A Review of the Literature on Civil Society Funding for Education: Models for Zimbabwe

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A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON CIVIL SOCIETY FUNDING FOR EDUCATION:
Models for Zimbabwe

A Capstone Paper Presented by:
Vongaishe Changamire
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Abstract
Humanitarian aid, development assistance and government budget allocations to education continues to dwindle resulting in an increase of the number of children out of school especially for low resourced countries. (GMR, 2015). Due to this, Zimbabwean education has become expensive and thus inaccessible to children in low income communities and rural areas. In 2012, more than 500,000 students were recorded to be out of school in Zimbabwe. This paper, a comparative literature review, sought to identify challenges in current education funding, document various indigenous alternative models of funding and attempt to develop a Zimbabwean education financing framework from lessons drawn from literature. It examined how different philanthropic practices and civil society participation in low resourced countries can contribute to improving education programs. Three themes, active civil society, functional governments and integration of civil society and government approaches, emerged as the pillars for creating a substantial financing plan for education. Recommendations for further study articulated next steps in establishing a sustainable financing framework. These include investigating what was, what is, and what should be the relationship between stakeholders and education financing to develop an in-depth understanding of current status quo and how it can be improved.
Introduction

The number of school dropouts and children out of school continues to rise not only in Zimbabwe but also globally. There are still 58 million children out of school globally and around 100 million children who do not complete primary education (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 2015). An analysis conducted in 2011 indicates that of the 58 million, half live in conflict-affected countries (UNICEF, 2014). Estimates for 2012 indicate that about 25 million out-of-school children, or 43% of, that group, will never go to school; the rate is 50% in sub-Saharan Africa (UNESCO, 2015).

The importance of education has been emphasized repeatedly through global initiatives such as Education for All (EFA, 2000-2015), the Millennium Development Goals (MDG, 2000-2015), and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG, 2015-2030). Governments and international organizations (e.g., UNESCO) have endorsed these goals, based on mutual agreement and a shared vision that education is a basic human right and is vital for achieving economic and social development, growth and well-being (Gyimah-Brempong, 2011). The Government of Zimbabwe is a signatory of these signatories. (Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey (MICS), 2014)

Despite these policy initiatives, education remains under-funded (Global Monitoring Report (GMR, 2015) at a global level. Although governments have increased spending, few of them have actually prioritized education in their national budgets (GMR, 2015). In addition, humanitarian (a short-term structure for emergencies and disaster relief) and development aid (a long-term structure targeted at social, economic and political development) to education has dwindled (UNICEF, 2014); overall, the education sector has received only 2% from the humanitarian aid budget and very little has come from the government, civil society, charity and private sector.

Table 1: Differences between Humanitarian and Development Aid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differences between Humanitarian Aid and Development aid</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Humanitarian</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Short-term</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Delivered in disaster zones</td>
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<td>- Responds to an incident or event</td>
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<td>- Focused on saving live</td>
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<td><strong>Development</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>- Long-term</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Delivered in developing countries</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Responds to systematic problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Focused on economic, social and political development</td>
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Extracted from Humanitarian Coalition (n.d.)
**Education in Zimbabwe**

In Zimbabwe, according to the Education Transition Fund II (ETF II) 2011 proposal document, 15% of school-age population is out of school, with 20% of those who do enroll in school dropping out before completing primary school; of those who complete, only 30% transition to secondary school.

Zimbabwe ranks second among the poorest countries with a GDP of $332 million (Business insider, 2010). It also is among the list of countries affected by conflict. For over a decade, the country has been going through economic and political upheaval. Schools and non-formal education (NFE) centers have been the most affected by lack of funding, resulting in millions of children failing to access education. For those who can, the quality of education has been compromised due to lack of qualified teachers as shown by the fact that over 60% of primary school children fail the national exams and do not transition to secondary school (UNICEF, 2012). The Zimbabwean education sector, particularly, has suffered from lack of adequate resources, poor budget allocations, unreliable teacher remuneration and incentives, and inadequate teaching, learning materials and infrastructure, and low enrolments (Bruns and Rakotomalala, 2003). Orphans and vulnerable children (OVC) face challenges and barriers in accessing quality education, including:

...high direct and indirect costs, the opportunity cost of education—that is, income foregone from children forsaking employment for school, the location of schools in deprived rural settings, trade-offs between investing in the education of different children within a family, cultural and religious biases with respect to the value and type of appropriate education.... (Alexander, 2001, p. 299)

Historically, the responsibility for financing education has fallen on the shoulders of the Zimbabwean government, with significant amounts donated or loaned by the international donor community for activities such as construction of schools, teacher remuneration and training, and curriculum development (Ranga, 2013). As a result, education has been heavily subsidized to reach large numbers of disadvantaged communities. However, such communities are not now getting the funding they need, due to the economic challenges that the country has been facing (Ranga, 2013). The government has de-prioritized education in national budgets since the economic meltdown in 2008. Less than 20% of the total budget is spent to education activities; only 8.4% of their total education budget expenditure was recorded in 2016 (UNICEF Institute of Statistics, 2016).

From local schools, all the way up to the Ministry of Education, the economic struggles that the country has faced for the past 2 decades has created hardship in education. As a result, the public-school system has been heavily commercialized, characterized by parents required to pay large amounts for school tuition, uniforms and education materials. Even with external support from international donors, the government has continuously struggled to meet the education needs of children and youth, particularly orphans and vulnerable children. Zimbabwe received education funding that
only managed to assist less than 10% of children who needed education assistance nationwide (Samoff, 1999).

