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der Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg

Private Schools in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

An Evidence Based Approach on their Functions

Hishyar Hassun



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Dedications

To my parents for supporting me to reach this stage of my life

To my beloved wife, for being my best friend in this journey of my life

To my daughter for being an inspiration to go forward in this life

Abstract

Non-state, private schools in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq are considered new educational institutions, only introduced to the Kurdish society after the establishment of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq in 1992. Since then, private schools have contributed to providing education, from kindergarten to higher education (Vernez, et al., 2014). This development is continuing despite the wars, political conflicts, and economic problems that have affected the region in the last three decades. This study aims to describe the development of private schools in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq and to clarify their functions in the educational system. Accordingly, the research questions, which provide the structure of this study cover two main parts. The first part deals with describing the profiles of private education providers, the types of schools they offer, and the development of the non-state educational sector. The second part investigates the factors affecting the choice of private schools. In both aspects, the functions of private schools for the Kurdish society are discussed.

Quantitative and qualitative methods have been adapted to tackle the research questions, and a mixed methods has also been applied. A quantitative method is used to give descriptive data about the increase in the number of private schools, the types of private schools and the factors influencing parents' choice of private schools. Data have been collected from 103 private schools to describe the increase and types of private schools in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. A questionnaire for parents (n=223) provides insights into the most important factors influencing the choice of private schools over public schools in the KRI. Qualitative methods are used to describe the profiles of private education providers. Data from 10 private education providers' websites are collected and analysed using document analysis.

The results of this study show that private schools are diverse and different from the public schools, especially concerning the language of academic instruction. Some private education providers share common goals, such as providing high-quality education, while some others have specific goals, such as serving a minority group. There are both local and international private education providers. Most private schools are profit-oriented, with only a few schools considered religiously oriented or private public partnership schools. The number of private schools in the region is constantly increasing, reaching 144 schools, enrolling 33,613 students, in 2018. Different factors affect parental choices of private schools. English as a language for instruction has been found to be the most important factor for parents when choosing private schools. This could be explained by considering English as a more global language comparing to Kurdish, as English is used as a tool to be connected with the international world.

This study shows that private schools in regions with different conflicts do not necessarily act as an elitist movement for social distinction, as it is often described in the discourse, but rather covering further functions as qualification objectives of the population or compensating language policies. In general, private schools have the qualification function to provide individuals with the knowledge, skills and capacities that are necessary for themselves as well as for developing the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. Private schools appear to connect the Kurdish society to the rest of the world by creating global citizens through English as the medium of instruction. In addition, for minorities, private schools sustain an educational system that responds to their religious and cultural needs and expectations.

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List of Abbreviations

CG	Cihan Group
CSM	Classical School of the Medes
IDEF	İhsan Dođramacı Erbil Foundation
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Sham
K–12	Kindergarten to 12th grade
KPS	Knowledge Private Schools
KRG	Kurdistan Region Government
KRI	Kurdistan Region of Iraq
MLF	Mission Laïque Française
MOE	Ministry of Education
MS	Mean Score
MYP	Middle Years Program
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NRPS	Non-religious private schools
PPP	Private-Public Partnership
PS	Private schools
PYP	Primary Years Program
RBPS	Religious background private schools
RE	Rast Education
SGI	SGI
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Chapter 1

