

Bridge vs. Reality

DECEMBER 2016

**A study of Bridge International Academies'
for-profit schooling in Kenya**



A report by
Education International (EI)
Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT)



Acknowledgements

This report was produced by Education International (EI) and Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT). It is based on interviews and research undertaken by East African Centre for Human Rights (EACHRights) and Global Initiative for Economic Social and Cultural Rights (GIESCR) in 2016.

We would like to add special thanks to KNUT, Jedidah Rutere and Jennifer Ulrick for their invaluable assistance in producing the final draft of the report.

The appendices referred to in this printed version are included in the online copy of the report available at: https://download.ei-ie.org/Docs/WebDepot/Bridge%20vs%20Reality_GR%20Report.pdf

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Executive Summary

Bridge International Academies (BIA) is a large and expanding business that provides for-profit private education in Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria and India. With support and investment coming from global edubusiness Pearson, the World Bank, the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and high profile actors such as Mark Zuckerberg and the Gates Foundation, the claims that BIA makes regarding its services are impressive, portraying the company as providing a magic bullet solution to educational inequalities and a high quality alternative to insufficient and inadequate government provision (Bridge International Academies, 2016b)¹. Focusing on BIA's operations in Kenya, this study seeks to monitor these claims by uncovering the extent to which they reflect the situation on-the-ground.

Using a mixed methods research design including interviews with key stakeholders, questionnaires and documentary analysis, the study investigates the quality, accessibility and cost of BIA's educational provision. It is found that far from providing high quality education at low cost to the most disadvantaged in Kenya, BIA education is of poor quality, is inaccessible for the very poor and students with special educational needs, and is unaffordable for most families in the communities in which it operates.

More specifically, it is revealed that in Kenya the majority of BIA students are taught by unqualified, overworked, teachers using teaching scripts (developed in the US) read from tablets. The school infrastructure is basic and viewed by many as inadequate. The fees are much higher than implied by BIA in the media and parents of BIA students admitted that these fees were pushing them into debt or causing them to struggle to pay for food and healthcare. Regular payments are strictly enforced and students who are behind with payments are excluded from the classroom.

Target 4.1 of the Sustainable Development Goals, ratified by Kenya, specifically requires the government to ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes. As such, this report recommends that the Kenyan government both fulfills its obligation to provide free quality public education and that it strengthens the regulations on alternative education provision to ensure that all providers adhere to minimum standards.

¹ BIA's mission statement states: 'Currently, there are approximately 2.7 Billion people living on less than \$2 a day. In their communities, there is a huge gap between the education offered and the needs of the population. Too often the schools available to them fail. 51% of families end up choosing private schools instead, but then fear for the stability and sustainability of their choice as many schools close after only a few years of service due to poor management. 75% of families are actively searching for a better academic alternative... By developing a scalable solution, Bridge International Academies is able to break this cycle.' (Bridge International Academies, 2016b)

Introduction

Bridge International Academies (BIA) is ‘the world’s largest education innovation company’ that, with a mission of ‘*Knowledge for all*’, plans to educate 10,000,000 children across a dozen countries by 2025 (BIA, 2016a). The first BIA school was opened in the Mukuru informal settlement, Nairobi, Kenya in 2009 but since then the company has seen widespread and rapid growth, with new academies opening every 2.5 days in 2014 (Brookings, 2016). Currently, in Kenya alone, BIA runs over 400 academies, offering both nursery and primary education up to class 8. Coverage extends to 102,644 pupils in 42 of the 47 Kenyan counties, with over 4255 academy staff working for the company. The schools are mainly located in the central and south western part of the country, with almost no schools in northern parts of Kenya.

The BIA model

BIA claims to deliver quality education at a low cost. It counts on two main elements in order to reduce its costs: 1) economies of scale and 2) technology and data. These two elements, combined with standardization, make up the core of the company’s Academy-in-a-Box model, and the ‘innovation’ that BIA puts forward.²

These two elements are leveraged through the use of a commercial profit-making business model.

Scale

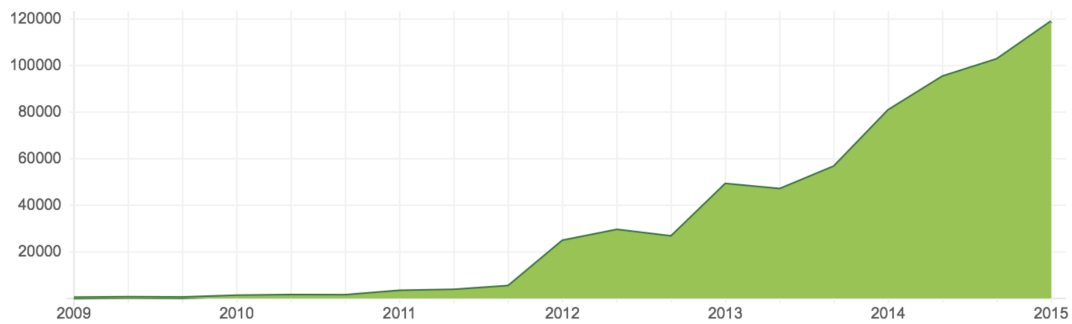
A leaked pitch deck for investment (Brown-Martin, 2016a) made by BIA sums up the key dimensions of scale that the company put forward in 2016:

- “Scaled from 1 to 459 schools
- Peak capacity of 1 new school every 2.5 calendar days
- Scaled up to work in 4 countries in the last 18 months (Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, India)
- Scaled up from 2 to 6,000 employees globally”

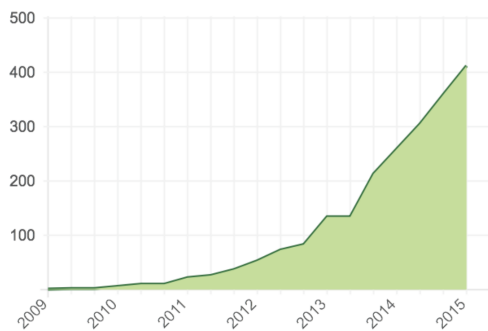
² This is similar to, for instance, what Omega schools developed. See Riep, C. (2015) ‘Omega Schools Franchise in Ghana’, in Macpherson, I. et al. *Education, Privatisation and Social Justice: case studies from Africa, South Asia and South east Asia*. United Kingdom. PERI Research Initiative.

FIGURE 1 BIA pupils, academies and staff growth according to BIA website.

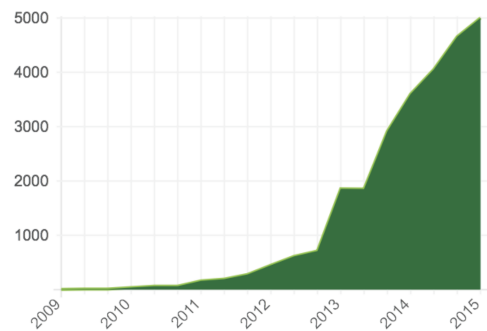
■ PUPILS



■ ACADEMIES



■ ACADEMY STAFF



Source: BIA website <http://www.bridgeinternationalacademies.com/results/corporate/> [accessed on 16 July 2016].

This use of scale allows BIA to cut costs as the company has internalised a number of activities. It can for instance save money in building schools, printing textbooks, or making uniforms by doing it at scale in-house.

Technology

The other dimension BIA advances is the use of technology and data which they use for the purposes of curriculum delivery and administrative or operational functioning such as monitoring teachers and payments. In order to save money BIA primarily employs unqualified staff -largely high school leavers- who have not completed an officially-recognized teacher course, and are provided with a two to five week BIA training course prior to commencing their positions (Rosenberg, 2013).

BIA relies on a scripted curriculum. Each teacher has to follow a detailed curriculum, where each task is scripted and provided to them on an e-reader called a Nook (which

Bridge also calls *teacher computer*). The script is extremely detailed with instructions that include what to say and do at each moment, what to write or draw on the board, questions to ask pupils, and what behaviour to demand from the pupils.

The BIA model raises questions about the impact that large-scale commercial, for-profit actors can have on the realization of education as a right as well as raising questions about professional ethics.

Research Design

According to BIA, it provides “world class education that will prepare... students for the 21st century” (BIA, 2016a) on fees that are “70% lower than the cost of the other low-cost private schools in the same communities” (BIA, 2016b)

BIA has put forward the following key claims (BIA, 2016a):

1. **That it provides access to education to “the 700 million families who live on less than USD2 per day”**
2. **That it is able to provide high quality for a low cost.**
3. **That its profit-motive and commercial nature promotes an education system that works towards the realization of children’s rights.**

Driven by the philosophy that all providers of education need to be adequately scrutinised, the research team has worked to provide independent evidence on the veracity of the claims made by BIA in order to inform policy makers and education stakeholders. The report does not attempt to systematically compare BIA schools to other schooling options whether private formal schools, low-cost schools, or public schools. Rather, it seeks simply to find out if BIA fulfils its own claims or not by looking at the facts. This will help policy makers to make more informed decisions in regards to the company, in addition to providing a good foundation upon which a comparative study of BIA and LCPS/public schools can be made in the future.

The contribution of low-cost private schools (LCPSs) to achieving Education for All (EFA) objectives has received growing coverage in international policy circles. This study questions quality of provision, access, equity, choice and cost of BIA.

Three key research questions guide the research:

1. **To what extent does BIA provide high quality education to school-going children in Kenya?**
2. **Does BIA provide equitable access to education for all?**
3. **Does BIA offer affordable primary education to the poorest households and communities in Kenya?**

Methodology

This research uses the case study approach (see Brady and Collier 2010) and adopts a mixed method research design, where both qualitative and quantitative data was collected using semi-structured interviews, questionnaires (with both closed and open-ended questions) and the collection of secondary data such as newspaper articles, speeches, magazines and blogs. (see appendix 1)

The primary data was collected between February and April 2016 by eight local researchers (plus note-takers) from the communities sampled. These researchers were selected according to the following criteria: experience with research, fluency in both English and their local language, breadth and diversity of social networks within the community, and limited previous interactions with BIA. The last criteria aimed to limit bias, whilst the use of local researchers helped to establish contact with and then good rapport with research participants. The local researchers were trained over three days³ in order to learn how to use the data collection tools and to try to standardise their approaches. Nonetheless, the field researchers were also supervised during the research process through daily telephone calls, random site visits and the review of a sample of completed questionnaires.

