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The Impact of Free Primary Education on Access and Quality of Primary Education in Lesotho

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ABSTRACT Although the Government of Lesotho progressively introduced Free Primary Education in 2000, many children still do not attend school. By reviewing literature, this conceptual article identifies the following factors that hamper access, quality and completion of primary education: grinding poverty facing many families especially in the rural areas, and the herd boy phenomenon, where young boys of school-going age look after livestock or engage in other forms of child labour. The antischool practices such as the initiation school, a rite of passage for boys, also reduce their participation since it clashes with the school calendar year and school ethos. Some school factors such as ineffective teaching, a critical shortage of physical facilities and resources, especially in the rural schools where most teachers are unqualified, also discourage some children from attending school, and many parents from sending their children to school. To increase access this article recommends collaboration between different multi-level stakeholders.

INTRODUCTION

In 2000, the Government of Lesotho resolutely introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) amidst intense resistance from some of the stakeholders, namely the proprietors, the public and teachers, who were concerned that the 'unplanned' mass enrolment of children in schools would lower the quality of education. Due to financial constraints, FPE was introduced in a progressive manner starting from Standard 1, until the cohort reached Standard 7 in 2006. To respond to the challenge of large enrolments, the government built additional classrooms in church schools and several new government/ community primary schools in underserved communities, provided furniture to some schools and supplied textbooks and stationery to all schools. Additionally, in an effort to mitigate hunger and malnutrition among children, promote school attendance, and alleviate poverty, the government integrated school feeding into the FPE programme by engaging mostly unemployed women in the communities as caterers or cooks, on a short-term rotational basis (Morojele 2012; Ketso 2013). Thahane (2012) notes that due to FPE, the net enrolment increased from 69% in 2000 to 84% in 2006, and postulates that this figure will increase further now that primary education is compulsory in terms of Education Act 2010.

Despite the positive efforts outlined above, many children, especially boys in the hard-to-

reach mountainous areas, do not attend school for various reasons that include extreme poverty, cultural practices such as the initiation schools for boys and unfavourable in-school conditions. In order to meet the pressing family demands, some parents hire their boy children out or force them to look after their own livestock. UNICEF (2006) observes that "even though primary education is now free for all primary school grades, over 30% of orphans are out of school". Moreover, a significant number of those who enrol in Standard 1 drop out before reaching Standard 7, while some take more than the official seven years required to complete their primary schooling.

Barrett (2011) notes that because of the assurance of external assistance, politicians in several low-income countries often make election promises of free primary education. Avenstrup et al. (2004) agree that the implementation of FPE was the key election tool on which the new governments in Malawi, Kenya and Lesotho used to convince people to vote them into power. In Lesotho, the Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) which ruled from June 1997 to February 2012 often cited FPE it introduced in 2000 to lure voters during political campaigns. Short (2000) emphasises that the most important requirement for progress on Universal Primary Education is high-level political commitment in each country. While several African countries are edging towards universalisation of access, this has been at the expense of quality as seen by large pupil-teacher ratios, low completion rates, low proficiency levels in literacy and numeracy, and inadequate life skills after completing schooling (Barrett 2011).

A Brief Socio-economic Context of Lesotho

With a population of about 2.2 million, Lesotho is a small, mountainous country completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa. It is classified as a least-developed country and is ranked 158th out of 186 countries, and in the group of low human development countries in the Human Development Index (UNDP 2013). Three-quarters of Lesotho's population live in the mountain districts, and 68 per cent is considered poor (WFP 2007). Its economy is heavily dependent on that of its more affluent neighbour, and the majority of its inhabitants subsist on farming and migrant labour earnings, mainly from the male population working in the South African mines (Government of Lesotho 2013; Ketso 2013). However, in recent years, this pattern has changed as many miners have been retrenched (Linking Lives 2009). The former Minister of Finance Dr Thahane (2008; 2012), cautioned that one of the risks facing Lesotho is its "overdependence (over 60%) on SACU (Southern African Customs Union) revenues". Similarly, the current Minister of Finance Dr Ketso (2013) notes that due to the global financial and economic crisis that started in 2008, and the resultant decline in SACU receipts, Lesotho went through budget deficits, and as a result, the current reserves have reached their lowest level since 2008.