In addition, the share of humanitarian funding for education has declined since 2010 (UNESCO, 2014), as indicated on Graph 1 below, despite the increasing numbers of children out of school. As the graph shows aid to education has fallen by over $1.3 billion since 2008. Traditionally, most humanitarian funding is made available when a disaster occurs (Jahre and Heigh, 2008). As a result, even in countries like Zimbabwe, where intense conflict, crisis and forced displacements have been the major reasons why children are not in school, education continues to suffer.

Figure 1: Total Aid to Education disbursements, 2002-2012

Purpose of this Paper

We need to start thinking of alternative and sustainable mechanisms of funding in order to resuscitate the education sector in Zimbabwe. The funding gaps at all levels of education cannot be fully met through public revenues and aid, at least not in the near future, so new sources are needed, drawing on experience in other sectors (Burnett, 1996). The Zimbabwean government should introduce a set of new and sustainable models or policies that seek to enhance financing of the education sector, in order to reintegrate children back into school, and to ensure that there is a sustainable mechanism for access and equity in schools. The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (Zimstat) (2011) argues that, due to the importance of education for socio-economic and political development, it is
critical for education services to be well designed and systematized, including coordination between the private and public sectors, individuals and community to work together in supporting the Zimbabwean education system.

The purpose of this comparative literature review is threefold: (1) to identify challenges in current funding for education in Zimbabwe, (2) research how alternative approaches can assist in creating reliable, sustainable and secure resources for education systems, and (3) to investigate and analyze existing models or policies that address education financing issues in both low resourced and developed countries through civil society sources, in order to make recommendations about any that are replicable and adaptable to the Zimbabwean context. Specifically, I have attempted to identify the various structures of indigenous philanthropy and to understand the institutional mechanisms and social obligations that influence them. The goal was to develop a framework for education funding that represents a shift from international humanitarian and development aid dependency to indigenous funding mechanisms for education.

Aside from individual governments' public policies, how might innovation be stimulated (Burnett, 1996)? The following questions guided the literature review:

1. What are the current conventional funding structures, donor or government, in the low resources countries such as Zimbabwe? How different are they from developed nations?
2. Are there any alternative and innovative financing models in developed countries vs low resources countries? What is the role of civil society, indigenous public and private organizations or philanthropy in financing education?
3. Who are the potential donors/players in providing sustainable approaches to education financing? What are these alternative financing approaches and how can they be regulated to ensure reliability, security and sustainability?

Studying the role of civil society in financing education is very critical to the education discourse. As the old African adage “it takes a village to raise a child”, it is essential to explore how this can be possible. The exploration concept of African philanthropy, whether it is in existence or not, will assist scholars in education and development. It will add in the scholarship an understanding of the ways in which communal efforts can be leveraged in the development process and the promotion of local community investments in education.

In this paper, I will next describe my methodology that outlines approaches used for analyzing, synthesizing, and evaluating the literature identified in this study. The following is a literature review section that provides useful insights analysis on the structure of education financing in low and high income countries and the challenges faced, followed by a presentation of documented models of alternative financing for education. In the final section, I will present my framework and recommendations for alternative education financing in Zimbabwe.
Limitations

In this study, I do not discuss the challenges and effectiveness of humanitarian and development aid in Africa and other developing countries. There is already extensive research and literature on this elsewhere. Instead, I am interested in investigating the reasons donors have cut funding in education, not just in Zimbabwe but globally, and discover where development and humanitarian funding for education is being channeled, as well as why those priorities have shifted.

Additionally, I aim to document any civil society models of education financing. Written information on such models is available in both the academic and the "gray" literature, through a range of media, academic papers, journals, blogs, etc. It was not possible, due to time and accessibility constraints, to have interviews with people or organizations responsible for these models. Thus, undocumented models, although equally important, could have been a rich contribution to this current study, as direct data collection would help to evaluate models' effectiveness and success as workable and replicable.

Methodology

A range of online databases were searched to provide a comprehensive listing of articles, newspapers, academic papers, evaluations, organization reports and websites on education financing related to this study. Approximately, 30 articles and papers were subsequently selected, reviewed and analyzed based on the major focus of each paper.

I narrowed the focus of the study to funding for primary or basic education, since there is considerable research on alternative funding mechanisms for secondary school, adult literacy and higher education. These three education components have, for years, been an interest of the education and development scholarship because they have been considered neglected and important achieving the global set education goals. However, less has been done to find substitutes or complementary mechanisms for the current funding structure for primary education in developing countries such as Zimbabwe. Primary education will refer to any formal basic and non-formal literacy program provided to children between the ages 6-15 years. I will focus much of my attention on primary and basic education in Zimbabwe.

To assist with a better understanding of the subject and capture as much documented literature, I used the following search terms:

- Foreign aid/ external resources / humanitarian aid
- Domestic resources/ government expenditure
- Innovative financing/ alternative financing
- Development financing
I then categorized the research and publications I found according to the research questions above.