The study covered five of the (eight) former provinces: Coast, Nyanza, Rift Valley, Central and Nairobi provinces. These were selected to reflect the spread of BIA schools across the country and also to represent regional diversity; urban/rural diversity; geographical/cultural diversity and diversity between the types of BIA schools. For each province, either one or two schools agreed to participate in the study.

Table 1 Sampled Regions and Participants Sampled in Each Region.

Regions (former Provinces)	Academy Managers	Teachers	Parents with children at BIA	BIA Pupils	Key Informant	Non BIA		Total Participants	Total percentage
						Parents	Pupils		
Coast	1	3	11	6	3	31	7	62	16.0
Rift Valley	1	3	20	12	3	16	1	56	14.4
Central	2	4	21	13	2	27	2	72	18.6
Nyanza	2	4	40	18	6	20	2	92	23.7
Nairobi	2	7	36	16	4	33	8	106	27.3
Totals	8	21	128	65	19	127	20	388	100.0

Source: Research, 2016

The provinces are referred to in order to keep the specific schools and communities anonymous.

A range of sampling methods were used to select research participants. Firstly, academy managers and key informants from the ministry of education; county education office, regional Teachers Service Commission (TSC) offices and Quality Standards and Assurance (QSA) offices were purposively sampled. Secondly, snowball sampling -a sampling technique in which one subject gives the researcher the name of another subject, who in turn provides the name of a third, and so on (Everitt & Skrondal, 2010; Vogt, 1999)– was used to identify BIA pupils and parents and teachers willing to take part in the research, with the initial subjects being found through the field researchers' local networks or by going door to door. This approach was employed due to: the sensitivity of the study; the need to avoid external pressures; the fact that literature was limited; and the privacy maintained in the schools' operations. In case of denial from a potential participant, a

second respondent was suggested by the previous respondent. This continued until the sample was met. Finally, random sampling (from within the BIA communities studied) was used to identify non-BIA students and parents.

Permission for the study was sought both from the Ministry of Education (MOEST) and community chiefs. Informed consent was requested from each and every single informant through signed consent. Each participant was read or given an information sheet to read which explained the purpose of the research. For all respondents that were under the age of 18 permission was sought from their guardian and a parent or guardian was present for the duration of the interview. All respondents were assured that their information would remain anonymous.

Chapter organisation

This report is organised as follows. The first chapter aims to understand BIA within the Kenyan context by tracing briefly the history of formal education in Kenya and identifying some of the current challenges in education policy. It sketches the current scene of primary education provision, making particular note of the recent rise in low fee private schools. Within this phenomena, BIA is then self-positioning as a 'harambee' school.

The second chapter turns to interrogate BIA's claim to be providing quality education in Kenya using Education International's 'three pillar' definition of quality education (Education International, 2016). Major quality deficiencies are found in regards to employment of qualified teachers, tools for teaching and learning (curriculum and use of technology), and the environment for teaching and learning.

In the third chapter, it is shown that BIA contributes to Kenyan educational segregation as its school locations, fee structure and strict payment rules mean that the poorest students are unable to attend BIA schools. Furthermore, students with lower exam scores, students with special educational needs or disabled students may be discouraged from attending BIA schools as a result of the built environment and entrance procedures.

In the fourth chapter the affordability of BIA schools is questioned. It is shown that the BIA fees are unaffordable for a large section of the communities in which it operates, and that many families who do send children to BIA schools struggle to meet fee payments and find it more difficult to afford essentials such as healthcare and food.

Finally, the study's key findings are summarised, conclusions are drawn and recommendations are made. The Kenyan government is urged to uphold the right to education and to achieve Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG) by improving public provision and ensuring minimum standards in the private sector through better regulation of education providers.

BLA in context: the historical and current educational landscape in Kenya

Education policy in Kenya

Article 43(f) of the Constitution of Kenya recognizes education as a human right in line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948. Article 53.1(b) provides every child's right to free and compulsory basic education (Kenya National Council of Law, 2012). In addition, The Basic Education Act of 2013 articulates that it is the responsibility of the government to provide quality basic education to every child and in particular Section 39(c) ensures that children in marginalised, vulnerable or disadvantaged groups are not discriminated against and prevented from pursuing basic education. There are many government initiatives in place to meet this requirement – free primary education, and cost shared secondary education among others. However, Kenya has over 2 million school-age out-of-school children, the majority of whom are from urban informal settlements or pastoral communities in arid and semi-arid regions (Mugisha, 2006).

The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) on the 4th of March 2016 published Concluding Observations (OHCHR, 2016) based on the latest periodic reports submitted by the Government of Kenya. Regarding the right to education, the CESCR expressed its concern that: “the State party has not dedicated sufficient resources to finance school facilities and qualified teachers, to ensure effective enjoyment of the right to free primary education for all.” It further took issue with the fact that

“inadequacies in the public schooling system have led to the proliferation of so-called ‘low-cost private schools’ and sub-standard schools funded by development aid which have led to segregation or discriminatory access to education particularly for disadvantaged and marginalised children, including children living in informal settlements and arid and semi-arid areas”

In addition, the Committee further urged the State to take all necessary measures to strengthen its public education sector. The state was advised to increase the budgetary

allocation to primary education; improve facilities; build more public schools to serve informal settlements; reduce the high pupil-teacher ratio seen in most public schools by employing more teachers; take all necessary measures to improve the access to and quality of primary education for all without hidden costs; and ensure that provision of quality, universal and free education firmly remains in the State's control. Furthermore, the state was advised to regulate the education sector and to ensure that all private education providers comply with human rights standards and the laws of the land.

Kenya Vision 2030 is the country's development blueprint covering the period from 2008 to 2030. It aims to transform Kenya into a 'newly industrializing, middle income country providing a high quality of life for all its citizens by the year 2030' (Kenya Vision 2030, 2016). As regards education and training, six flagship projects are planned to improve the sector, including recruiting 28, 000 additional teachers and building 560 new secondary schools. The overall goal for 2030 is to reduce illiteracy by increasing access to education, improving the transition rate from primary to secondary schools, and raising the quality and relevance of education. Other goals include: the integration of all special needs education into learning and training institutions; achieving an 80% adult literacy rate, increasing the net enrolment rate to 95%; and increasing the transition rates to technical institutions and universities from 3% to 8% (Government of Kenya 2011).

In Kenya, formal education was introduced during the British colonial era. Between 1964 and 1985, an education structure 7-4-2-3 (seven years of primary school, four years of secondary school, two years of high school, and three years of university education) was modelled and adopted (Kinuthia, 2009). The current system of education (8-4-4: four years of primary school, four years of secondary school and four years of university) was later introduced in January 1985, following concerns that the basic education previously provided lacked the necessary content to promote widespread sustainable self-employment.

The Kenyan primary curriculum, includes: English, Kiswahili, mathematics, science, social studies, religious education, creative arts, physical education and life skills. However, the national exam at the end of primary school, the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE), is made up of only five subjects (Kiswahili, English, mathematics, science and agriculture, and social studies). The results are used to determine placement at secondary school on a merit basis (Kinuthia, 2009). All public schools and most private schools use the Kenyan curriculum, except for international schools which usually offer the British or American curriculum, followed by the corresponding exams certificates.

Despite Free Primary Education (FPE) being introduced in 2003, it was estimated that 1.9 million primary school children aged 6-13 years were out-of-school in 2009 according to the Kenya Household Population Census (KHPC, 2009). The introduction of FPE was one of the priorities to re-avail educational opportunities in order to meet the millennium development goal (MDG) 2 of universal primary education (UPE), but most government schools were not equipped to handle the large numbers of students because of deficiencies in the number of trained teachers, physical classroom space, and learning resources available (Mukudi, 2004). This led to a dramatic increase in the number of privately owned and operated schools. In Kenya, private enrollment as a percentage of total primary enrollments increased from 4% in 2005 after the introduction of FPE to 11% in 2008 (World Bank, 2010).

Private schools operate with varied and mixed influences (such as religious, philanthropic, for-profit) and at different scales (from individual entrepreneurs, to small settings, to national and international chains), and target relatively higher or middle and lower income groups. A further key distinction of private schools is between 'recognised/registered' schools, or those that the state formally acknowledges, and 'unrecognised/unregistered' schools, which operate unofficially. Most elite and mid-cost private schools are registered and regulated by the state and there is a status for alternative non-formal schools. Those schools that are unregistered are not recognised and illegal.

Low-fee private schools

The schools examined in this report (BIAs) can be categorized as 'low-fee private' or "low-cost private" schools (LCPSs). LCPSs are schools which, although cheaper than other private schools, are market-oriented (nominally for-profit) and "depend on user fees for some or all of their running and development costs" (McCloughlin, 2013). Whilst some LCPSs such as private-aided schools are heavily regulated by the state, the scale and coverage of most LCPSs is not reliably documented.

Numerous studies suggest these schools are expanding across developing countries in Asia and Africa (see for example Riep 2015a; Riep 2015b). LCPSs mostly mushroom in low-income areas and have been seen across several countries such as India, Ghana, Kenya, South Africa and Pakistan. In Kenya for instance, a study conducted in Kibera (an informal settlement on the outskirts of Nairobi) in 2004, revealed that there were 76 LCPSs providing education to 12,000 slum children, and only five public schools providing education to approximately 8,500 children, who were mainly from the middle-class

suburbs (Tooley et al. 2008). Oketch et al. (2010)'s research study showed that up to 43% of school age children in two Nairobi urban informal settlements (Korogocho and Viwandani) were enrolled in LCPSs.