One of the major threats to Lesotho's socioeconomic development is the high prevalence of HIV/AIDS. With an estimated 23.2% of adults infected with HIV/AIDS. Lesotho has the third highest HIV prevalence rate in the world (WFP 2007). Of a total of 385,437 pupils enrolled in registered primary schools in 2011, some 116,558 (30%) were orphans who had lost either one or both parents, with HIV/AIDS suspected to be the leading cause (MOET 2011). Short (2000) warns that the greatest barrier to educational progress is HIV/AIDS, "which is threatening to overturn the progress in education enrolments." HIV/AIDS affects many children academically in that some of them are sick and fear stigmatisation, while some care for terminally ill parents and others are orphaned with no one to look after them and have to fend for themselves.

Rationale for Free Primary Education

By implementing FPE, the Government of Lesotho was fulfilling its commitment made in several international forums to provide free and compulsory primary education to all children of school-going age irrespective of the socioeconomic status of their parents. In particular, Lesotho ratified the World Declaration on Education for All in 1990, where nation-states pledged to ensure that there is "universal access to, and completion of, primary education... by the year 2000" (UNESCO 1994), the SADC Protocol on Education and Training (SADC 1997), the Dakar Framework for Action in 2000, which urged member states to ensure that by 2015, "... all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory education of good quality" (UNESCO 2000¹), and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), whose goal 2 is to achieve universal primary education by 2015.

All these articles are in consonance with the Constitution of Lesotho, which came into force in 1993, and states that the country shall ensure that "primary education is free and available to all" (Chapter III, article 28). However, FPE was only introduced in 2000, seven years after the constitution was enacted, partly because of the unremitting international pressure on governments of developing countries. In 2010, parliament enacted the Education Act 2010, which made primary education compulsory, arguably because the government had realised that many school-age children, predominantly boys in the remote areas, were denied their right to education for various reasons, including ultra-poverty, anti-education cultural practices and child labour. The above scenario shows that the timelag between policy development and implementation is too long in Lesotho. Thus, it is questionable whether the state has the capacity to prosecute parents or guardians who do not send their children to school, given the complexity of this issue.

Theoretical Framework

This study uses *Human Capital Theory* to discuss the implementation of free primary edu-

cation in Lesotho, and its effect on access and quality. The theory holds that education is a necessary investment for the social good or benefit of the entire society (Schultz 1961). According to Schultz (1961), "...by investing in themselves, people can enlarge the range of choice available to them. It is one way free men can enhance their welfare". He submits: "measured by what labor contributes to output, the productive capacity of human beings is now vastly larger than all other forms of wealth taken together" (Schultz 1961). Hence, human capital theory is the prime motivator for free primary education because education is seen as critical for alleviating poverty and promoting social welfare, including the welfare of women (Tikly and Barrett 2011). Education also empowers citizens to participate in the democratic and legal processes and to pursue values such as equality, justice and liberty (Sweetland 1996).

Even though human capital investment includes health and nutrition, education often comes out as the main human capital investment for empirical analysis (Sweetland 1996), because it contributes to improvements in health and nutrition. The second reason is that education can be quantitatively measured in monetary terms and in terms of years of tenure or schooling. Given these all-embracing benefits of education, the focus has shifted from cost-sharing to free primary education, as it is a foundation for preparing citizens of poorer countries to participate in the 'global knowledge economy' (Tikly and Barrett 2011). Formal education is crucial in improving the production capacity of a nation, implying that investment in human capital should be a priority of any country. Alexander (2007) emphasises that universalizing primary education benefits the nation and the individual as well, and cautions that primary education should not merely be seen as a filter for secondary education, and that the prospects of a minority that succeeds should not blind us to the fate of the majority who fail.

Statistically the quality of education has a far greater positive effect on economic growth than the association between the quantity of education and growth (Tikly and Barrett 2011). They argue that quality, as indicated by students' achievement on standardised tests, correlates more strongly with economic growth than simply years spent in school. Olaniyan and Okemakinde (2008) agree that for education to contribute meaningfully to development and economic growth, it must be of a high quality to meet the skill demands of the economy.