**Educational Funding Structures in Developed and Developing Countries**

**Educational Funding in Developed Countries: U.S. Example**

The United States government has a decentralized system of funding for primary and secondary schools, along with federal dollars to support the U.S. Department of Education. Under the No Child Left Behind Act, the federal government helps the states and schools in an effort to supplement state support: “The federal commitment to education can be found in the actual dollars earmarked for education” (U.S. Department of Education, n.d. pp 5). About 7% of the federal budget, together with local contributions such as property taxes and state contributions such as state income taxes and sales taxes, heavily finance the education system (Howell & Miller, 1997). The decentralized system within the US government leaves the biggest responsibility for the K-12 education to the local districts (through collection of property taxes) and to states, as stated in the constitution (U.S Department of Education, n.d.). Thus, compared to other countries, where the central government funds most education costs, the U.S. school financing mechanisms are very complex and differ from state to state (Howell and Miller, 1997). Government collaborations and initiatives augment local resources to finance education. Domestic resources from tax revenue at the local, state and federal levels constitute education financing for the U.S. K-12 education system.

Targeted grassroots priorities, community participation, efficiency, transparency, accountability, and responsiveness of service have been said to be the benefits of decentralization (Farguet, 2002). However, like any other program decentralization of education financing such as that in the US has its challenges and weaknesses. One of the biggest weaknesses is that there is dramatic discrepancy and variation between the amount of income generated between states and districts especially through sources such as income tax and property taxes (Howell and Miller, 1997). As a result, according to Park (2011), children from poor districts and communities are left at a huge disadvantage as they are not able to raise as much money for schools as wealthier districts. In general, school districts with higher property values receive a greater share of their funding from local property taxes thus presenting a very unequal and complex funding structure.

As such, if Zimbabwe’s financing framework is going to adopt such a model, there is need to recognize that the model on its own will not be able to remove the discrepancies and inequalities between districts and quality in poorer communities. For this to work the central governments have to create complementary pathways of capacitating the local governments and communities and provide them adequate targeted support paying attention to poorer areas (World Bank, 2010).
Educational Funding in Developing Countries

Although the responsibility of funding and improving access to, participation in, and quality of education is in the hands of governments (Burnett, 1996), many governments in low-resource countries lack both the financial and political capability to do so. National assessments, such as the Early Grade Reading Assessments, demonstrate the low quality of education, attributed by some to maladministration and misallocation of national budgets (Samoff, 1999). As a result, governments in these countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, have sought external assistance from richer, donor countries and the international community at large (through the United Nations, World Bank, etc.).

External financial support for education comes in two forms: (1) humanitarian aid, or (2) development aid. These two types of aid are also referred to as official development assistance (ODA) or country programmable aid (CPA).

Humanitarian Aid

Humanitarian aid is defined as financial resources that are designed to save lives and alleviate suffering (Humanitarian coalition, n.d.) cause as a result of natural hazards, as well as to prevent and strengthen preparedness for when such situations occur (Development Initiative, n.d.). According to Watts (2017) the number of people affected by humanitarian crises has almost doubled over the past decade. Despite this, humanitarian aid has been used as a political tool that “…….. creates a parallel market and helps to undermine governmental capacity instead of fostering cooperation and the pooling of resources,” Watts (2017) p. 1. The picture below shows the global status of humanitarian aid.

![Figure 2: Global Status of Humanitarian Aid](image)

Development Aid

The international bodies involved in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), now extended to the Sustainable Development goals (SDGs), recognized the need for external donor financing in order to achieve such goals (Clemens, Kenny & Moss, 2007).
The Monterrey Consensus of the United Nations (2002) proclaimed that “a substantial increase in ODA and other resources will be required if developing countries are to achieve the internationally agreed development goals” (United Nations, 2002).

Despite policies and research demonstrating the importance of education, aid budgets do not reflect it as a high priority for external support. In a 2009 report, Steer & Wathne analyzed financial aid budget trends. The authors found that, while overall development assistance rose in 2008, allocation specifically to education has been stagnant at about 12 percent since 2000. In addition, aid going to basic/primary education declined from 41 percent to 38 percent during the same period. This dichotomy represents increased funding for secondary and technical education to support workforce readiness and skills training; this increased funding then comes out of the share for basic/primary education. Steer and Wathne argue that aid to education in the poorest countries is insufficient and must become more effective and efficient. Steer (in Benavot et.al, 2010) also points out that all donors do not prioritize education at the same level, resulting in a loss of external funding for basic education.

Thus, donors continue to disburse large amounts of aid to other development sectors (such as health) at the expense of basic education. Even increased global advocacy and internationally agreed-upon policies for improving the education sector in the countries that receive aid has been insufficient to provide funding for high-quality primary education to all (Steer & Wathne, 2009). Despite the importance of education, why has the education sector been unable to attract more donor funds?

Aid to education remains fragmented, poorly targeted to need, and limited in volume and reliability (Benavot et.al (2010). Current Humanitarian aid levels address only 15% of the external financing need and are rarely directed to the countries in the greatest need (Steer and Baudienville, 2010). As the Education for All (EFA) goals and Millennium Development Goals (MDG) era came to an end in December 2015, adequate education financing remained a challenge for developing country governments and community donors and the chief reason for the futility of attaining the goals (Kubatana, 2017).

