered. Aside from improving access and quality, Yemen faces the urgent need to tackle many complicated issues on education simultaneously, including improving efficiency and strengthening the management capacity of educational authorities at all levels of the government. Therefore, the WSD approach has received attention as a potential solution to solve these multi-dimensional problems of the country's basic education system. This study examined the WSD activities being introduced to the country with grants directly given to schools to finance school improvement activities that are jointly planned and implemented by the schools and communities.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the WSD approach was originally developed in the Western developed countries including the UK, USA, Australia and New Zealand. Therefore, the application to developing countries, especially in less developed countries such as Yemen, is required to consider the local context of the countries. Without considering the latter points, the WSD activities could not be implemented successfully in sustainable ways. From the analyses, the following points could be proposed to consider the special attention needed in a country like Yemen in terms of the operational mechanism of the Yemeni WSD activities:

- Setting up the goal to improve both access and quality of education when the applying the WSD concept in rural and disadvantaged areas of the country.
- The first priority is establishing a school committee mechanism at each school. The school committees should be formed with the combination of school members, including the head teacher, and the community members. School committees help the schools to open its doors to the community and invite the community to participate in school decision-making and to increase transparency and accountability of the decision making process at schools. It helps to create trustful relationships between the school and the community and to foster ownership of the community members toward the school;
- Even though the decision making at the school committee is made jointly between the community and the school, leadership by the head teachers is required to lead the WSD activities at the school. In the reality of rural schools, some schools are operated without official head teachers. The study revealed that in the early stages of the WSD implementation, if the head teacher is less

experienced or weaker, the community could play the leadership role instead of the head teacher. However, from the perspective of improving the quality of teaching and learning in the long run, it is indispensable to have capable head teachers to manage the school. The provision of trainings to the head teachers on how to improve schools and play a leadership role at the school is required in addition to the training on how to manage the grants. For the head teachers, the idea of the WSD activities is unfamiliar. To take a leadership role, the appropriate trainings are required. At the same time, the assignment of official head teachers is required for the schools that currently do not have one. However, this is a sensitive issue. Without the consent of the local community, the head teachers could not perform well by receiving support from the school.

- To improve both the access and quality of education, schools need more teachers. WSD activities should allow the school to hire local teachers by themselves to substitute the shortage of government teachers. Local teachers are more accepted by the community since they are familiar with each other. Getting the community's support to hire teachers could help the community feel closer to the school. Female teachers could be found from local networks. These female teachers could be a role model to female students and encourage students to study hard and parents to send their daughters to school. These contract teachers must be trained.
- The WSD activities could not be successful without support from the DEOs. Installing an operational mechanism (e.g. school committees) and providing grants to each school are not enough. Especially, the roles and responsibilities of the DEOs are crucial for the schools to successfully manage the grants and implement WSD activities. Even within the same districts, the levels of school infrastructure, head teachers' leadership and management capacities, and degree of community participation are different from school to school. Therefore, support from the district education officers should be tailored according to the level and needs of the schools. The DEOs require the capacity and skills to identify these differences by analyzing their schools' statistics and observing the school environment and head teachers' capacity. In addition to supporting the schools by themselves, the DEOs should be good at mobilizing other resources from local councils, wealthy families of the communities, and other donors, to support the schools. Strong communication skills are also necessary. The top-down approach could not be recommended in enhancing schools' and communities' ownership and commitment. Listening to their opinions and motivating them are vital to foster their own commitment. The DEOs are required to be a good mentor to the schools. When there is confrontation between the school and community, the DEOs could act as mediators. Partnerships are necessary among the school, community and the DEOs.
- Support from the GEO is necessary especially in securing a budget for the WSD activities, assignment of head teachers, allocation of government teachers at each school, and providing the appropriate trainings to head teachers, school committees, and teachers. In addition, the GEO is the only one to hire qualified contract teachers as government teachers. Making the WSD activities at each school sustainable will be the most important role of the GEO.

- In rural basic schools in Yemen, the enrollment of female students is far behind from that of male students. Therefore, in designing the WSD activities, the importance of girl's education needs to be emphasized. The advantage of the WSD activities is to encourage enrollment of both male and female students by providing grants not just to female students but to the schools. Therefore, by no means are male students excluded. However, if no emphasis is put on girls' education, it might be difficult to increase both male and female students since there is still a lack of understanding towards girls' education. The baseline survey (JICA, 2005b) indicated that the major obstacle towards girls' education is head teachers not parents. Thus, in addition to strengthening the capacity of the head teachers, raising awareness of the head teachers towards the importance of girls' education is required.

From examining the hypotheses, the WSD activities currently implemented in Taiz Governorate has some strengths and weaknesses:

Strength 1: Direct support to schools increases ownership of the school and accountability of school-decision making.