Education Quality and Universal Education

According to UNESCO (2005), the universal participation of children in education is dependent on the quality of education offered. The question of how well students are taught and how much they learn, can have a significant impact on how long they stay in school and how regularly they attend. When a school is dysfunctional, with incompetent teachers who are often absent from work, parents may not see the need to send their children to school. As UNESCO (2005) observes, "whether parents send their children to school at all is likely to depend on judgements they make about the quality of teaching and learning provided - upon whether attending school is worth the time and cost for their children and for themselves".

What is Education Quality?

It is generally difficult to define the term quality because of the different contexts in which it is used. It is also problematic to differentiate between the terms quality and effectiveness because they are closely related. Harvey and Green (1993) submit that quality is a relative concept which means different things to different people, and that depending on different contexts, the same person may adopt different conceptualizations of quality. This therefore, raises the question of 'whose quality?' They state that "quality can be viewed as exceptional, as perfection (or consistency), as fitness for purpose, as value for money and as transformative" (Harvey and Green 1993:10). In the traditional sense, quality implies something special or 'high class', distinctive, high standards and exclusivity. Oxford Dictionaries (2012) defines quality as "the standard of something as measured against other things of a similar kind; the degree of excellence of something".

From an educational perspective, Heneveld (1994) argues that quality in primary education has to do with what is taught, how it is taught, to which children and in what setting. He contends that it is easy to tell when the quality of education improves, and that what is sought is "qualitative change." In contrast, effectiveness

refers to the outcomes of education, to what children learn. These often include test scores as a measure of the knowledge and skills acquired through schooling, as well as other skills, attitudes and values which schools seek to impart.

Heneveld (1994) identifies four kinds of student outcomes as indicators of effectiveness, namely academic achievement, social skills, economic success after school, and participation in school through to completion.

Marais et al. (2008) maintain that attaining quality in an organisation depends on the leader, who should create a culture for continuous improvement. According to them, the search for quality in schools requires improvement in all aspects of education, striving to achieve excellence in classroom assessment practices and improving the quality of teaching and learning, teamwork and good leadership.

O'Sullivan (2006) defines quality using six broad conceptualisations:

- The deficit notion;
- The competency notion;
- The value-added and fitness for purpose view;
- Bergman's (1996) four types of quality value, input, process and output;
- Quality as teaching and learning processes; and
- The contextual understanding of quality. However, for purposes of this paper, only the first three will be discussed.

The deficit notion looks at what quality is not, or what poor quality is. For instance, overcrowding in classrooms, lack of basic infrastructure and other resources, which are common in many developing countries, hamper the delivery of quality education. Furthermore, some nonschool factors that hinder quality include the culture of the community and the health and well-being of the child. However, O'Sullivan (2006) cautions that paucity of resources and

poverty should not be used as an excuse for failure, and that schools should strive for quality even with the substandard resources available. The competency approach views quality as

the degree to which the objectives or the described levels of competence are met (O'Sullivan 2006). This leads to the third approach, the value-added approach, which determines the starting and end points by comparing the attributes of learners on entry to, and exit from school. The main focus here is on progress or learning that occurs throughout schooling. Value-added modeling shows teachers as an important source of variance in student outcomes (McCaffrey et al. 2003). They further state that literature shows that "teachers differentially affect student learning and growth in achievement", and that "teachers are the most important factor affecting student learning".

The above conceptualisations are in line with UNESCO's (2004) framework for quality education, which shows that no single variable is responsible for delivering quality education. Rather, quality education is a function of many factors which work together in an interrelated manner. For instance, for effective learning to occur, the learner characteristics or those attributes that the learner brings to the learning process such as aptitude, determination and school readiness are vital, as much as the context in which the teaching-learning process takes place influences education quality (UNESCO 2004). Education can help change society by developing skills, values, personal prosperity and freedom. Equally, the values and attitudes that guide education come from society. The enabling factors that influence successful teaching and learning are the resources made available such as teachers, textbooks and learning materials, without which schools cannot function effectively. These also include school governance factors such as strong leadership, a safe and welcoming environment, and good schoolcommunity relations. Teaching and learning are nested within the support system of inputs and other contextual factors to show their centrality in achieving the educational goals. Alexander (2007) defines this as "pedagogy through which educational quality is most directly mediated". In this arena, the curriculum is taught by the teacher and the learner is motivated to learn. The outcomes of education should be assessed in terms of agreed objectives. These could be academic achievement in tests and examinations, the learner's economic success and broader benefits to society, which are proxies for learner achievement.