The latest EFA Global Monitoring Reports that (2015):

Leaders of developing countries will be called upon to spend 20 percent of national budgets on education (and at least half of this on primary education), to discontinue user fees, and to bring down class sizes by recruiting more professional teachers. Leaders of developed countries will be called upon to provide their fair share of the estimated $16 billion per year needed in external financing to achieve EFA. They will be urged to work together to build an effective global education initiative, ensuring that their aid is predictable so that it can be spent on priorities such as more trained teachers. They will also be urged to extend their aid to the countries in greatest need, including those that are fragile or affected by conflict…. EFA goals (UNESCO, 2015)
Education expenditure by governments in recipient countries between 1999 and 2012 was actually 13.7%, which is less than the recommended 20% target (Benavot et.al, 2010), demonstrating the low priority placed on education in many developing country budgets. The shortfall was not covered by external funding. For example, Sub-Saharan Africa, a region of great educational need, received only 12.1 billion for the whole region in 2005 (Kharas, 2007). This has seriously affected access to education. Thus, funding remains one of the biggest challenges in education for most poor and recipient countries (Benavot et.al, 2010). In addition to limited amounts of funding, there is also the problem of wasted resources. According to Sorensen (2010) the biggest barriers to aid effectiveness are:

- an inappropriate development model based on the “financing gap”, and
- maladministration, caused by a lack of accountability for aid agencies to the people whom they are supposed to serve.

It is clear that improving education will depend on on-going global efforts to identify new ways of securing additional funds for development (Madzwamuse, 2010).

**The Case of Zimbabwe**

The Education sector has left thousands of children out of school, since education costs and finance always affect education access, quality and equity. Thus, identification of feasible and sustainable financing options needs attention, especially in countries like Zimbabwe where the government significantly and consistently fails to fund education. This should start with an analysis of the existing education finance system.

**The Economy of Zimbabwe**

Funding education in Zimbabwe has been challenging. The continuous economic struggles that the country has been facing for the past 2 decades have significantly affected schools. The increase in poverty rates in the country has affected the ability of households, private companies and individuals to support the government in financing education. Poverty rates in 2007 were nearly 80%, while the unemployment rate in 2009 was ranked as the world’s largest, at 95%. Chiumia (October 1, 2014). Ninety-six percent of people living in the rural areas live on less than a dollar a day (Zimbabwe Poverty Atlas, 2015).

The worst forms of child labor increase with such levels of poverty and unemployment rates. Murape (2012) reports on levels of child labor. Children make up almost half an approximate 13 million population of Zimbabwe, with 75% being between the ages of 5-17 years. Sadly, of these, an estimated 1.6 million children in 2014 (US Department of Labor, 2015) have participated, involuntarily, in agriculture, mining, hazardous domestic work and sometimes
prostitution (Murape, 2012) (referred to as economic and non-economic child labor) in order to help households survive and access social services such as education. Economic child labor activities are defined by the Zimbabwean Central Statistics Office as producing and selling goods and services for at least three hours a day, whilst non-economic activities include household chores such as childminding, fetching water or firewood for at least five hours a day (Murape, 2012).

The disasters in the economy in Zimbabwe over the past decade have created loopholes for the wealthy to take advantage at the risk of the poor. According to Ruwo and Makarudze (2015), these inequalities result in “the rich continuing to increase their net worth, while the middle class and poor continue to be squeezed down”. The private sector, top government officials and politicians “usually have huge salaries with obscene perks while those below them earn barely enough to survive on,” (Rudzuna, May 23, 2014) and corruption has significantly infected the public services.

This has created huge discrepancies in access and quality of education provided, depending on class, sex and societal status. The elite have used their money to access alternative sources for social services, include private schools that are inaccessible to children and families in poor communities.

**Funding for Education in Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe’s education system, in the first few years after independence, was one of the best in Africa, with 90 percent adult literacy and 98 percent youth literacy in 2002 (Mutenga, 2014). However, the challenges in the past 15 years have affected the country’s education sector, with increasing numbers of children and youth continuing to fall out of the school system in Zimbabwe. Whilst actual numbers of out-of-school children have not been established, Education Transition Fund II (ETF II) 2011 proposal reported that 15% of the school going-age population in Zimbabwe is out of school, while 20% of those who do enroll drop out before completing primary school. Of those who complete primary, only 30% transition to secondary school.

Like most public systems, the government of Zimbabwe is responsible for funding education.

While current education policies espouse free and universal access to primary schooling, there are no functional national-level systems in place to enforce or finance this policy. There has been continuous and increasing costs attached to attending school/education access, despite the fact that the constitution espouses free education for all, making it difficult for children from poor households to access education (Besada and Moyo, 2008). The system has been characterized by poor budget allocation, introduction of high amounts of fees for going to school, reduction of teacher remuneration and incentives, and woefully inadequate teaching, learning materials and infrastructure (Besada and Moyo, 2008).
Consequences of Underfunding

Research (Chiripasi, 2014) has shown that failure to meet school fees is the main reason for high dropout rates in the country. In a population of approximately 12 million, an estimated 3.5 million are school-going orphans and vulnerable children, many of whom are in single-parent, child-headed, or generation-gap households where caregivers and parents are often unable to meet the costs of supporting families. This has posed a challenge for these children to access quality universal education.

As poverty has worsened, many parents find it difficult to afford school fees for their children (Kanyongo, 2005), with an estimated one million children predicted to drop out of school. Financial crises have an impact on education through:

- cuts in actual planned public spending on education (resulting in lower enrolments than would otherwise have occurred);
- parents’ withdrawing their children from school because of an inability to afford the household costs (direct and indirect);
- parents reducing spending on tutoring out of school, and
- cuts in aid from rich countries.

Efforts to Address Consequences of Funding Shortfall

An analysis of trends in Primary and Secondary Education budget allocation shows that in 2016 the Ministry of Education was allocated a budget 8.9% percent lower than 2015 (Mushava, June 29, 2016). Over 98% of the national education budget is spent on salaries, with only 1.6% percent spend on learning and teaching materials and school infrastructure. Although teacher remuneration is critical for the education system, the budget is still inadequate to fund universal and free education, as children still drop out because of heavy school fees (UNICEF, 2015). The argument presented, thus, is whether adequate resources are being allocated towards the right activities to ensure the provision of quality education or there should be a fair cost share or balance between teacher salaries and education access for children.