Introduction

After the Kurdish revolution in Iraq in 1991 and the subsequent establishment of an autonomous government officially called the Kurdistan Region of Iraq in 1992 (henceforth KRI), there have been attempts to change and adapt a new education system, aligned with the Kurdish aspirations for enabling people to achieve democratic values, economic development and societal welfare (Sindi, 2013). Attempts have also been made to transfer the education system from Arabic to Kurdish language¹. However, since the 1990s, the Kurdistan Regional Government (henceforth the KRG) has faced many challenges in developing the education system, such as the lack of qualified teachers, the paucity of schools with good facilities and a curriculum that does not meet the demands of the 21st century (Jamal, 2008; Jukil, 2013). Many of these issues are a consequence of the years of isolation under the Gulf War² sanctions. One of the reactions to these challenges of the KRG was to allow private schooling in the region. This was meant to increase civil engagement in education, experiment with novel forms of financing education and providing outstanding quality of education.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Throughout recent history, Kurdish people in Iraq were forced to accept an educational system which was not in their mother tongue but in Arabic. However, the day they started to have an education system in Kurdish language after the Kurdish revolution in 1991, private schools have slowly begun to provide education mostly in English. This means that new and different education systems are currently taking part in shaping the future of the KRI. To date, no research has been carried out to address the way private schools are developing in the KRI and to assess their objectives for the Kurdish society. The education policy makers in the KRI have limited data to provide enough information about private schools (Vernez, et al., 2016). It is the objective of this study to show, through empirical data, the development of private schools in the KRI, and to analyse the profiles of private school providers and to find out which factors are considered in choosing private schools. Different school providers and school types could serve different functions of schools in a vulnerable and culturally hybrid region.

¹ Kurdish language is spoken in the north of Iraq and is the official language in KRI.

² The Gulf War was a war waged by a coalition led by the United States (under the authorization of the United Nations) against Iraq as a response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2 1990 (Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia, 2021).

Non-state education actors have been increasingly involved at all levels of the educational system in the KRI, from kindergartens to higher education (Vernez, et al., 2014). The total number of basic³ and secondary private schools in the KRI has reached 144 in the academic year of 2017-2018. This includes 88 private schools in Erbil, 33 schools in Sulaymaniyah, 18 in Duhok city, four in the Garmian district, and one school in Halabja (MOE database, 2018). These private schools are owned by different educational companies and institutions, which some are local while others are international (Jukil, 2013). Also, different types of private schools implement different education systems.

Public schools are owned, run, and financed by the government or the state and are free of charge (Thapa, 2013; Moumne & Saudemont, 2015). Non-state schools or what is called private schools, on the other hand, are difficult to be define. Scheunpflug and Wenz (2015) state that there is no one clear definition of the private schools on the international level. Instead, the financing of education, legal status and the owner of the school has to be taken into consideration in giving any specific label to private schools. Day Ashley et al. (2014, p. 4) define private schools as “dependent on user fees to cover all or part of their operational and development costs and managed largely independently of the state and are owned and/or founded independently of the state”. This definition makes it clear that private schools are based on three factors. Firstly, private schools charge fees to secure the financial expenditures of the school. Secondly, private school are managed independently from the state. Being founded or owned outside of the state body is the third factor.

However, Moumne & Saudemont (2015) give a broader definition of private schools. They state that private schools can be managed by any type of non-governmental state organization, such as a church, trade union, private institutions or an organization in the businesses sectors. Such private schools could be either state-independent or state-dependent and exist in different forms, such as philanthropic, for-profit, low fee or not for-profit. They also define another type of private school, which is called public private partnership (PPP). This type of private school is related to the state based on some mutual agreement between a private agency and the state on the financing and management of the school.

Mounme & Saudemont’s definition differs from Day Ashley’s (and many others) by allowing the possibility of private schools being free of charge. However, a consensus emerges from both definitions that private schools are owned and managed largely independently from the state (even though they can be financed by the state).

³ Basic education in the KRI corresponds to primary and intermediate education, which covers 1st-9th years of schooling.

In general, three forms of private schooling exist world-wide. On one hand, there are schools where only the governance of the school is non-state but the state still covers the costs, as well as schools where governance and finances are non-state (Toma, 2005). The third type is a “mixed model”, where a private school receives less than 50% of their funding from government agencies as it is the case in some OECD countries (Koinzer et al., 2017). In the KRI, the majority of private schools are non-state governed and do not get financial assistance from the state. They are largely financed by the students’ parents.