The emergence of LCPS in developing countries is seen as a result of both the government's failure to provide sufficient quantity (more applicants than places) and instances of poor quality of public education available (Heyneman and Stern 2013).

Harambee Schools

Following independence in 1963, the Kenyan government asked communities and leaders to support the fight against poverty and illiteracy by creating *harambee* schools. The *harambee* system was a community self-help approach whereby communities joined the government in taking responsibility for education, mainly through the financing of schools (mostly secondary). The government later took over the responsibility of paying teachers and providing the instructional materials and other equipment in those schools while the local communities built new schools. This declined and a cost sharing system was adopted whereby the government provided operational expenses including teachers' salaries, supervision, planning and administration, whilst communities/households provided the physical infrastructure and met other indirect costs. Most community schools are registered by the Ministry of Culture and Social Services as community-based organizations and adult education departments whilst others are not registered and hence lack legal recognition as learning institutions.

BIA claims that its schools are part of this response to the government's call for communities to be involved with educational provision (Bradlow et al, 2016). BIA advertises itself as *harambee* schools (see appendix 2) which is misleading as the company is not a community self-help effort but rather a US owned for-profit enterprise.

BIA and MOEST policy

Whilst BIA are not registered as private schools, they neither satisfy the requirements of 'non-formal' schools in Kenya. BIA's educational system is unique in that students follow a curriculum, developed in the USA, but then sit the KCPE exams at the end of primary school. There is some evidence which could suggest this mixing of educational systems disregards policy guidelines from the Ministry of Education, which state that all

formal primary and secondary educational institutions and Alternative Provision of Basic Education and Training (APBET) centres providing education to school children aged 6-14 (primary) and 14-18 (secondary) in Kenya should follow a curriculum approved by the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD) leading to national examinations (MoE, 2014). However this would need to be tested further for a firm conclusion on this point to be drawn.

APBET centres are institutions established under the regulations of the Basic Education Act 2013 and Policy regulations for Alternative Provision of Basic Education and Training that embrace alternative prescribed standards for delivery of basic education and training to marginalised and low income areas and within pockets of poverty in Kenya. The policy guidelines for APBET institutions stipulate that these centres are expected to adopt curriculum approved by the Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD) and at all times procure and avail copies of the current approved syllabus for the curriculum programmes offered at their institution. Furthermore, the institutions are expected to adhere to the timetabling guidelines for the subjects and courses as provided by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MOEST) and the Non Formal Education Centres (NFECs) that provide Alternative Basic Education and Training (ABET) for out-of-school children and youth. They must be authorised to use the official NFEC curriculum and curriculum support materials developed and approved by the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE).

The policy also stipulates that a minimum of one third of the teachers in the institution must have obtained a relevant teacher training certificate from a MOEST recognized teacher training institution. The recruitment practices at BIA show disregard for these requirements. Furthermore, the policy states that APBET centres must transit to regular schools within 5 years of registration. In the case of BIA, there are centres that have been in existence for 7 years, since its establishment in Kenya in 2009.

BIA: Provision of Quality Education? Deficiencies regarding teachers, tools and environment for teaching and learning

BIA indicates that the quality of education is at the core of what they promise to parents and investors. It claims to offer a solution to provide 'knowledge for all' by providing every child with the chance to have high quality primary education regardless of their family income (BIA, 2016a)⁴. This study aims to establish whether BIA provides quality education to the school-going children in Kenya as it claims.

What is quality education?

Various actors have countless differing and even contradictory definitions of quality in education. However, two clear strands of discourse on educational quality can be identified – that which defines quality in education through outputs and that which defines quality through educational inputs and processes.

Where quality is defined through outputs, student achievement as demonstrated through exam scores is often used as the relevant indicator. Thus, when students perform well on national examinations, then it is reasonable to conclude that they have had high quality education (Samoff, 2007). This is what BIA suggests by advertising its most recent KCPE results. However, even when outputs are taken as a measure of quality, in the case of BIA, test scores that appear slightly higher than those at public schools can be seen as misleading as the learner's educational experience will often include a time spent at other schools, and as will be shown below, BIA's potential selection mechanisms thus may influence the results they achieve.

BIA also claims that its quality is evidenced through the learning outcomes found in its own comparative study:

“Results show that Bridge pupils gain an additional .34 standard deviation on core reading skills and an additional .51 standard deviation on maths compared

⁴ The full report on the 'Bridge effect' Working paper can be found here: http://www.bridgeinternationalacademies.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/The-Bridge-Effect_Working-Paper-Draft-V4_Website2.pdf

to their peers in neighboring schools, based on USAID-designed exams administered by an independent monitoring and evaluation company – this translated into over 250 additional days of learning” (BIA, 2016a).

However, this study’s reliability was thrown into question when a statistician at Bristol University suggested that its claims should be treated with skepticism (Brown-Martin, 2016b) as a result of the methodology and the fact that, though a third-party organisation, Decision Management Consultants (DMC) was in charge of the evaluation, BIA chose the sample and the study was not peer reviewed.

Furthermore, numerous international and Kenyan actors suggest that in fact, student test scores are not enough to suggest educational quality. Rather, there are various diverse outputs of a quality education. For UNESCO (as declared at the World Education Forum in 2015), quality includes the development of skills, values, attitudes and knowledge that enable citizens to lead healthy and fulfilled lives, make informed decisions and respond to local and global challenges. According to the Kenyan Sessional No. 14 of 2012 (MOEST, 2012), quality in education is the degree to which education can be said to be of a high standard, to satisfy basic learning needs and enrich the lives of learners and their overall experience of learning (Republic of Kenya/ Ministry of Education, 2012). Kenya Vision 2030 places great emphasis on the link between quality of education at all levels of learning and the labour market, and the need to create entrepreneurial skills competence (MOEST, 2014, P.11).

Quality educational inputs and processes, on the other hand, are also widely deemed as vital for educational quality. According to the African Union Plan of Action for the Second Decade of Education for Africa (2006-2015), the following conception of quality dimensions were noted as the primary indicators of quality:

- Physical and infrastructural resourcing for learning environment
- Learner characteristics
- Teacher qualification, competence and motivation
- Relevance of subject matter, and of teaching and learning materials
- Professional support for teachers
- Good governance, both at the system and institutional levels

The “Child Friendly Schools” initiative by the UNICEF-Kenya and the Kenyan Ministry of Education strives for quality in the following five areas:

- Quality learners: healthy, well-nourished, ready to learn, and supported by their family and community
- Quality content: curricula and materials for literacy, numeracy, knowledge, attitudes, and skills for life
- Quality teaching-learning processes: child-centred; (life) skills-based approaches, technology
- Quality learning environments: policies and practices, facilities (classrooms, water, sanitation), services (safety, physical and psycho-social health)

Similarly, Education International’s conception of quality education is based on three pillars:

1. Quality teaching
2. Quality tools for teaching and learning
3. Quality environments for teaching and learning (Education International, 2016)

More specifically, this implies that educational institutions and programmes should be staffed by qualified, well-motivated and professionally competent teachers, should be adequately and equitably resourced with books and other learning materials and technologies that are context specific, cost-effective and available to all learners, and should have at the core requirements of safe, environmentally friendly and easily accessible facilities.

It is through the use of this definition of quality that this study seeks to determine the extent to which BIA provides quality education. BIA’s provision of each of the pillars of quality education is considered in turn below.

Quality teaching?

Teachers constitute, without a doubt, a significant factor impacting student attainment (Akiba, LeTendre, Scribner, 2007). For this reason it is important to understand better teachers' qualifications, training, working conditions and motivation to determine the extent of teaching quality.

Teachers' (lack of) qualifications

Advertisements for teaching vacancies at BIA schools indicate that the only requirement to be hired at BIA is to be a Form 4 or high school graduate with a minimum of grade C, as BIA provides further training (see appendix 5). One advertisement noted

"Remember, no previous teaching experience is required for our teachers – we will train you, free of cost".

This contravenes educational standards which indicate that any teacher should have attained at least the minimal requirements acceptable in any teacher training college for their teaching level - in Kenya there is a TSC code/Act and MoE Acts (see below) that require teachers to be adequately trained.

The highest academic qualification of teachers in the BIA academies are displayed below in table 2.

Table 2 Academic qualification of BIA teachers in sampled schools

Qualification	Percentage
Diploma in Education	4.8
Early Childhood Development Education (ECDE) Diploma/ Certificate	9.5
Primary Teacher Education Certificate (P1)	14.3

Diploma and Certificate in other fields (Sales,Banking, Accounting, social work, Medical and mass communication)	28.6
Form 4 Leavers	42.9
Total	100.0

Table 2 indicates that the majority of BIA teachers are not professionally trained. In total, 71.5 per cent were unqualified to teach due to lack of qualifications; of these, 42.9 per cent were Form 4 Leavers, and 28.6 per cent have formal training in fields other than education. Only 28.6 per cent were trained in teacher education with 14.3 per cent qualified to teach in primary schools, 9.5 per cent qualified to teach nursery and kindergarten level and 4.8 per cent qualified to teach secondary levels.

Academy managers' (lack of) qualifications

BIA requirements for academy managers are a P1 certification (initial teacher training certification in Kenya) in addition to a diploma (in any field) and experience in management. However, findings from the sampled academy managers currently in BIA schools indicate that only one respondent had a P1 Certificate. Half of the managers had qualifications in education, half did not. Of those who did not, 37.5 per cent had degrees and diplomas in fields other than education, 12.5 per cent were not trained in any field but had a Form 4 certificate and were Form 4 Leavers. This indicates that qualification requirements may not have been taken into consideration, with other criteria used to select managers. Table 3 shows the highest qualifications of the academy managers interviewed:

Table 3 Academic Qualifications of BIA Academy Managers

Qualification	Percentage
Diploma in Education	37.5
Certificate in Education	12.5
Degree/Diploma in other fields	37.5
Untrained (Form 4 Leavers)	12.5
Total	100.0

(Lack of) training

BIA teachers undertake a two to five-week training course depending on the teacher's qualification at the time of employment (applicants with P1 certification stated that they were trained for two weeks). However, this is not the usual teacher training programme accredited by the MOEST or Commission for University Education (CUE) in Kenya, or any other state-recognised teacher training programme (MOEST, 2001). In fact, two years' training is a requirement to become a qualified teacher in Kenya.