Development partners, including local NGOs receiving money from external donors, complement the government efforts in the education sector. Most of such funding goes to non-wage expenditures, such as establishing temporary learning spaces, identifying and reintegrating out-of-school children, providing basic education supplies, and training teachers in psychosocial support. Unfortunately, “poor governance, corruption, politicization, and the militarization of institutions of governance have eroded the confidence of citizens, investors, and existing and potential donor”. This is in-line with Wikings (2010) who posits that this has caused a negative impact towards the education sector particularly on the way funds are handled and disbursed.

An example of such mismanagement of funds is Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM), initiated in 2001 as a key component of the Enhanced Social Protection Programme (ESPP) funded by UNICEF and other development partners (UNICEF, 2012).
BEAM is a safety-net model developed to facilitate equal access to basic education FOR orphaned and vulnerable children. As part of the country’s National Action Plan (NAP), a national social protection policy established by the Government of Zimbabwe, BEAM was a demand-side response to the cost barriers affecting the ability of OVC to access education due to increasing poverty (Smith, Chiroro and Musker, 2012). BEAM pays for tuition but unfortunately does not cover any ancillary fees, uniforms and transport, associated with a child staying in school. Unfortunately, as a safety net for the poorer populations, it has only managed to serve less than half of the target population.

Unfortunately, the government has inadequately financed and mismanaged the budget for BEAM. For instance, in 2017, BEAM received only 10% of the project budget of US$105 million (Financial Gazette, February 9, 2017) compared to the 15 million given in the previous year. According to one of BEAM’s committee members, cited in the Financial Gazette article, this amount will only assist less than half the target in need. Because of this inadequate allocation, he projected that an estimated 330,000 children run the risk of dropping out of school in 2017. BEAM has been characterized by late disbursement and diversion of funds to non-education related areas (Financial Gazette, February 9, 2017) because the ministry claims it had not received adequate funds from the treasury to cover its own costs. For instance, in 2016, according to the same local paper, the Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare used $500,000 meant for the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) to purchase food and groceries for its officials. As a result, the major donors such as DFID of the United Kingdom and USAID of the initiative withdrew from funding BEAM, further weakening its effectiveness.

Models of alternative financing for education

In this section, I discuss the literature related to research question #2: Are there any alternative and innovative financing models in developed countries vs low resources countries? What is the role of civil society, indigenous public and private organizations or philanthropy in financing education?

Civil society Participation

Where education is concerned, everyone in society is a stakeholder. The definition and characteristics of what constitutes the civil society is very broad and complex. Wikings (2010) argues that comprehension stretches from whether it includes the private sector with a focus on national polices, particularly multinationals, worker owned factories or cooperatives, family or community based business, public-sector unions, religious, political and/or cultural organizations. There is considerable uncertainty and grey areas about what civil society involves (Wikings, 2010).

There is a need to broaden financing of education to the civil society and explore this as an alternative mechanism. Thus, it is crucial that the civil society get involved in all aspects of supporting education, including its financing. If supporting financing of education includes civil society, it is essential to engage stakeholders that have not
significantly invested in education previously, such as nontraditional donors, foundations, individuals and the private sector (Steer, 2010).

In the past, civil society rarely had a significant voice and was far removed in education decision-making (Benavot et al., 2010). This has disadvantages; a case study in Swaziland argues that weak education policy development, curriculum development, budgeting and expenditure management all suffer from lack of civil society involvement (Khumalo, 2013). Strengthening education is possible when people start viewing education as a social development, rather than a technical, issue.

Involving civil society in financing education is an alternative model for the current financing structures with potential benefits. First, increasing the active participation of all citizens will establish more accountability within the government-run sector of education through collective decision making and ownership. Second, the involvement of civil society may allow citizens to advocate for appropriate levels of funding for each level of education—primary, secondary, tertiary—rather than the lion’s share of funding going to higher education. Participation from the citizens will generate a more targeted approach towards programs they are willing to support.

Additionally, civil society involvement supports school autonomy and community decision-making and support to educational activities they prioritize. For example, school parent committees could enhance conditions of service for teachers if they have more control over their local school’s funding (Harris, 2010).

Indigenous Philanthropy: Public and Private Organizations

Local resources are the most significant untapped source of funding for education in low-resource countries. In searching the literature, I found a model, from Colombia that might be considered for use in Zimbabwe. Colombia has found new ways of financing education by expanding the resource base and using funds more effectively for improvements (Organization For Economic Co-Operation And Development (OECD, 2016). In their 2016 review on education and income tax for equality, OECD noted that innovative financing mechanisms helped improve access to education for disadvantaged communities in Colombia. According to this study, income tax is a critical instrument Colombia used to redistribute returns from economic growth to support greater equity in education. In 2012, the government of Colombia allocated 10% of oil and mining royalties towards science, technology and innovation, which increased funding for STEM related education. The government also plans to establish a National Education Infrastructure Fund that will pool public and private resources through incentivized private investment in school infrastructure development. In addition, there are new local-level taxes to capture revenue for education; in some areas, for example, 2% of all alcohol sales are reserved for education. As a result of such income generation, Columbia has been able to abolish school fees, provide conditional cash transfers, improve school nutrition and transport programmes, and provide loans to tertiary students to support their education.
Philanthropy

Philanthropy for Education

The concept of philanthropy, an act of giving, is one of them. For example, in the U.S. most charitable giving allows individuals or corporations to “write off” or subtract the amount they donate from their taxes. Unfortunately, in Africa, unlike western countries, there is limited literature or formal research documenting formal philanthropy and giving. However, researchers have begun to look into traditional African and indigenous activities as ways that are philanthropic.