This increase of private schooling in KRI seems to be related to a world-wide development in private schooling (Aga Khan Foundation, 2007; Tulloch et al., 2014; Steer et al., 2015). In non-industrialized countries, the development of private schooling has constantly appeared in the discourse in the last decade. The reasons for increasing private schools vary from one country to another. For instance, countries that have financial problems and an increase in student enrolment are under pressure to cope with providing good quality of education – this is the case in South Asia (Aslam & Atherton, 2012). This could be a reason why there is more demand for private sector to be as an alternative for presenting good quality education (Boncana, 2012). Bhatta and Budathoki (2013) state that in terms of teaching quality and learning, private schools are more successful than public schools and they are universally considered a better choice of schooling. It is argued that private schools have created an impression that they are better than the public schools and consequently students who attend these private schools will have more opportunities later in life (Coulson, 2009). In Ghana for example, Aziabah (2017) has found that private schools that depend on fees and are to a great extent managed independently of the state outperform public schools in national assessment tests. However, a study conducted by Zeitlyn et al. (2015) has revealed that for-profit but cheap secondary private schools in Malawi suffer from having poorly qualified teachers, few learning materials and teaching facilities, and that they do not meet the minimum standards. This could be an indication that some low-cost private schools in developing countries might not offer a high quality of education. Sindi (2011) states that despite the private education in KRI helping to reduce some pressure on the KRG concerning the absorption of a high number of students in basic and secondary schools, especially in urban areas, private schools face many obstacles, such as a lack of educational facilities and supplies. He argues that many students who graduate from private schools in the KRI are not as qualified as they are promised to be at enrolment. However, he has not shown empirically how he has reached such conclusions. In general, high-cost private schools are found to outperform public schools, while the performance of low-cost private schools

varies from remarkable to terrible compared to public schools in some developing countries (Aga Khan Foundation, 2007).

There is a gap in literature about the development of private schools in the KRI and the changes that this development brings to the region, which has gone through several political conflicts in recent history. Despite the fact that basic education in the KRI is free and public schools are available to all even in rural areas, private schools are found to be developing in the KRI and the number of enrolments is increasing. This study attempts to explore the development of private schools in KRI in order to understand why their numbers are increasing and which factors are behind this development. These questions have been raised after observing that many parents are attracted to choose private schools instead of choosing public schools for their children. The profiles of private education providers in KRI and the types of schools they offer are also unknown to the Kurdish community, as well as to the international research community. These questions have not yet been answered due to the absence of academic studies on private schools and non-state educational actors in the KRI. Within this study, the types of private schools in the Kurdistan Region will be analysed and compared to the worldwide developments in private schooling. Furthermore, this study will also tackle the factors affecting parents' choice of private schools (despite their high cost in comparison with private schools in the other parts of the world, especially in other developing countries). The development of private schools in the KRI will be described and investigated to show whether the private sector gives what it promises in providing good quality of education to the Kurdish society⁴ based on parents' points of view.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The aim of this study is to give a broad overview of the development of private schools in the KRI by creating a database about the numbers and distributions of the private schools all over the Kurdistan region. The study explores the profiles of the private school providers in order to understand who they are and what they want to accomplish, as well as what types of private schools they offer to the Kurdish society. The study also investigates how the private sector contributes to provide education and which strata of society it services.

One of the main aims of this study is to describe the factors affecting the parental choice of private schools in the KRI, based on data analysis, and to discuss this phenomenon in relation to a worldwide trend. The study also attempts to describe the functions of private schools in the Kurdish society.

⁴ Kurdish Society means all the people living in the KRI. It does not mean only Kurdish people but also includes other minorities that they don't necessary consider themselves Kurds, such as Christians in KRI.

1.3 Research Questions

Based on the understanding of the situation in the KRI and the international discourse on private schooling, the following research questions will be investigated:

- How does the increase of private schooling in the KRI look like? How are the private school providers' profiles characterized? What are the types of private schools in the KRI, and which type is dominant?
- What are the factors that influence the growing attractiveness of private schools to parents? What functions do private schools in the KRI fulfil in the Kurdish society?

To the best of our knowledge, no research has been conducted about private schools in the KRI. It is hoped that this study will spark a debate and open doors for more questions to be investigated about the private education phenomenon in the KRI.