The first strength is that the provision of grants directly to schools could encourage the schools' and the communities' motivation to cooperate with each other to improve their own schools, increase commitment and their sense of ownership toward "their" schools. As a result, it helps to increase the transparency and accountability of the schools' decision making process. It also brings changes in the people's attitude toward schools, which are in many cases initially negative.

Strength 2: Assets stay at the school and the people.

The second strength is that the approach could contribute to increasing students' enrollment and to improve the gender balance of students' enrollment. As previously discussed, it is unclear if the positive trends of increase would sustain after JICA's departure. However, the WSD activities help to foster ownership toward the school and build capacity of the people to improve their school facilities. This ownership and capacity could remain with the schools and communities even after JICA leaves. This is the difference from giving away cash or food to families directly. In the long-run, these assets will stay at the schools. It could be said that these added infrastructure and fostered motivation as well as ownership and capacities of the people could contribute in sustaining the increase of students' enrollment in the future.

Strength 3: Implementation of WSD activities is opportunities to strengthen the capacity of human resources and to foster partnerships among schools, communities and DEOs.

The third strength is that the whole school development activities could help to develop the people's capacity involved in the process of the implementation. Trainings given to the school committees and continuous support from the DEOs to schools help members of the school committees to develop their skills to manage the school. Experiencing the project cycle from planning, implementation, monitoring to evaluation itself becomes on the job training for the people. The capacities of the DEOs could be strengthened by visiting schools regularly and observing the school situations and analyzing the school statistics. The process of supporting the WSD activities at the school level could provide opportunities for the DEOs to establish a comprehensive set of skills on how to support schools. As seen, the implementation of the WSD activities could contribute to

foster trustful partnerships among the schools, communities and the DEOs because each works together under the same goal.

Weakness: Less attention to the quality of education without guidance.
The first weakness observed is that the school and people pay less attention to improving the quality of education, and pay more attention to improving the school infrastructure, such as classrooms and bathrooms, and to hire contract teachers. This is because the schools lack sufficient infrastructure, qualified teachers, and experienced head teachers. In addition, the people become excited on how to use these grants since they have never experienced receiving such an amount of grants (YER 500,000 annually). More seriously, many head teachers lack experience in improving the teachers' teaching skills, where many teachers are inexperienced or lacking training before being hired. Even though activities for the quality of education tend to be less frequently implemented than improving physical infrastructure, it takes much effort from the head teacher. Without providing training to support these head teachers' capacities, the schools cannot improve the quality of education at schools. In addition to the provision of school grants and training on how to manage these grants, the provision of appropriate trainings for teachers to improve their quality of teaching and for head teachers to improve their school management skills are also needed to overcome this weakness.

If we think of driving a car as a metaphor for the school mechanism necessary for the implementation of WSD, so far the WSD activities in Taiz Governorate has successfully bought a car for each of the pilot schools. The Project has also provided gasoline (school grants) to run the car, and has put a driver (a head teacher) in the driver's seat. What is missing is the road map for the drivers. Using the road map, the drivers will be able to navigate the car towards their final destination which is the improvement in "access to good quality education".

6.4 Recommendations

The Governorate of Taiz has prepared budgets to continue the WSD activities in the pilot schools in the six districts, and is starting to plan expanding the activities to other districts in the Governorate. At the same time, the General Education Department of the Ministry of Education is currently studying the WSD activities being implemented in Taiz Governorate in order to expand the activities to 600 schools in 10 governorates to be supported by the Basic Education Development (BEDP) Project financed by the World Bank, the Netherlands, and U.K Department for International Cooperation (DfID). UNICEF is going to start a Child Friendly School Approach in 5 governorates of Yemen, including Taiz, in September 2007. Therefore, it would be worthwhile making recommendations to the MOE and GEOs on how to be able to make the WSD approach implemented in a sustainable way. Analysis in the study identifies the importance of policy coordination among and within different levels of government for the successful implementation of WSD activities. In Yemen, where educational decentralization is still an on-going process, a clear definition of the roles and responsibilities at each level of government has not yet been determined, and the financial decentralization is a process that requires a long time to implement. Therefore, government policy coordination is vital in the WSD approach.

The government's role is mainly in designing the WSD activities at each school, training the people who are involved in the implementation and monitoring and evaluation of the WSD activities. There are four recommendations:

Recommendation 1

Take time for preparing the implementation of the WSD activities: This study focuses on the implementation process of the WSD activities at the school level. Prior to the implementation, the MOE needs to design the WSD activities in terms of the following perspectives:

- *Decide the purpose of the WSD activities and areas to implement the WSD activities*: In Taiz governorate, the purpose was set up to increase female students' enrollment. Target areas are rural and disadvantaged districts. Another option is to implement the WSD activities in urban schools where the school environment is in better condition. Therefore, the purpose could be to focus on improving the quality of education. The advantage of targeting urban schools could be that a smaller budget would be required to implement the WSD activities since activities on the quality of education requires less of a budget than improving the school environment;
- *Decide the number of schools*: In Taiz, the WSD activities started from 56 schools, and then expanded to 59 schools in two years. From the experience of Taiz, it is recommendable to start from a small number of schools until the GEO and DEOs are accustomed to supporting the school level activities;
- *Prepare budgets to implement as well as support the WSD activities and decide the amount of grants given to school*: The problem faced in Taiz governorate was that the monitoring fee for GEO and DEOs to visit schools are not provided by the government. For the successful implementation of the WSD activities, support through regular school visits by the DEOs and GEO are essential. Therefore, the MOE and the GEO that plan to implement the WSD activities need to prepare budgets for both implementation and support. In Taiz, the amount of the school grants given to each school is the same so far. However, in other countries, there are examples of differentiating the amount of the grants according to the number of students or performance of the schools. If differentiating the amount by school, the formula should be prepared to justify the difference of the amount among the schools;
- *Specify the roles and responsibilities of each actor*: In Taiz, at the beginning of the implementation, there was no clear definition of the roles between the GEO and DEO. The definition was developed in a process of implementation. It is highly recommended to specify the roles and responsibilities among all the actors involved in the process. In addition, it is important to keep in mind that the purpose of the WSD activities is to increase the autonomy of the schools. Therefore, the roles of the local education officers should be limited to supporting schools.

These are the basic points also recommended in the inception report submitted to the MOE (PADECO, 2007). The importance of understanding these points in designing the program is to realize that the policy makers have many tasks to do before implementation. Thus, it is strongly recommended that the policymakers take at least

six months to design and prepare the framework before transferring the grants to each school.

Recommendation 2

Policy coordination between the decisions on abolishment of school fees and the expansion of the WSD activities at the national level: The abolishment of school fees has already begun in Yemen from the 2006/2007 school year for female students from grades 1 to grade 6 and for male students from grades 1 to grade 3. The goal of this initiative is to attract students from poor families. However, alternative financial arrangements for the schools, which used to keep 30 percent of the revenue from the school fees for their own activities, have not yet been put in place. The MOE, Ministry of Finance, Governorate Education Office, and Local Councils must coordinate to identify alternative financial resources and arrange the transfer of these funds to schools to continue these efforts. In Ghana, the abolishment of school fees and implementation of WSD activities were started at the same time. Currently, the MOE is studying the impact of abolishing school fees. Thus, the combined implementation of both could be considered.

Recommendation 3

Provide a comprehensive training program for implementing the WSD activities: In Yemen, even under educational decentralization, designing trainings is the role of the MOE. At the local government level, each GEO receives packages of training manuals and a budget to implement the training using these materials. Therefore, the training programs should be developed at the central level for the WSD activities. From the experience in Taiz, it is confirmed that different training programs are needed according to the roles and responsibilities of each actor. The following are suggestions for training programs at each level:

- For GEOs: How to set up a team to monitor the progress of activities and accountability of school grants.
- For DEOs: How to support schools and evaluate schools.
- For head teachers: How to improve the quality of teaching and leadership skills for school management.
- For school committees: How to prepare school improvement and budget plans.

As discussed in recommendation 1, providing these trainings also takes time. The GEOs and DEOs can receive training and become trainers for the head teachers and school committees. In addition, in the course of implementing the WSD activities, trainings for contracted teachers should be provided.

Recommendation 4

Include hiring contract teachers under the WSD activities at the school, and hire qualified contract teachers as the government teachers: In the WSD activities in Taiz, schools are able to hire contract teachers by using the grants. In Year 2, 168 contract teachers were hired from the local communities, 37.5 percent are female teachers out of the 168 teachers, which is a remarkable achievement. Since the current implementation is supported by JICA, support from JICA will end at the end of March 2008. Therefore the government including the MOE, Ministry of Civil Services, and Governorate Education Office, should consider ways to maintain the hiring of these teachers. In Taiz, the Governorate office decided to continue the WSD activities in the

same schools for another two years. The governorate funds could support hiring contract teachers. It is a positive sign. At the same time, it is necessary to hire qualified contract teachers as governorate teachers and keep these teachers at the schools. The problem that was found in Taiz was when a contract teacher is hired by the governorate; he was forced to transfer to another school. Without qualified teachers in the classrooms, it is not possible to provide education in remote areas and ensure the quality of education.

The WSD approach does not become a silver bullet simply by introducing the system. Even if more responsibilities and resources were introduced and/or transferred to the school level, strong government support from all levels is necessary in making schools fully functional and effective. These are the partnerships among schools, communities and local education offices. There are no straightforward solutions to the education situation in Yemen. The approach is a process of learning that requires a great deal of time. As such, patience and continuous commitment from the government will also be keys to the successful implementation of the WSD approach in Yemen.

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