According to the teachers interviewed for this study, most of the training provided by BIA does not relate to content to be taught (apart from English language), but rather to classroom management and BIA-related issues (e.g. how to use a tablet). A large part of the training is focused on understanding and promoting the BIA model. (See Appendix 3) According to one respondent:

"We were trained for three weeks... and the training entailed: direct instruction on how to implement Bridge curriculum, classroom management, parent-teacher relations, how to use the Nook, the Kenyan syllabus, marketing of the school".
(Respondent T 3)

Respondents also noted that the marketing training covered areas such as how to establish contact with and approach community members, especially parents, and key arguments that should be used to promote BIA. These include placing emphasis on: the quality of education offered at BIA at “affordable fees for poor parents” (Respondent T 19); that “teachers use technology to teach” (Respondent T 14); that “teachers are always available” (Respondent T 15); that BIA teachers all teach the same thing at the same time and have universal lesson plans (Respondent T 2, 19); or BIA’s geographical range i.e. the number of BIA schools in the country and its international footprint - “that the school is found everywhere” (Respondent T 11). Another teacher noted:

“We were taken through marketing skills that entailed proper communication and how to present oneself before a client; we were taken through the nature of the school to enable us to be able to disseminate the right information to parents... We were advised to tell parents how the fee is low and affordable... how the school offers good teaching and quality education”. (Respondent T 3)

This differs from the required teacher-training programme in Kenya where the course entails learning the subject area content, skills of pedagogy, professional preparation, principles and methodology of teaching, education administration, finance and planning, and teaching practice conducted in three sessions over two years (one in first year and two in second year). In addition, teacher trainees in the recognised public and private teacher training colleges receive regular instruction for two years to acquire mastery in subject content and skills of pedagogy in all the seven subjects for primary education (Orodho, Waweru, Ndichu and Nthinguri, 2013; Namunga and Otunga, 2012).

Asked about the training, teachers had mixed reactions about its effectiveness in enhancing their teaching. Few teachers felt it positively equipped them with new skills, whilst the majority felt that the time was insufficient for learning all the necessary material.

“Training is sub-standard. One month is not enough”. (Respondent T 12)

Such brief training, with its focus on marketing as this research suggests, impacts on the quality of teaching offered by these teachers as any teacher’s effectiveness and competencies in part depends on the quality of the training undertaken (see, for example, Darling-Hammond, 2000). Teacher effectiveness is a pivotal policy issue in education reforms aimed at improving quality (Gachichio and Gachoka, 2010).

Professional development?

This study also explored whether BIA staff received any further support in the form of in-service refresher training. Three-quarters of the academy managers indicated that in-service training was provided to teachers. However, teacher respondents noted that the content of this refresher training covered either new or modified subject material introduced into the syllabus, modifications or updates to the functioning of BIA systems, Nook usage, or promotion of BIA. Teachers also noted that in-service training sessions were not exhaustive or sufficient and that the training offered needed improvement.

Regarding the frequency of training, some teachers said:

“We have retraining every year to refresh and support the weak areas that need improvement”. (Respondent T 20)

“Every December mostly for weak areas, or where teachers really need assistance or during the introduction of a new concept or a particular topic or new idea on technology or tablet”. (Respondent AM 1)

“There is no training support for teachers”. (Respondent T 6)

In fact, 50 per cent of the teachers sampled said they had received no training support at all.

Teachers’ working conditions

With contracts demanding 59-65 hours of work per week for a salary just above USD100, 85 per cent of the teachers interviewed stated they did not think their contracts were fair. They felt BIA’s contracts were deficient with regard to the provision of benefits and were not commensurate with public schools. For instance, some respondents said:

“The contract lacks what I call independence in expression of one self and rights to associate in a formal association like unions”. (Respondent T 5)

“It lacked a lot of benefits compared to what those in public schools get”. (Respondent T 14)

“The contract is very binding with no room for negotiations and it really demands a lot from the employee which is not fair”. (Respondent T 2)

The contract duration for BIA teachers and academy managers is generally two years, with a six months’ probation period. Findings showed that there were cases where teachers had been at BIA for longer than two years and had failed to receive a formal extension of their contract after their initial two-year contract period lapsed.

A teacher’s 2016 contract indicates that they must work six days a week, from Monday to Saturday. They must also work on Sundays when required, and are then entitled to one rest day in lieu which is communicated by the company.

In addition to the scheduled hours, teachers also often remain behind after school hours or work hours to run remedial classes for students or they may need to come in earlier or schedule these lessons in their free time, such as on Sundays. In addition, academy managers may have to work extra hours, dealing with unplanned events, for instance if a pupil leaves the academy late.

For academy managers, the end of their working day is indicated as: “at the Close of Business, which is further defined as, when the academy employees (Teachers) and pupils of the academy have all left the Academy premises at the end of the day. This includes Saturdays”. A 2014 Term 3 weekly planner for academy managers, cited for this research, details tasks to be performed by staff every day and outlines information pertinent to the academy manager’s working hours:

- Most weekdays end between 5.50pm and 6pm
- Some days may start at 6am
- Saturdays finish between 4.35pm and 5.45pm, but often start at 7am

As well as long hours, teachers and academy managers appear not to have any break. A 2013 Academy Employee Handbook cited for this research does not describe any specific break time, and this was confirmed by 100% of the teachers interviewed who complained that they had no break time. In comparison, the MOEST/KICD school timetable includes at least two break times.

“No breaks for pupils or teachers, the timetable is developed badly without adequate time for relaxing”. (Respondent T 18)

All of the teachers interviewed felt that the working hours were “abnormal” relative to those in any private or public schools. Teachers complained:

“Long hours with less salary [sic]. Not good. Very demoralising conditions at work”. (Respondent T 14)

*“Too long, but even if you complain, you already signed the contract”.
(Respondent T 11)*

“Excessive working hours. Not healthy because you don’t get enough time to do other things”. (Respondent T 13)

Teachers’ salaries

A common issue raised by teachers in the interviews was that their wages were not commensurate with the amount of time and effort they put into their work. Teachers reported salaries ranging between KSh. 9,000-12,000 (approx. USD88.80–118.50) per month, and academy managers’ salaries ranging between KSh. 10,000 and 15,000 (approx. USD98.70–148.10) per month. The variance is determined by the school’s location and a complex mix of various other performance-related determinants. (See Appendix 4) Teachers interviewed mentioned a number of factors that affected their salary:

“They see the general number of children, their performance, teacher’s performance, their daily reporting and duty and handling of concerns raised by parents... Performance, enrolment, discipline in the school ... They collect data every day”. (Respondent AM 1)

*“It is actually based on the mode of dressing, handling of pupils, how you relate with parents; they [academy managers] check the long observations and the short observations book[documents used to monitor teachers’ performance]...” .
(Respondent AM 4)*

A 2016 teacher contract shows that bonuses increased as the number of children in each class increased up to 60 children. The ‘normal’ salary was payable when the teacher’s

class size was maintained at above 25. Furthermore, the study revealed that salaries can be increased up to 25 per cent (for teachers) and 165 per cent (for academy managers) from their base level depending on how many pupils they are able to get in their class. Salaries were also found to be reduced when students had outstanding fees. (See Appendix 4)

Some respondents felt that the amount they were paid restricted them to living close to the school (within the informal settlements) where living conditions were unfavourable. According to one teacher in a BIA school in a slum in Nairobi, the rent close to the BIA school for a reasonable but small room, ranged from KSh. 3,000-6,000 (approx. USD29.60–59.20). This can represent more than half of the salary paid. Teachers therefore felt that working under the current terms drove them to live in unfavourable conditions.

“The working schedule and time is inhuman; the salary doesn’t match the workload”. (Respondent T 5)

“My salary is very low; I cannot cater for all my needs”. (Respondent T 10)

“I’m working on negative... for that money to be enough actually you should be staying within those ‘mabati’ [iron sheet] houses that goes for [KSh.] 2,000 or 1,500 or something and they are very risky”. (Respondent KI 016)

Teacher monitoring, evaluation and appraisal

Academy managers explained that teacher performance is evaluated using “long” and “short” observation filled in by the academy manager, as well as evaluations or appraisals by quality assurance officers. (See Appendix 5) Evaluation reports are conducted once a term, monthly, or at any additional time considered appropriate by the management. In addition, teachers are monitored daily through the Nook, which monitors the exact amount of time a teacher has spent on teaching a certain concept. This indicates that teachers are not expected to adapt the amount of time spent teaching a certain concept according to how quickly or slowly their students grasp the concept.

The academy managers explained that they, in turn, were appraised either by their immediate superiors (area managers or academic improvement managers) or by quality assurance officers.

Respondents generally perceived appraisal as a disciplinary measure rather than support for pedagogical practice or professional development. Quality assurance officers employed by BIA are described negatively by teachers. Teachers commented that they aimed to control teachers, rather than empowering and supporting their professional development:

“The notion that the quality assurance people have towards teachers... At one point, we had to raise the issue because some of the quality assurance people, instead of doing the assessment, effectively they look for teachers’ mistakes and rate them poorly”. (Respondent T 1)

“You are supervised when teaching by a quality assurance [officer] the whole day at times”. (Respondent T 14)

Teacher job (in)security

Findings show that the teachers’ and academy managers’ contracts can be terminated at any time with 90 per cent of respondents expressing fears over their job security. Three-quarters (76 per cent) of the teachers interviewed were aware of a teacher who had been fired either in their school or other BIA schools.