Coverage and Gender Equity in Primary Education

The overall coverage and participation of eligible population in the education system is denoted by gross enrolment rate (GER) and net

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enrolment rate (NER) (MOET 2011). GER denotes the degree of participation regardless of whether the learners are of the official age group or not, while NER indicates the participation level of the official school-age group. The GER value of 100 per cent indicates that a country is able to accommodate all its school-age population. If this value exceeds 100, this shows that there are some underage or overage learners resulting from early or late entry and repetition of grades. In 2011, NER in primary education sector was 81.6, 80.2 for males and 83.1 for females, which meant that 18.4 per cent was not in primary school, with boys constituting the majority. Itano (2004) attributed this to the fact that 20 per cent of boys may be herding instead of attending school.

The under-representation of boys is mainly due to the herd boy phenomenon, where boys are assigned to look after livestock. The initiation school, a secret rite of passage for boys, also accounts for their lower participation in that it mostly runs from August to February in a secluded area, and clashes with the school calendar, which runs from January to December. Since most schools are run by the churches, the initiation school is considered to be a pagan practice, and at variance with the Christian teachings. As such, when the initiates come back from the 'mountain', many schools refuse them and require that they take a one year coolingoff period to readjust to normal life.

Physical Facilities

In the past most primary schools operated in dilapidated, poorly constructed buildings or in the open space due to lack of funds. The situation is still dire in the high-poverty, hard-toreach mountainous areas. However, from the mid-1980s, with the assistance of development partners, the government embarked on school recapitalisation programme by constructing decent classrooms and other basic facilities and supplying furniture to some primary schools. From 2000, when FPE was launched with the assistance of development partners such as the World Bank, the African Development Bank (ADB), Irish Aid and the Government of Japan, the government intensified the improvement of physical infrastructure, this time focusing more on the establishment of new government/community schools. This decongested schools and cut down on the long distances that young pupils had to walk to and from school daily (Chiombe 2006). Despite the gains mentioned above, many schools in the remote mountain areas still lack basic facilities and educational resources, and this is positively linked to poor education quality (UNESCO 2000²). This begs the question: how can education quality be improved when pupils are still taught in such appalling conditions?

Teachers

Mbelle (2008) stresses that teachers are the key to improving the quality of education. To this end, it is critical to: (1) improve their instructional styles and methods in the classroom, (2) increase the availability of good teaching and learning materials; and (3) ensure the necessary support at the school level for maintaining educational standards. In Lesotho, teachers have frequently been accused of lacking the motivation and commitment to do their work dutifully. The indicators often cited include ineffective teaching and assessment practices, teacher absenteeism and tardiness, and shoddy preparation of lesson plans, or no lesson planning at all (Central Inspectorate 2000).

A critical shortage of qualified teachers is another challenge, especially in the mountain areas, mainly due to lack of infrastructure in these areas. In some cases even trained teachers are not competent to handle the curriculum; they lack the requisite pedagogical skills. The causes of this are multiple, and include low entry requirements or lack of selectivity for students who want to pursue a primary school teaching career, a lack of a reading culture and the drive among teachers to continuously update their knowledge. The widespread HIV/AIDS epidemic in Lesotho also damages the education system by killing many teachers and increasing the rate of teacher absenteeism (UNICEF 2006).