1.4 Outline of the Study

This study is developed into six chapters. Chapter one introduces the readers to a brief history of the development of private schools in the KRI and where they are located. It states the problem of the study and shows the purpose of the study.

Chapter two begins with an introduction to the education system in the KRI, highlighting some of the challenges faced by the education system in the KRI, particularly in terms of the language of instruction challenge. It also gives a general background in the history and geography of the KRI. In this chapter, the relationship between educational institutions and the society is discussed, with a particular focus on how schools are related to the society and what functions they fulfil. Then, the development of private school around the world is described, with a more precise focus on the increase of private schools in developing countries. Finally, international discourse concerning the global growth of the private schools is presented, with a focus on increasing numbers of private schools, different types of private schools, and the factors of choosing private schools.

Chapter three presents the methodology used in order to answer the current research questions outlined. Quantitative method, employed to build a database with information about the numbers and types of private schools in the KRI, are explained, alongside the design of the questionnaire used to find out the factors influencing parental choices of private schooling (for more details see 3.3). An-

other problem of this study is investigating the private school providers' profiles, which requires the adoption of a qualitative method, also explained and described in this chapter. The reason for using the qualitative method is clarified and all the procedures that are followed concerning this study method are documented. Finally, mixed methods is utilized to answer the question of how different schools types and private school providers serve different functions. The need for using the mixed methods to answer which functions private schools serve is justified and the type of the mixed methods that is used in this study is described.

Chapter four begins by demonstrating the development of private schools in the KRI, based on the collected data. The chapter then focuses on describing the profiles of private school providers in KRI by analysing three main aspects of each provider: the types of schools they offer, the educational models they follow, and the goals that they want to achieve for the Kurdish society. The chapter ends with an analysis of the different types of private schools present in the KRI, which shows which type is more dominant.

Chapter five presents an analysis of the data collected from the questionnaire in order to find out the factors affecting the choice of private schools in the KRI. Two analyses that have been performed on the data are described, primary and secondary. The primary analysis of the questionnaire is the main analysis that attempts to find out the factors of private school choice in the KRI.

Chapter six is the final chapter of this study. It presents the results of the study in three summaries about private schools, private school choice and the functions of private school in the KRI. The study ends with a conclusion, followed by a brief discussion of the study's implications and some recommendations both for the academic community and for the general public.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

This chapter will first provide an overview of the education system in the KRI and then will describe the relationship between this system and the society in general. This will be followed by a discussion on how the education system in the KRI is financed and what challenges it faces. In order to elucidate how private schools function in society, the social roles they fulfil and the differences between such roles are discussed, providing a theoretical background to the data-based discussion which follows. Then, the chapter explores the international discourse on private schooling. The recent increase in the number of private schools, their types and school choice systems are discussed thoroughly. At the end of this chapter, the need for research on the functions of private schools in the KRI will be discussed and the research questions of this study will be presented.

2.1 Education in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq

Before describing the development of private schools in Kurdish society, it is important to provide some details about the KRI, the education system there, and the challenges that have faced the education sector since the establishment of the KRI until recent years.

The Kurdistan Region of Iraq is an autonomous region located in the north of Iraq. It comprises three major cities: Erbil (the regional capital), Duhok, and Sulaymaniyah,. Kurdistan lies at the mountainous transition belt, with the Taurus and Zagros Mountains forming an arc encircling the Mesopotamian region (Stansfield, 2003). The Kurdistan Region of Iraq covers approximately 78 736 km², making up some 18% of the total surface area of Iraq (Brayetî Center, 1999 as cited in Mawlood, 2011). The estimate of the population of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq is about 5.3 million inhabitants (Hedad et al., 2009 as cited in Mawlood, 2011).