*“Many have been fired in this school. It happens in all BIA schools”.
(Respondent T 18)*

Three out of four academy managers stated that the main reason for firing staff was that they “did not follow rules and regulations” (Respondent AM 1). Violating a rule may imply “absenteeism” (Respondent AM 2), “corporal punishments” (Respondents AM 2, 3, 4, 5), or “handling of cash” (Respondent AM 6). The surveyed teachers felt that, in most cases, extreme measures were taken for what could be considered small infractions:

“Any slight mistake warrants instant dismissal in BIA ... You cannot stay comfortably teaching without stress where you know [that at]any time, any minute, you can be out of the gate”. (Respondent T 13)

A teacher also reported that “not strictly following BIA curriculum, which is mandatory” led to dismissal (Respondent T 11). This could happen after just one infraction of the rules as in the following examples:

“A teacher, only once, failed to use the tablet and used a book, so the supervisor came and found her doing that, she was summoned to the headquarters and from there she was dismissed”. (Respondent T 5)

In addition, 85 per cent of the teachers described management as being either strict or very strict while 15 per cent described managers as being pushed into this role.

“The head teacher (academy manager) is like a king, ready to pounce always. That is how they are expected to behave; if they are soft or lenient to the teachers or pupils, then their job is on the line”. (Respondent T 13)

One teacher felt that:

“There is no job security here. We are treated as workers who must adhere to regulations at all costs”. (Respondent T 5)

Although BIA's Academy Employee Handbook includes all procedures for disciplinary action and indicates that “if more stringent measures are required, final warning with suspension or termination ... a Show-Cause process should first be initiated”. However, based on interviews for this study, it appears procedures were not always followed.

“...what is in the contract is not follow[ed]. [...] Even if the academy manager heard rumours, they act on it and fire you the same day”. (Respondent T 18)

*“Many teachers have been fired easily in this school without any genuine reason. The Academic Manager is biased and fires people easily. They also deny you salary for the whole day if you delay for even five or ten minutes”.
(Respondent T 18)*

Teacher motivation and satisfaction

Only 37.5 per cent of the managers stated that they felt motivated, while 65 per cent of the teachers noted they had low morale at BIA. For instance, 85 per cent of teachers interviewed said they would prefer to work in a public school. Their reasons for this included the fact that public schools have better working hours, autonomy, better salaries and benefits (such as a retirement package), job security, and systems in place that allow them easier access to credit or financing. Only one in three (35 per cent) of

teacher respondents felt that BIA was a good employer under whom they had grown professionally. Whilst some academy managers tried to motivate staff, this may be due more to differences in managerial style or leadership personality than a pervasive BIA culture.

Pearson and Moomaw (2005) describe job satisfaction as being a function of both intrinsic and extrinsic factors and suggest that the former offers greater motivational benefits to teachers when compared to extrinsic rewards such as performance-related pay. Intrinsic factors include, but are not limited to: “the desire to help students achieve, the desire to make a difference in society, and the sense of accomplishment felt when they see a student learn ... the need for personal growth, the desire for a philosophy of education, and ... respect and recognition for their efforts” (Pearson and Moomaw, 2005, p.38).

“If teachers are to be empowered and exalted as professionals, then like other professionals, teachers must have the freedom to prescribe the best treatment for their students.” (Pearson and Moomaw, 2005, p.37)

A teacher respondent indicated that BIA encouraged motivation through extrinsic incentives such as t-shirts, certificates, words of appreciation sent via SMS or by word of mouth, equipment meant to facilitate staff efficiency such as iPads, power banks (mobile battery to charge electronic devices), phones, learning or teaching aids and even additional training. These seemed to differ by location. However, according to interviews with teachers, intrinsic motivation was lacking. While a review of all intrinsic factors was not carried out, one factor that was reiterated by several teachers as lacking at BIA was teacher autonomy.

Teacher autonomy?

According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), teacher autonomy plays a key part in the triumvirate of factors that influence teacher professionalism (along with teacher networks and specialised knowledge), and therefore is an area that must be supported to improve education (OECD, 2014).

However, findings show that at BIA schools significant aspect of the teacher’s class is planned externally.

The teachers interviewed further noted unequivocally that decisions on teaching practices

and curriculum are made at headquarters with little or no involvement on their part. Despite the students' performances being their responsibility, teachers felt that they were not given sufficient room to shape the context in which they taught. They pointed out that:

"When it comes to teaching materials, we have given our honest opinion but now, four years down the line, nothing has been taken into consideration".

(Respondent T 5)

In addition to their limited involvement in the content and methodology of education delivery, teachers felt that they were not consulted in decision-making on any other aspects of school processes. From their perspective, their opinions were only sought for rudimentary matters, for example a change to the timetable:

"There is no room to propose any good ideas in school". (Respondent T 13)

"I have never been consulted on curriculum content development".

(Respondent T 19)

"Teachers are not being involved in the decision-making and our opinions have never been put into consideration... As a teacher, I bear the responsibility of a child's career development and if my opinion cannot be taken into consideration, I feel I'm at risk of my career and future". (Respondent T 5)

"I feel excluded in the decision-making process because most of the decisions made we are not consulted [about]. Even the rules that govern my interaction in BIA are made from above and I'm never consulted". (Respondent T 3)

It appears that teachers are hardly consulted with regard to the fundamental issues related to a teacher's job around the curriculum, teaching methods and materials. This lack of autonomy in teaching can plausibly have a negative impact on the effectiveness of the teacher.

Use of teachers for marketing

Findings indicate that, in addition to their teaching responsibilities, teachers and academy managers have roles as marketing agents through community outreach, where they are expected to go door-to-door "talking to parents about their school, [and the] fees, with an objective of convincing them to bring their children to BIA" (Respondent T 1).

Thus, marketing is considered as part of the teacher's role. However, this is not without complaints as teachers state that:

"I was employed as a teacher but it's like I'm a marketing officer".
(Respondent T 10)

"I market Bridge every holiday for two weeks. We are not paid extra as it's part of the job". (Respondent T 18)

Teachers interviewed for this research described marketing as "embarrassing", "stressful", "irritating" and "demoralising". One respondent described the experience as extremely "tiring" since she is unable to gauge how different people will react and she is sometimes "chased away" by people (Respondent T 15). There seem to be no mechanisms or additional support extended to teachers who struggled with this role.

"It's embarrassing that, on your way to school, you stand along the way greeting people and talking about the BIA school. You do this job for long hours in the evening without pay. This is pure abuse to an employee". (Respondent T 14)

"I do not like this because some of the time which you should have used to relax, you used it to market across the community and there is no extra payment for that". (Respondent T19)

Quality teaching tools? "We are robots being directed by tablets"

Quality curricula includes appropriate curricula and inclusive teaching and learning materials and resources (Education International, 2016). All formal primary and secondary educational institutions providing education to school children aged six-14 (primary) and 14-18 (secondary) in Kenya follow an approved curriculum while the Alternative Provision of Basic Education and Training (APBE&T) registered centres for school-age primary and secondary school children are required to follow curricula approved by the KICD (MoE, 2014).

BIA schools, however, use a scripted curriculum with content, curriculum instructions, lesson plans, teacher guidelines and training programme not approved by the KICD. Inquiries into the curriculum noted that lessons were loaded and delivered on the Nook e-book daily or weekly. The curriculum is uniform for all BIA schools and teachers are monitored in an attempt to ensure that they follow the curriculum instructions, lesson plans, teacher

guidelines and training programme accurately. A teacher summed up how they perceived their role as educators at BIA as follows:

"We do not plan any lesson. We follow the tablets to the letter. We are robots being directed by tablets". (Respondent T13)

A report on the evaluation of Bridge International Academies' lesson plans by the KICD concludes that: "most of the content taught is not relevant to the Kenyan curriculum objectives." (KICD, 2016)

Hooked to the Nook?

Teachers are encouraged to rely on the nook as the only teaching tool:

"We are not allowed to use KIE books. If we are found using KIE materials [official Kenyan textbooks], our salary is deducted for that day (KSh. 471)". (Respondent T 14)

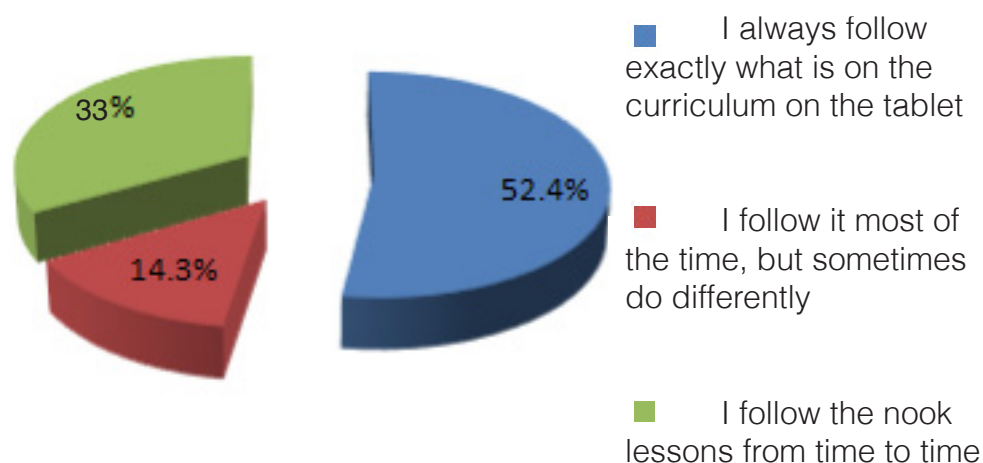
"The restriction given to only rely on the notes given to me doesn't make me explore, but if you are caught by the quality assurance then you will be penalised...". (Respondent T 1)

However, many teachers questioned the quality of the instructions, lesson plans, guidelines and materials found on the Nook. At least 46.7 per cent of the teachers argued that following the scripted curriculum did not always work and that it was not effective for helping learners to understand target concepts (Respondents T 21, 13, 11). They noted that BIA emphasises "learning fast" and that the Nook does not allow teachers the flexibility to adequately support learners who need extra support. One teacher noted that "in some areas [on the Nook], the language used is deeper than a child's level" (Respondent T 11). Another teacher noted that "the pupils don't like it" (Respondent T 21). Another said:

"The curriculum is another big challenge to teachers because we don't feel it's the best as it's not examinable in KCPE. This brings a lot of confusion when one reaches standards 7 and 8 where we use different materials for revision". (Respondent T 13)

Reflecting teachers' concerns about the curriculum and the Nook, it was found that 47.6 per cent of the teachers interviewed did not always follow the Nook. Instead, they mentioned moving randomly from one page to another on the device, whilst following their own material, thereby sending meaningless data to BIA about curriculum implementation.