An Overview of Statistics in Registered Primary Schools from 2010 to 2011

The 2011 education statistics revealed that, out of a total of 11,378 primary school teachers, a large number, 3,817 (33.5%), were unqualified with only 7,561 (66.5%) who were qualified, and that primary school teaching was female-dominated with a total of 8,761 (77%)

compared to a male total of 2,617 (23%) (MOET 2011). The statistics also reflect that a larger proportion of females, 6159 (54.1%), were qualified, compared to only 1,402 (12.3%) males. The distribution of qualified teachers is skewed in favour of the lowland districts. For example, out of a total of 814 teachers in the mountainous district of Thaba-Tseka, 424 (52.1) were unqualified, compared to only 600 (25.1%) unqualified in the lowland and urban district of Maseru out of a total of 2,393.

Learners

An analysis of the 2010 education statistics reveal that many children of primary schoolgoing age are not in school, presumably due to the socio-economic or cultural constraints. For instance, in 2010, a total of 388,681 pupils were enrolled in primary schools, but only 123,307 in secondary schools, or 31.7% of those in primary schools (MOET 2010). These statistics raise the question of why there is such a big disproportion in enrolments between primary and secondary schools. The answer may be found in the high wastage rate and the poor quality of education in primary schools, which leads to high failure and dropout rates in primary and secondary schools.

Inadequate resources and circumstances beyond learners' control push them out of the system. Despite primary education being free, there are still some educational costs such as uniforms, school excursions and supplementary materials, which are beyond the means of most parents, especially those in remote high-poverty areas. The Ministry of Education (2000) concluded that it is an enormous waste for the nation and the individual families if children drop out before reaching Standard 7 or fail the Primary School Leaving Examinations.

Cohort Analysis

A cohort analysis represents the lifespan of a cohort or group of pupils who enter primary schooling in the same year (MOET 2011). Their survival is observed in Standard 7, the final year of primary schooling, with reference to how they were affected by dropouts and repetitions as they progressed to the final year. There is a difference between crude survival rate and net survival rate. A crude survival rate refers to the situation where the new entrants include the

repeaters of the previous year's cohort (MOET 2011). The net survival rate looks only at the cohort who started primary in the same year and progressed together until the last grade. In 2011, the net cohort survival rate was 66.7, which means that only 66.7% of the pupils who started Standard 1 in 2005 reached Standard 7 in 2011.

Pupil Enrolment and Pupil-teacher Ratios in Registered Primary Schools

With a total pupil enrolment of 385,437 and a total of 11,378 teachers in 2011, the national pupil-teacher ratio (PTR) was favourable at 34:1, way below the official ratio of 40:1, while the pupil-qualified teacher ratio (PQTR) was a bit high at 51:1 (MOET 2011). Across the 10 districts of the country, the ratio ranged from 30:1 to 41:1, the highest being the mountainous district Thaba-Tseka. The uneven distribution of students and teachers leads to uneven studentteacher ratios across schools and districts, with schools in high-population density areas having big classes and several teachers per grade, while those in inaccessible mountainous areas are one- or two-teacher schools because of small enrolments. The 2011 education statistics reflect that from Standard 1 to 4 there are usually more males than females enrolled in primary schools. This could be a reflection of population distribution of boys and girls at this age. However, from Standard 5 to 7, the overall enrolments of females surpass those of males noticeably because of the higher dropout rate of male students.

Efficiency of Primary Education

Efficiency is defined as the optimal relationship between inputs and outputs (MOET 2011). An efficient activity is one in which an optimum output is obtained for a given minimum input. Educational planners have adapted the term efficiency to the education system: in determining the efficiency of the education system, repeaters and dropouts represent wastage. MOET (2011) uses the concept pupil year as a convenient, non-monetary way of measuring inputs. One pupil year represents all the resources spent on one pupil in school for one year. "If a pupil repeats a grade, he is getting only one year's worth of education but is consuming two year's worth of expenditure" (MOET 2011). Thus, in Lesotho where primary education takes

seven years to complete, a pupil who drops out in Standard 6 has used six years' worth of expenditure without obtaining a certificate. There are three paths of student flow from grade to grade, namely promotion, repetition and dropout, which are regarded as indicators of the efficiency of the education system (MOET 2011).