One key study by Moyo and Ramsam (2014) argues that communalist characteristics of Africans motivates their giving and helping; an example of this are societies with Bantu origins, particularly the Zulu, who believe that “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu”, literally meaning a person is a person because of people or through other people” (p. 2). These researchers also documented community voluntary groups, often organized around gender or occupation, such as the harambee groups on Kenya, a self-reliance initiative built on voluntary contribution of resources. According to Moyo and Ramsamy (2014) revenue from these groups contributed 12% of the national budget and managed to assist in the construction of secondary schools.

Moyo and Ramsay (2014) argue that philanthropy is critical in development as it ensures accountability transparency and empowerment, and that local people must be part of their community’s development, including collective contributions towards provision of social services such as education. Furthermore, they point out that tapping into communal, domestic, and people-driven initiatives such opens the door for transformative and sustainable institutions.

Private Sector Contributions to Education

According to Riep and Machacek (2016), the private sector has emerged as a financial stakeholder in education, to fill in “the governance gap” caused by the poor and dysfunctional governments. As a result, governments, particularly in Africa, have since become dependent on these non-state actors (Ball, 2008).

However, not all countries have experienced success with contributions from the private sector. In some cases, stakeholders view private sector companies as motivated by profit-making aims rather than good deeds, resulting in labels of neo-colonialism and ‘inclusive capitalism’ (Prahalad & Hart, 2002) about these efforts. Inclusive capitalism is referred to as a process where companies sell goods and services to low income people as a targeted way of alleviating poverty. According to Riep and Machacek (2016): “Populations living in poverty in the global South are increasingly seen by multinational firms as new sources of revenue that provide an immense, yet largely untapped, market opportunity” (p.16).

Additionally, in order to reach EFA targets, coupled with a lack of government capacity to deliver free and universal education, governments in low-resource countries have resorted to allowing privatization of schools, commercialization of education services, and public-private partnerships. Riep (2015) describes the new era as “McDonaldization”
of education service delivery, which is companies using disadvantaged children’s lack of access to education as a profiteering target.

One example of private sector’s failure to provide appropriate and adequate education financing and assistance to poor communities is the Bridge program in Uganda. In a study conducted by Riep and Machacek (2016), the initial intention of this program was to bring affordable and quality education to children in rural. According to these authors the Uganda Bridge International Academies’ main aim was to provide families who live on USD2 or less with education through a business model that "......involves leveraging technology and data, including internet-enabled tablet e-readers and smartphones, to automate instructional and non-instructional activities involved in education service delivery” services (p.2). Unfortunately, the Bridge program failed to provide what it promised as the means where no accessible to rural areas; the study showed the program used underpaid and untrained teachers; inappropriate and inadequate curriculum, teaching methods, school facilities; and lack of proper authorization of operations in schools. According to Riep and Machacek (2016) the inability of the government of Uganda to keep up with an efficient monitoring system for private for-profit sector’s rapid expansion and operations in education, created the context for Bridge to establish itself in the country and spread at the unprecedented rate.

Such an example shows that private sector financing education can work in countries were government are functional, and can regulate and oversee private-sector funding or implementation of education.

**Participatory Budgeting**

Participatory budgeting (PB), another mechanism to involve community and indigenous people in the structure of education financing, is a democratic process in which community members decide together how to spend part of a public budget. Participatory budgeting means a fundamental shift in traditional government decision-making (Chirenje, 2013), where community residents play an active role in deciding how public money is spent in their communities. Political theorists and practitioners argue that this shift could have long-term positive impacts on people, communities and government (The Participatory Budgeting Project(PBP), n.d.) In other fields, participatory budgeting has led to improvements in public health, reduced corruption, created greater trust in government, and produced higher tax compliance and stronger economic growth (Hagelskamp, Leighninger and Rizzolo, 2016).

An example is a model of participatory budgeting implemented in Brazil first introduced by the Workers Party in Porto Alegre in 1990 and in Belo Horizonte in 1993 (Avritzer, 1999) and has expanded to six states of Brazil and in Africa, Asia, and Europe (Matovu, 2007). The process, which is now a local policy for poor communities is describe by Avritzer as one that, “... incorporates social actors, neighborhood association members and common citizens in a negotiated process of deliberation which takes place in two stages: a participatory stage in which participation is direct and a representative stage in which the participation takes place through the election of delegates and/or councilors”
PB has impacted poor neighborhoods through directing allocations of budgets to them (Gandin and Apple, 2002). According to these authors, reports that this was possible because the process guaranteed active participation and deliberation in decision making especially on budget allocation.

**Figure 3: Participatory Budgeting Process** (The Participatory Budgeting Project (PBP), n.d.)

The impact of participatory budgeting in Brazil has been increase of schools, enrollments and range of educational services now provided. According to Matovu (2007) public schools rose from 29 to 84 between 1988 and 2002; enrollments also rose from 17,862 students to 55,741 students. Additionally, complementary services such as Adult Literacy programs were incorporated in the public education system to increase education access.