Figure 2 Teachers' Responses on Frequency in Following the Nook Lessons



33.3 per cent of teachers interviewed said they followed the Nook lessons from time to time, but often made changes. An additional 14.3 per cent said they followed the Nook lessons most of the time, but sometimes taught differently to that prescribed on the Nook. However, depending on the attitude of their individual academy managers, they usually had to hide this practice from BIA.

Quality teaching and learning environment?

BIA supporters describe its school infrastructure as being “high-quality, low-cost school buildings and facilities” (Rangan and Lee, 2010). According to the International Finance Corporation (IFC), BIA schools are:

“... designed in an architecturally consistent fashion, taking into account applicable national building codes and requirements. The buildings are simple and semi-permanent in nature, consisting of masonry foundations and walls, cement floors and with roofs and interior walls supported by timber and constructed from galvanised corrugated iron sheets. Windows are protected by wire screens, with no glass being used”. (IFC, 2013)

Classrooms

This study's findings revealed that BIA classrooms were of two standard sizes with preschool classes appearing smaller than upper school classes.

In one academy the classrooms, much like other buildings in the school compound, were constructed using a combination of exposed red brick, corrugated iron for roofing and class partitions, wooden posts for both the building and doors frames, as well as wire mesh to protect the open window spaces.

One teacher described their classroom as *"very cold for children"*. Field researchers observed that the wire mesh covering the windows was not sufficient to protect students from cold, rainy or windy weather.

When pupils were asked by this study's researchers to suggest improvements for their classrooms, their recommendations centred around facility improvements that would help regulate temperature, as well as other comments on flooring and general cleanliness or tidiness.

Improving Educational Access and Equity?

As mentioned in the Introduction, one of BIA's key claims is that the company can provide access to education for poor children, that is, 800 million primary and nursery aged pupils living on less than US\$2 per person per day (Brown-Martin, 2016a). BIA states that their mission is "to provide every child with the chance to have a high-quality primary education regardless of their family's income" (BIA, 2016b). According to Shannon May, Director of BIA:

"We believe every child – rich or poor – should have the best education. We believe that, no matter the condition of parents, whatever situation they go through, should not determine the fate of their children. We want to ensure that every child has equal access to the best education that can make them stand out anywhere in the world". (Ajetunmobi, 2016)

Thus, this study seeks to answer the question, is BIA's education accessible to all? Does BIA reach the poorest communities and families, and is BIA accessible to children with special educational needs?

Contrary to what the company claims, evidence collected during this research reveals several barriers for the poorest and most marginalised groups to attending BIA schools. The three key barriers that prohibit these groups from attending BIA schools are: the geographical locations of the schools, the cost of attending the schools, and the selection mechanisms used by the school. Far from ensuring equal access, BIA is thus indirectly contributing to existing educational divides in Kenya.

Why can't the poorest children in Kenya attend BIA?

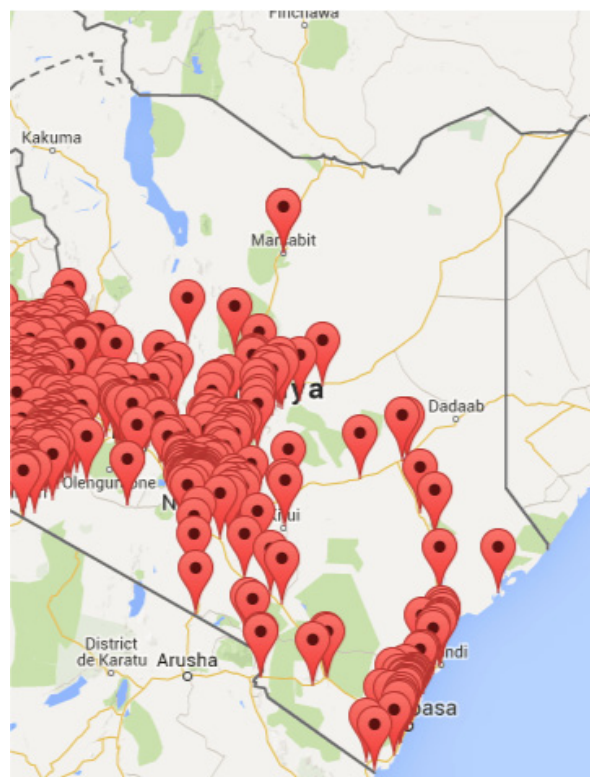
1. Location of BIA schools

The study sought to establish whether BIA schools are located in the poorest regions in Kenya and the determinant used for choosing the location of BIA schools. It appears that the schools are not necessarily located in the areas where there is the most need,

but rather, where there is 'market opportunity' and economic viability. According to a senior staff member of Bridge, *"Because of profit, we need to identify an area that is underserved, but we also need to make sure that financially it is a community that can afford it"* (Respondent K 1016).

Looking at Figure 3 below, the current locations of BIA schools, it is evident that the majority of the schools are concentrated in (relatively) richer southern and eastern parts of Kenya. Only one school is located in the northern part of Kenya, where the poorest areas of Kenya are. Thus, it would appear that economic viability was a stronger criterion than the desire to reach the poorest communities of Kenya with regard to the location of BIA schools.

Figure 3 Location of BIA schools in Kenya (2016)



<http://www.bridgeinternationalacademies.com/approach/locations> Source: Bridge International Academies (2016c)

2. High fees

A variety of different figures have appeared in the media in regard to BIA's school fees. In April 2015, the President of the World Bank, Jim Kim, noted that BIA claimed school fees were approximately USD6 a month (World Bank, 2015). In January 2015, the BIA co-founder Jay Kimmelman, quoted USD5 (CNBC, 2015) or even USD4.89 a month quoted in November 2015 (The Star, Nov 2015). More recently, BIA's Shannon May cited a figure of (on average) USD74 per year, that is an average of USD6.16 a month (when divided by 12 months) (Shannon and Steve, 2016).

Findings from this study show that, in fact, the fees differ slightly from one BIA school to another, or according to the grade of the student (higher grades costing more), or to the mode of payment used, and they also change regularly. Nevertheless, taking an average of these variables, it was estimated that a figure three times higher than BIA's claims is a more realistic picture of the cost of attending BIA.

The real cost of attending BIA school

Information cited for this research (See appendix 7 in online version) shows that tuition fees alone range between USD6.40-USD10.57, with an average of USD7.31-USD8.43 for a student spending all of primary school at BIA (including two years of ECD). These fees cover tuition as well as essential textbooks and exercise books, provided by BIA.

Other mandatory additional fees identified are:

1. Uniforms: Cost varies depending on size. This includes clothes for boys (shorts, shirts and socks) and girls (dress and socks). At the time the research was conducted, the average cost of school uniforms in Kenya was USD5.59 for girls and USD6.10 for boys. According to Evans, Kremer and Ngatia (2009) in a study in Busia, Western Kenya, school uniforms cost between USD4.33 and USD7.33 (KSh. 325 and KSh. 550) for girls and between USD5.40 and USD7.33 (KSh. 405 and KSh. 550) for boys. The variation in prices is because uniforms for each school require different materials and also each school contracts local tailors.
2. Registration fees of KSh. 700 (USD7): A one-off fee each child pays the first time they register at BIA but is spread over seven years. Hence, every year a child is charged USD1 (KSh. 100).

3. Mobile money transfer charges: This is the cost to send money to BIA to pay for fees. This per-transaction fee is charged by the phone companies; it varies depending on the amount sent, with the lowest charge at KSh. 41 per term.
4. Revision book: A book to revise for the KCPE which is required in grades 7 and 8. It costs KSh. 600 for two years (USD6), KSh. 300 per year.
5. Stationery and material such as tissue paper that BIA requires students to buy, costing KSh. 600 per year.

**Table 4 Non-tuition mandatory costs for parents
to send their children to a BIA school**

Item	Amount in KSh.	Amount in USD	Monthly cost (based on 12 months spread)
Exam fee (termly)	KSh. 150.00	USD1.50	USD0.50
Mobile money transaction fee (termly estimation, based on 3 transfers a term)	KSh. 41.00	USD0.41	USD0.14
Registration fee (one-off), yearly calculation cost based on 7 years at BIA	KSh. 100.00	USD1.00	USD0.08
Stationery and material (yearly estimation)	KSh. 600.00	USD6.00	USD0.50
Revisionbook (annual for class 7 and 8)	KSh. 1200.00	USD6.00	USD0.50
Totals	KSh.2.091	USD14.91	USD1.72

Hidden costs

Non-mandatory costs include both lunch and a jumper. However, these costs are almost unavoidable.

Jumpers

The cost varies with the size and level of the learner. They varied between KSh. 600-680 for small sizes and KSh. 650-750 for larger sizes. Due to weather conditions, the purchase of jumpers is unavoidable.

Lunch

Lunch is generally to be bought from BIA wherever it runs a feeding programme. In one case, a school was reported not to allow the children to return home for lunch because of security concerns, forcing children to either buy lunch from the school, or to bring food for lunch, which is neither common nor convenient for the parents (Respondent KI 017). The lunch cost KSh. 30-KSh. 40.