In 2010 repeaters constituted about 20% of the total enrolment and were highest in Standard 1 and gradually decreased from one grade to the next (MOET 2010). For example, in 2005, only 62.6% of pupils who enrolled in Standard 1 were promoted, 28.1% repeated and 9.3% dropped out, which represents a high wastage rate. This is probably because some Grade 1 pupils did not attend preschool and were not school-ready when they started school. In contrast, in Standard 6, 80.1% learners were promoted, 13.3% repeated and 5.9% dropped out. Promotion rate increases and repetition rate decreases in the higher grades possibly because, through high repetition and dropout rates in the lower grades, the education system sorts and sheds the less able students, and gives repeaters a second chance to master the curriculum. Moreover, the statistics reflect that consistently, boys repeat classes more than girls in primary school (MOET 2010).

Primary School Leaving Examinations' Performance Patterns

The effectiveness of a school is often linked to the results in the national examinations. These are regarded as an indicator of teacher competency, principal leadership, learner ability and the support provided by the Ministry of Education.

In terms of quality, the PSLE results reflect that it is only a small fraction of candidates who pass in First Class, followed by those in Second Class, with those in Third Class constituting the majority (Table 1). When selecting applicants into Form A (Grade 8) secondary schools give preference to First Class candidates, followed by Second Class candidates. Third Class candidates are mostly admitted by the low-performing secondary schools.

CONCLUSION

Although the Government of Lesotho introduced Free Primary Education in 2000 and enacted *Education Act 2010*, which made primary

 Table 1: PSLE performance patterns over the period

 2009-2011

Class	2009	2010	2011	2012
1st Class	6.664	5,954	6,920	5,286
	(16.1%)	(14.2%)	(17%)	(13.3%)
2nd Class	10,762	9,877	11,107	9,489
	(26%)	(23.6%)	(27.3%)	(23.0%)
3rd Class	18,156	20,803	17,528	19,810
	(43.9%)	(49.7%)	(43%)	(49.9%)
Total passes	35,582	36,634	35,555	34,585
	(86%)	(87.5%)	(87.2%)	(87.2%)
Fail	5,815	5,235	5,197	5,076
	(14%)	(12.5%)	(12.7%)	(12.8%)
Absent	1,611	1,675	1,883	1,799
Total sat	41,397	41,869	40,752	39,661

Source: ECOL 2013

education free and compulsory, many children still do not attend school because of multiple reasons that include extreme poverty facing many families, the HIV/AIDS epidemic afflicting the country and the initiation school practice. Due to poverty many parents are unable to pay for the additional educational costs such as school uniforms and transport. Poverty also results in many parents withdrawing their children, mostly boys from school, forcing them to herd livestock in order to meet the pressing family demands.

There are also some in-school factors that force many learners to drop out of school or to repeat classes. This indicates that the education system is inefficient, since the government and individual families take longer than the official seven years of investment to educate one child to complete primary education. The uneven distribution of teachers and resources between schools in the urban/lowland areas and those in the rural/mountain schools also causes inefficiency and inequalities within the primary education sector. Generally, the urban/lowland schools have adequate resources, including qualified teachers, while those in the remote mountain areas operate in dilapidated buildings or substandard classrooms. This scenario raises the question of whether Lesotho will achieve the millennium development goal of universal access to and completion of primary education by all children in 2015.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To improve access, quality and completion of primary education the following recommendations are proposed:

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- For successful implementation of compulsory and free primary education, the government should devolve the powers to collect data of out-of-school children to the local authorities in the villages, and in turn, the law enforcement agencies should use these data to take necessary legal action against those parents who violate this law.
- To improve education quality in the hardto-reach mountainous areas, the government should provide incentives that would attract and retain qualified and competent teachers.
- To address the critical shortage of classrooms and educational resources in remote schools, the government should mobilise funds specifically intended to upgrade facilities in these areas.
- To tackle high repetition rate in the lower classes of primary, the government should mobilise communities to send children to preschools and support caregivers teaching in this phase, and
- To ensure that children, especially boys, do not drop out of school, the government in conjunction with other stakeholders should regulate the initiation school practice by aligning it with the school calendar so that they do not clash. In the same vein, after the initiates' passing-out ceremony, the boys should be allowed to continue with their studies.
- To curb the exploitation and abuse of children, especially boys who are engaged as herders, the government should enforce the law against child labour.

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