**Summary of Literature on Current Funding Structures and Alternative Models**

Based on this review of the literature related to research questions #1 and #2, this section discusses the major themes and lessons learnt on how education can be funded better in Zimbabwe, and how the documented models could be useful in creating a more sustainable financing mechanism for education. Since Zimbabwe’s education system has for decades been crumbling due to lack of adequate foreign aid, misuse and mismanagement of funds, and neglect of civil society as a critical stakeholder in education, new models are needed.

Kim and Ismail (2013) argue that development only serves its purpose if it does not compromise the capabilities of communities to meet their needs on their own. Three major encompassing themes suggest a framework that, in Zimbabwe, could lead to more sustainable stakeholder collaborations, and to better accountability and transparency in education financing, hopefully guaranteeing more access for disadvantaged students. These three themes are:

1. Active civil society and grassroots financing approaches are good for education institutions
2. Functional governments are a catalyst for more sustainable education financing mechanisms.

3. Integration of civil society and government approaches can help create a substantial financing plan for education.

**The importance of civil society and grassroots financing approaches**

According to Moyo and Ramsamy (2014), “Development ought to be transformative, sustainable, and essentially based on Africa’s own institutions, informed by its own knowledge systems, and supported by its resources,” (p 657). Zimbabwe should involve more community members and grassroots organizations to successfully improve the provision of high-quality education. An active civil society will be of huge benefit to Zimbabwe.

Participation of civil society can happen through philanthropy (charitable giving), collection of income tax from those who can afford to pay, local participation in decision making about public funds, or locally based women’s or communal associations. Engaging and encouraging active participation of all citizens will improve national systems and establish more accountability; increase school and community autonomy in running and funding local institutions; support empowered local change agents, and address the challenges of late disbursements and limited support for primary education (Satterthwaite, 2002).

**The importance of functioning governments**

The Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education (MoPSE) in Zimbabwe is the key in ensuring that the national education system is functional. Unfortunately, the government’s capacity to finance the education sector weak, ineffective and very corrupt. As a result, the country has become vulnerable to neoliberalism and neocolonialism perpetuated by various private sector and multinational companies influencing the funding and delivery of education, as demonstrated through the emergence of poorly administered private schools and profit-structured, supposedly “low” fee schools.

The importance a functional government to enhance sustainable and efficient financing for education is well documented in the literature. A dysfunctional government cannot regulate donor and private-sector activities in the schools. Zimbabwe needs to mobilize domestic resources AND domestic capacity for overseeing educational service delivery. Decentralization of governments may also put decision making for education into the hands of communities, thereby increasing local management and accountability of money going to schools. Such efforts would not only improve the quality of education in the short-run but put pressure on the national government to increase funding and transparent management of implementation.

**The importance of integrating government and civil society efforts**

According to Osborne and Gaebler (1992), the concept of governance involves a multi-sectorial and integrated approach where public, private and voluntary sectors collectively act to solve their community problems. Zimbabwe government and civil society sector needs to create a framework with a set of policies that promote a collaborative approach,
drawing upon the efforts of all indigenous stakeholders from the civil society, public and private sectors as well as individuals in the upper class, to begin contributing towards education.

![An Integrated Approach](image)

**Figure 4: An Integrated Approach**

Every member of society is a crucial stakeholder in a successful education system. Tapping into indigenous wealth of individuals to complement the current conventional funding mechanisms, and encouraging influential groups of elites to take ownership and responsibility to increasing educational access, would be a huge step forward for Zimbabwe. How can an integrated approach would be a way forward in improving the current education system?

**Recommended Education Financing framework for Zimbabwe**

Zimbabwe needs a framework that starts with acknowledging three premises:

1. Ongoing and increasing inequalities, where all children have not been given the right to education, are dangerous to the society;
2. Zimbabwe’s own citizens and private organizations need to play a role in creating and managing, together with the government, a set of successful, sustainable education financing mechanisms.
3. Income levels of citizens are critical in identifying stakeholders’ and their ability, through philanthropy or taxes, to contributed to an improved financing framework for education.

Guided by the research questions of this study, the last section will discuss who should be accountable for the provision of education, and the local resources—human and financial—that should be tapped to support the role of government and households in educational financing and decision making.
**Stakeholder analysis**

The first step to creating such a framework is conducting an analysis of stakeholders’ incomes, concerns, motivations, resources, and incentives to help fund and manage the education system.

Educational stakeholders are defined as “...... those invested, interested and concerned personally, professionally, or financially in the success of schools, institutions, ministries and overall education system,” (edglossary.org). This study sought to find ways of resuscitating a weakened education system in Zimbabwe. According to Assie-Lumumba (2005) five sources of financing education are: the state, local communities, families, businesses, and external sources (Onsomu, Muthaka, Ngware, and Kosimbei, 2006).

According to the definition of stakeholders, the following are some of the stakeholders are suggested in order for improved education access and quality achieved,

**Children**

The children are going to be a critical stakeholder if a financing model is going to be developed and sustained. This is because they are the primary beneficiary and recipients of the education system and thus very critical in this framework. The main aim of establishing a financing system that works locally in Zimbabwe is to cater for children who are out of school because of various reasons attributed to the country’s economic and social systems collapsing. As indicated in the income structure analysis, children constitute a big portion of the income earned within households and the community.

**Private Sector and local businesses**

Private sector and local businesses constitute more than 70 percent in employment and forms the backbone of its economy (Financial Gazette, 2014) in Zimbabwe. This contribution makes them a worthwhile stakeholder in supporting education. The private sector should be considered as a huge part towards development and the addressing the current education challenges.