Table 5 Percentage of BIA children respondents eating lunch provided by the school

Question	Response	BIA Pupils	
Do you eat lunch or break time food provided by	Yes		66.1%
	No		33.9%
Totals			100%

A majority (66.1 per cent) of the student respondents declared that they eat the lunch provided by BIA.

Therefore, assuming a child has two uniforms and one jumper, estimating the price depending on the age, and taking lunch at BIA's feeding programme (or local programme at a similar cost) into account, the estimation of the fee per child ranges between KSh. 1,751-KSh. 2,041 (USD17.51-USD20.41) per month and KSh. 7,004-KSh. 8,164 per term. The monthly average for a child attending BIA from ECD to Class 8 would be USD17.25 across all the years. This is a total of KSh. 20,703 (USD207.03) per year, far higher than the USD74 figure quoted (Shannon and Steve, 2016), a difference of USD133.03 or 280 per cent.

Strictly Enforced Payment

BIA is very strict when it comes to fee payments, with a stringent payment calendar that must be followed. When fee payments were made monthly, parents were given up to 10 days into the month to pay their fee balance. Parents were allowed to pay in short instalments by agreement with the academy manager, but still with strict deadlines. According to one manager, "The school needs money at a given pay dateline and the poor cannot make it" (Respondent AM2). A parent also confirmed that BIA is extremely strict, even for small amounts:

"After the deadline, the head teacher's tablet indicates that the student should not be in class until the fee is paid, even if you have a balance of 100".

(Respondent P 170)

This strict payment policy differentiates BIA from many other schools, in particular other LCPS. Research conducted in the informal settlement of Kibera, in Kenya, by Tooley et al. (2008) showed that *"private school managers were reported also to adopt a flexible approach to the payment of school fees, taking into account the individual circumstances of poor families to pay when they were able, not necessarily at the beginning of each term or month"*. The researchers added that this flexibility was very important to parents: *"Some parents, it was noted, who had initially moved their children to government schools when FPE [free primary education] was introduced were now returning them to the private schools in the slums, on the basis of these concerns"* (Tooley et al., 2008).

It should be noted that BIA might be less strict when it comes to the payments of other aspects of schooling, such as the uniforms. The research team witnessed children in several BIA classrooms without a uniform. This study did not focus on how strict BIA were

with regard to loss of books, pens required by the company (whether those provided by the school that could have been lost or material that parents are required to buy, such as pens), or other fees, such as exam fees.

Students suspended for late fees

Asked whether they have ever missed school due to fees, the majority of BIA pupils interviewed (58 per cent) stated that they sometimes have to miss school on average three times per term due to non-payment of fees.

As indicated by an academy manager:

"The company policy is that if you don't pay, you send them home... They (the parents) are called to school to explain why they have not paid and given some time to pay while children are at home. If they fail to pay, nothing else happens - their chances [to join the school] are terminated". (Respondent AM 2)

Findings from interviews show that BIA staff have a strong incentive to be extremely strict on fee payments, since teachers and academy managers' salaries are partly dependent upon on-time payment of the fees and staff can be financially penalised for accepting a child who has not paid. If a pupil is found in class when their fee account is in arrears, they are withdrawn from the classroom. BIA staff conduct regular inspections, and teachers who have allowed children who have not paid to remain in class may receive a financial penalty:

"The school manager will be docked. Your salary will be deducted 600 per child for those found to have not paid and are in school". (Respondent AM 2)

This is corroborated by a teacher's comment:

"They are sent home to inform parents to pay fees and not allowed back till fee is paid in full. Very bad situation because this is the time children get caught in bad groupings doing odd jobs looking for money". (Respondent P 78)

3. Student selection?

Whilst the research did not include a comprehensive review to show whether BIA

selects students and how, some criteria for admittance into BIA schools were mentioned by interviewees. In addition to the capacity to pay fees, these criteria included: past performance (using records from their previous school(s)), discipline record, (Respondents T 19, 21, 16, 17), an oral interview (Respondents T 21, 12), and a placement test.

All of the academy managers and teachers who responded to the question confirmed that a placement/entry test was given to new comers in class 1-8. Pupils in ECD and pupils joining from other BIA schools were exempt from this. The test was described by respondents as one that covers all subjects and reading and comprehension, proficiency and accuracy, and knowledge and understanding of the content to be learned in the class. The contents of the test differ by class; however, most students noted they were tested on maths, English and sometimes Kiswahili and science.

It is not advertised BIA policy to select the brightest students, however, teachers mentioned that students who passed the test could report to school, sometimes the following day. A teacher commented:

“The test basically tries to understand the capabilities of a child that intends to join. The child is expected to get 70 per cent of the total marks per subject administered”. (Respondent T 1)

The interviewed academy managers offered different responses regarding what happens when a pupil scores low on the placement exam. Some stated that they ask these students to repeat a class:

“Those that score less than 250 marks, we encourage their parents to allow them to repeat, basing our reasoning on the importance of repeating”. (Respondent AM 4)

“The kid is monitored closely to make sure him/ her improves”. (Respondent T 13)

However, 37.5 per cent of teachers interviewed conceded that they sometimes explain to children with low test scores that they would be better in another school. Some BIA staff elaborated:

“The child is told to repeat on the entry class in case the parent disagrees, they opt to go back to their school or look for an alternative school”. (Respondent AM 5)

“Where, for example, a student does an interview for class 8 and scores less marks, he/she is interviewed on an exam for class 7 and if he/she fails that is when the parent is encouraged that the child should go to another school”.
(Respondent AM 8)

In addition to placement tests, end-of-year tests mean that admitted pupils could be asked to repeat a year. An additional year of schooling due to repetition requires additional funding, also acting as a de facto selection system. This also helps to organise the pupils according to academic level, rather than age, which in turn, allows teachers to have fewer struggling students to whom they may need to dedicate extra time (which disrupts BIA’s standardised teaching model).

Sending a child to another school is usually justified as being “better” for the child:

“If they do not repeat a class, then they can do better in another school, based on the low scores”. (Respondent AM 1)

“Maybe some do find the environment so unfair to them, so we do give them a chance to try elsewhere”. (Respondent AM 3)

Some teachers also mentioned that disabled children and children with special needs were not admitted to BIA. It was argued that the school was not appropriate for their needs.

“We take all those that have passed. But we don’t accept disabled children”.
(Respondent AM 2)

“Only students with HIV are catered for. The remaining categories are not allowed due to facility unavailability”. (Respondent AM 2)

“We don’t have special facilities like toilets for those children”. (Respondent AM 1)

Respondents suggested that BIA does not generally facilitate or admit children with disabilities and children with special needs. Where and if it does, BIA teachers do not seem to be equipped or supported sufficiently to handle a diverse student population or address diverse needs. Although this could not be verified through checking school population data, this suggestion is corroborated by the fact that only 13 per cent of BIA parents and 29 per cent of the BIA children interviewed reported that they know of disabled children or children with special needs attending their schools. Although there is no reason to suggest that BIA excludes children with disabilities as a matter of policy, the apparent failure to cater for them properly does not appear to sit well with its public motto “Knowledge For All”.

Affordability of BIA? Exclusion of the poor

The last chapter revealed how the cost of BIA education is higher than claimed. This chapter seeks to understand better what this cost actually means in the context of BIA communities. Is BIA education affordable for these families? And if not, what are the implications?

BIA co-founder J. Kimmelman states (Rosemberg, 2013):

“In our communities, 85 per cent of the families in the poorest communities can afford to send all their boys and all of their girls of the proper age to our school”

However, when asked which schools the poorest go to in the community, 81 per cent of the BIA teachers stated that the poor attend public school whereas only 19 per cent said they go to BIA schools. For instance, a teacher indicated:

“Obviously they go to public schools, others do not go to school at all, they can’t afford it”. (Respondent T 10)

Over half (58.5 per cent) of BIA parents interviewed stated that they did not think the very poor in the community could access education at BIA. And 91.5 per cent of BIA parents admitted that they opted not to send all of their children to BIA as they lacked sufficient funds to place all their children in the BIA schools.

The findings indicate that the cost of education at BIA is largely prohibitive for low-income households. This was confirmed by the founder of Nova Academies who is a prominent Kenyan educator in charge of education at Nairobi County⁵ who stated that “the majority of residents in Nairobi’s informal settlements cannot afford Bridge’s fees”. Another commentator said of BIA: “It targets the high end of the slum dwellers, but there’s a significant socio-economic group that they will not get” (Sulaiman, 2014).

⁵ This Kenyan educator founded a high-end private school in Nairobi, Nova Academies, which is “a pan-African school network that prepares the next generation of leaders and innovators through world-class teaching methods with an emphasis on 21st century skills” (Nova Academies, 2016).

This research indicated that the most vulnerable children (those with a single parent or those living with elderly grandparents) were the most commonly excluded from the BIA schools:

“Pupils living with elder people with small incomes cannot join BIA because they can’t afford to pay”. (Respondent T 1)

Parents were asked how difficult it was for them to make the school fee payments. The findings are indicated in Table 6:

Table 6 Response from BIA parent interviewees to the question, “what is the level of difficulty you experience to pay fees?”

Level of difficulty	Percentage of respondents
Very difficult	36%
Difficult	22%
Neutral	28%
Easy	10%
Very easy	4%

Overall, 58 per cent of parents participating in the research indicated that they struggled to pay the fees. This figure increased to between 60-70 per cent when only parents from BIA schools in informal settlements were taken into account. In this context of informal settlements, 69 per cent of BIA parents indicated that they were, at one point in time, unable to pay school fees. This may be due in part to the irregular incomes earned by these parents. According to an academy manager:

“Most parents in our schools are jua kali [casual] workers and their salary is low. They find it hard to pay fees, rent, buy food, water. This has resulted in most of our pupils dropping out of the school since they can't afford it. Almost 70 per cent of parents struggle with fees”. (Respondent AM 3)

BIA cost as a percentage of household income

There are various ways in which BIA's affordability can be calculated.

Firstly, affordability of BIA can be measured against their own claims using their estimation of their target market (families living on US\$1.25 per day per person). Their claim is that their fees allow “a family living on USD 1.25 per person per day to send 3 children to school while spending only 10% of the families' income” (Beck and May, 2016). However, taking the cost of attending BIA schools as calculated in the last chapter, the real percentage of household income (calculated, as suggested by BIA, as USD6.25 per day or USD190.63 per month for a two-parent family with three children living on USD1.25 a day) necessary to send three children to BIA is 27 per cent. For single-parent families, this percentage increases to 34 per cent. This is far higher than BIA's 10 per cent claim.

Table 7 Real percentage of household income necessary to send three children to BIA

	Two-parents' household earning USD1.25, three children (USD)	Single parent household earning USD1.25, three children (USD)
Daily income	USD1.25	USD1.25
Number of members of the household	5	4
Number of children	3	3
Household weekly income	USD6.25	USD5
Household monthly income	USD190.63	USD152.50
Average estimated realistic monthly fees/child	USD17.36	USD17.36
Monthly fee for all three children	USD52.07	USD52.07
Monthly income going towards school fees	27%	34%

Secondly, independent data about household income in the informal settlements where BIA operates can be used to calculate BIA's affordability. There is little accurate data on this as income is often earned through casual work in the informal economy, and is in flux. Nevertheless, one study conducted by Concern Worldwide in 2013-2014 in five slums in Nairobi and Kisumu give a rough idea of the average monthly household income in the informal settlements where BIA has schools. When that study's figures were adjusted for inflation to apply to 2016, an estimate of the average monthly income in those informal settlements is USD37.86-USD119.13. This suggests that the communities where BIA operates are poorer than BIA estimates suggest. Using this estimation of household income, it was found that families would have to spend between 44 per cent (for the richest quintile) and 138 per cent (for the poorest quintile) of their household income to send three children to BIA, making this an unaffordable option for families with three children. Sixty per cent of the families in these communities would have to spend at least one-fifth of their income on school fees to send just two children to BIA.

Lastly, BIA's affordability can be measured against national data on household income. Data from the latest household survey in Kenya (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2010) shows that half of the households in Kenya earn KSh. 7,000 per month or less (approx. USD70 – or corrected at USD85.90 to estimate the effect of inflation December 2012–December 2015). This means that half the population of Kenya would have to spend 61 per cent of their income to send their three children to BIA. Even sending just one child to BIA for the poorest half of Kenyans would require 20 per cent of their income.

Thus, it is clear that BIA's education is less affordable than it claims, is unaffordable for the majority of households in the informal settlements it operates in, and is unaffordable for over half the population of Kenya.

Poverty exacerbation

Inability to pay fees by the given deadline may force parents to consider options such as: taking out a loan, which may push them into debt and endanger their long-term financial stability; borrowing money from friends and relatives as noted by 64 per cent of the parents interviewed; and reducing other expenses, which can have a dramatic impact on their lives when they have to limit access to other basic services, such as healthcare, food, or water. Another option is allowing their sons or daughters to drop out until they are able to pay school fees in full.

This study found that between 69 per cent and 83 per cent of BIA parents expressed difficulty in paying rent, providing food or accessing healthcare due to the effects of fees at BIA. Parents were asked whether payment of school fees made it difficult to pay essential services, with the findings displayed in Table 8.

TABLE 8 Effect of BIA school fees on access to other essential services

Responses	Very difficult	Slightly difficult	Not difficult at all
Healthcare	46.7%	22.7%	22.7%
Pay school fee for another child	45.3%	25.7%	29.1%
Rent	42.4%	29.5%	28.1%
Food	35.5%	47.3%	17.2%
Electricity	27.8%	34.8%	37.3%
Water	21.4%	42.2%	36.4%
Total	36.7%	33.8%	29.5%

Overall, 37 per cent of the parents found it very difficult to pay at least one basic living cost, due to school fees.

Parents' testimonies give a vivid image of the everyday and practical challenges that strict fee requirements pose to them:

"When my child was admitted in the hospital, it was very hard for me to pay the hospital bills and at the same time meet school fee expenses. I also found it to be very difficult to pay enrolment fee for standard 8 candidates which, again, in public schools is free of charge". (Respondent P 229)

"It was terrible; by then I had two pupils at Bridge. One was sick and the teacher insisted that I must pay in full whether the other boy was sick, dying in hospital or whatever the situation was, I felt bad indeed". (Respondent P 88)

"There was a shameful incident which occurred to me in January this year. I paid the school fees and failed to pay rent which led to my house being locked for hours. This has never happened to me in my lifetime. It was very painful that I had to plead for my family to be allowed in". (Respondent P 109)

“There was a time I had a debt of rent for three months, the child was sent out of school while my casual work was at a stop. It gave me a lot of thoughts but I also couldn’t borrow money from any loan shark because I had a debt balance. I had a huge challenge also in paying water and electricity”. (Respondent P 169)

“There was a time I had a lot of difficulties: my wife was admitted to hospital, school fees were needed in school, and I had not enough money to cater for all these. So I decided to pay the hospital bill first and pay school fees later but my children were sent home for school fees even after I explained my problems to the head teacher before the demanded time”. (Respondent P 161).

An academy manager confirmed:

“I have similar cases of parents of children in classes 4, 6, 8 whom I know struggle to pay for their school fees and at the same time be able to meet other basic needs so they are always subjected to struggle, so it’s always difficult”. (Respondent AM 4).

These findings corroborate other studies, including the Concern Worldwide (2015) study conducted in five informal settlements. It found that households in the lowest income quintile report spending all of their monthly income on food. The overall food expenditure average was 63.8 per cent amongst respondents from all income quintiles. It also found that between 23 per cent and 74 per cent of the households in the three Nairobi slums are food-insecure. In this context, any fee that the families have to pay pushes them further into poverty.

Conclusion

The study concludes that the claims made by BIA do not always match the reality. Rather, these claims may more accurately be viewed as part of a marketing strategy to woo governments, development partners and international institutions to support their business. The study further concludes that BIA offers poor quality education. This poor quality education is provided to the poor at an unaffordable cost, which could be regarded as unethical. Furthermore, this study illustrates that BIA education is not accessible to all school-age children in Kenya; rather, it could be seen to contribute to educational segregation.

This study not only highlights the discrepancies between BIA's claims and actions, it also demonstrates shortcomings on the part of the MOEST and the Quality and Standards department that monitors and regulates education programmes in Kenya as well as the government for not providing sufficient free, quality, accessible education for all.

Summary of key findings

To what extent is BIA providing high quality education to school-going children in Kenya?

The study established that the education BIA provides to school-going children is wanting, with over 71.5 % of the teachers being unqualified and all teachers working between 59 and 66 hours a week with no official breaks (as noted by 100% of the teaching staff in the institutions).

The study established the teachers use a scripted curriculum with prepared notes and instructions that are designed be used to the letter by the teacher.

Does BIA provide equitable access to education for all?

BIA seems to have selection criteria that disadvantage various categories of pupils from being admitted in their schools. The schools are located mainly in the central region (more specifically in the east, south east and mid-south) of the country which offers a market opportunity and greater economic viability, rather than being in poor areas in the north

Strictly enforced fees, beyond the reach of the poorest, also impacts poor households which cannot meet the scheduled deadlines for payments denying access to BIA education for their children. A strict fee payment policy can result in children being excluded even with a fee balance of as little as KSh. 100.

The research findings suggest selection processes may be used in some BIA schools to encourage pupils who do not attain 250 marks in all subjects or 70% in each subject to repeat the previous class or go to another school (the latter option promoted as being for the good of the child). Cost-cutting measures and inadequate facilities lead to a lack of adequate provision for disabled children or children with special needs.

Does BIA offer affordable primary education to the poorest households/communities in Kenya?

BIA is unaffordable for over 50 per cent of this population. The actual cost at BIA is USD20-25 a month for the nine months of teaching given per year rather than the US\$5-6 per month that is claimed by BIA. This is not affordable as the study established that sending three children to BIA would require between 27 per cent and 34 per cent of a household's income rather than 10 per cent which BIA claims a family living on US\$1.25 per day would spend to send three children to school. The study noted that only 40 per cent of the richest families in informal settlements would spend just 10 per cent of their income on school costs at BIA, for one child only.

In addition, 60 per cent of families in the communities where BIA operates cannot afford to send just two children to the school without spending at least 20 per cent of their already low income in school fees. Thus, BIA fees are not affordable even for the communities where BIA is located as 58 per cent of the parents noted they find it difficult to pay the schools while over 40 per cent noted that they had to sacrifice, in various combinations, food, rent, health care and education for another child in order to be able to pay school fees at BIA.

Recommendations

By adopting the Sustainable Development Goals, the Kenyan Government has committed *to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all* (SDG4). Target 4.1 specifically requires the Government to *ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education leading to relevant and effective learning outcomes*.

This report serves as a wake-up call for the Government to take immediate action.

The achievement of SDG4 requires the Kenyan Government to strengthen and enhance existing legislative and financing frameworks to clearly reflect its primary obligation to properly and adequately fund free quality public education for all children regardless of their background. This will require the Government to augment the education budget in order to establish and expand the number of primary schools in informal settlements and other marginalised and disadvantaged regions in the country.

The national legislative framework must close existing legislative and regulatory loopholes and ensure compliance in relation to minimum national standards with respect to the provision of education. *The national standards must mandate the employment of qualified teachers and the delivery of a curriculum in accordance with national requirements in educational premises and facilities that satisfy national school infrastructure and safety standards.*

The registration of schools operated by non-State actors must be conditional on full compliance with national standards. Evidence of compliance must be maintained at all times and adherence to the national standards must be subject to regular monitoring. Operators who fail to adhere to the national standards must have their registration revoked.

There is no place in the Kenyan education system for operators who willfully neglect and disregard national legal and educational requirements.

We owe nothing less to our children and their future.

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