**Community and Society**

As indicated in literature, communities in Zimbabwe, like other African countries are very communal. The concept of philanthropy becomes very crucial in considering the community as a stakeholder in the education financing framework in Zimbabwe. Research and literature show that there are currently resource constraints within both the urban and rural communities in Zimbabwe. However, this does not mean that there aren’t any resources that can be tapped into. For instance, the literature review documented models, such as participatory budgeting, that shows various ways the community can play a role in producing education quality and access. In a country infested with corruption, engaging communities in the financing strategy of a crucial public service such as education will create a foundation for transparency and accountability.

**Government and its ministries**

The government, as a stakeholder, will central role in policy direction and collaboration all stakeholders including communities, NGOs, private sector and external support etc.
Non-Profit Organizations and International Donors

Considering that local NGOs for decades have been contributing immensely to development of education in Zimbabwe, their role continues to be an essential one. For years, their main goal has been to help the government in curbing the increased numbers for children who are failing to access the education services within the country. There are critiques of aid effectiveness, non-profits and the way they operate in developing countries. However, it is important to consider that Zimbabwe still depends on aid because of its current economic predicament. To smoothly transition into a framework such as that being recommended by this study, international donors remain a vital stakeholder.

Figure 5: Local stakeholders-Education financing

Identification of stakeholders is just one step towards achieving improved education access in Zimbabwe. It is important to further investigate what was, what is, and what should be the relationship between stakeholders and education financing. Complementary efforts, such as expansion of this study in order to develop an in-depth understanding of the following needs to be considered:

- The role the identified stakeholders have in maintaining the current status quo in Zimbabwe
- The effects of this current status quo in motivating a channel of stakeholder support towards education.
- Strategies and mechanisms of stakeholder engagement to actively participate in an education financing model
- Weigh and investigate the potential reactions/consequences, positive or negative, that are likely to be experienced in such a transition
The diagram below gives example of information that is within the literature, speculations or proved, on trying to address the following issues. One of the biggest limitation of the current study was the fact the findings were dependent on what has been documented leaving out that which is not. As such there is need to develop a study that establishes a dialogue with the various identified stakeholders. Additionally, using Amartya Sen’s Capabilities Approach, the value of education and motivation for investments for indigenous stakeholders in low resourced countries. According to this approach, it is essential to realize that communities are capable of deciding what they value and prioritize what is essential for their own development. Establishing this, will enhance development of a framework that positions and encourages various local stakeholders to support education.
Framework for Future Study

Stakeholders
- Government
- NGOs/International Donors
- Community members
- Children
- Local Business

Transition Period
- Hostility towards change
- Stakeholder conflicts
- Determining interests and motivation
- Stakeholder capabilities

Status Quo
- High numbers of children out of school
- Responsive social corporate responsibility model (not proactive)- only when schools or NGOs solicit for assistance- scholarships, school fees payment, donations
- Family philanthropy- family members helping extended families e.g. paying school fees, ancillary support etc
- No funding directed to the government-hostility between government and donors
- Corruption, mismanagement of funds
- Non-functional education policy and regulation

Mechanisms
- Tax incentives
- Participatory Decision making
- Shared costing on education essentials
- Establishing community schools
- Checks and Balances measures
- Economic empowerment

SUSTAINABLE EDUCATION FINANCING FRAMEWORK
In conclusion, it is true that education reforms that seek to increase quality, equitable and accessible education carry significant financial demands (Onsumo, Muthaka, Ngware and Kosimbe, 2006). As such collaborative domestic partnerships between the public sector and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), religious organizations, development partners, communities/individuals and private sector in Zimbabwe are important. However, collaboration needs guidance in the form of a written framework that allows increased participation among all stakeholders hence easing the cost burden on the government. “A comprehensive approach that combines different tools can provide immediate as well as mid- and long-term solutions to ensure financial sustainability and thus preserve the quality,” (The World Bank, 2010 p6.)

Concluding Remarks

The education sector in Zimbabwe is under crisis and underfunded resulting in thousands of children dropping out school or never getting a chance to attend school. The continued increase in numbers of children out of school vs the funding commitment shows that access to education has gone either unnoticed or is merely being ignored. The funding gaps at all levels of education cannot be fully met through public revenues and aid, at least not in the near future (Burnett, 1996). As such, the central focus of this study was to establish a framework for alternative and sustainable mechanisms of funding in order to resuscitate the education sector in Zimbabwe; through identifying the various structures of indigenous philanthropy and interrogating the institutional mechanisms and social obligations that influence them. In the literature, models such as participatory budgeting (Brazil), decentralized school financing (USA), indigenous philanthropy (Harambee groups in Kenya) and civil society participation have been identified for education financing. Three overarching themes have emerged from the analysis of the literature and models documented: i) active civil society and grassroots financing approaches are good for education institutions, ii) functional governments are a catalyst for more sustainable education financing mechanisms and ii) integration of civil society and government approaches can help create a substantial financing plan for education.

These three themes are the basis of a financing model for education Zimbabwe. A stakeholder analysis was established as an initial step in developing a sound framework for education financing. However, the study realized that it is important to further investigate what was, what is, and what should be the relationship between stakeholders and education financing in order to develop a sustainable model. As such, a framework for future study has been suggested that seeks to determine the current status quo affecting the role of stakeholders in education, to develop strategies for sustainable engagement and to assess potential reactions.
References


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