Meho and Maglaughlin (2001) state that when Britain decided to create the state of Iraq during World War I, the plan was to unite the two provinces of Baghdad and Basra. However, after the discovery of oil around Mosul (a predominantly Kurdish province), Britain changed the plan and wanted to incorporate Mosul into the new state of Iraq. The British were aware that the population of Mosul was mainly Kurdish, so they decided to set up one or more semi-autonomous Kurdish provinces to be loosely attached to the state of Iraq. However, Kurdish people were against incorporation into Iraq, which led to a direct confrontation with the British authorities. From 1919 to the mid-1940s, there were a

number of Kurdish rebellions against Britain and the Iraqi regime, aimed at achieving independence of the Kurds in Iraq, led by Sheikh Mahmud Barzinji, Sheikh Ahmed and Mulla Mustafa Barzany (Meho & Maglaughlin, 2001).

The KRI, as an autonomous region, first came to exist in 1970, when an agreement was signed between the Iraqi government and the Kurdish opposition. The agreement failed for several reasons. The government's true instincts were to centralize. Autonomy was a temporary ploy, while the central government in Baghdad waited to gain enough strength to impose direct control (McDowall, 2004). However, after the Kurdish uprising of 1991, Kurdish people have formed the autonomous region in the north of Iraq and it was formally recognized in 2005 by the new constitution established in Iraq.

Regarding religion, the majority of the people in the Kurdistan Region are Sunni Muslims, mainly of the Shafi'i school. There are also many Christians of different denominations, estimated at around 245,000. Around 65% of these are Chaldeans, 20% are members of the Assyrian Church of the East, and 10% are members of the Syriac Catholic Church and the Syriac Orthodox Church. There is also a community of about 3000 Armenians who, along with some other even smaller groups, constitute the remainder of the Christians living in the KRI. Additionally, about 550,000 Yazidis live in the region. In the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, people are free to practice their religion.

2.1.1 The education system in the KRI

Before the 1990s, the education system in the KRI was a part of the Iraqi system. It was divided into three levels: primary, intermediate, and secondary. Education was compulsory from grade one up to grade six. In general, the quality of education suffered during the 1980s because of the war between Iraq and Iran. Under the rule of the previous regime in Iraq, public funds were moved away from the educational to the military sector (UNESCO Iraq, 2011). The former sector suffered more after the economic sanctions imposed on Iraq in the 1990s following the Gulf War. This led to a decline in the quality of education; as a result, 80% of the schools needed to be rehabilitated. Teaching quality and conditions became very bad, as school enrolment and literacy decreased (UNESCO Iraq, 2011; UNICEF, 2017).

After the Kurdish uprising of 1991 and the formation of an autonomous regional government that followed, the KRG attempted to change and adapt a new educational system to cope up with the new changes in the region in the 21st century (Akrawi, 2011). In general, one can say that the education system in the KRI has been broadly established since 1990 (Overview Education, 2014). The Kurdistan Regional Government faced many challenges in the education sector since its inception, such as the lack of qualified teachers, lack of schools availa-

ble to absorb the increase in student enrolment in both primary and secondary schools. The students were held back for a long time by the outdated teaching methods used by teachers and by poor facilities (Nechirvan Barzani, 2008). These problems were the results of the previous, Iraqi government's educational policies. Therefore, there was a need for a new educational system.

Two ministries are responsible for providing education in the KRI, both established after the formation of the KRG. The basic and secondary education are administered by the Ministry of Education (henceforth MOE), while the higher education is administered by the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (Overview Education, 2014). The education system in the KRI is highly controlled by the MOE, since the Ministry is responsible for making all the major decisions and policies that are related to all parts of public education, as well as for regulating private education. The MOE has 12 general directorates of education, which are responsible for running educational establishments at the district level. There are 26 districts in the cities of Duhok, Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, and Kirkuk. All the general directorates must implement the educational policies related to kindergarten, basic and secondary education, preparatory and vocational education, curricula, buildings, supervision, teacher training, student examination and evaluation, and sports and arts activities. There are also two general directorates for minorities in the KRI, one for Turkmen education and the other for Assyrian education (Vernez et al., 2014).

There are approximately 165,000 employees working for the MOE, and most of them are teachers and principals. This number constitutes 24% of the workforce in the KRI. The number of students exceeds 1.65 million. The number of employees and students together make the MOE the largest ministry in the KRG and represents nearly 40% of the population of the KRI (Khalid, 2014) (estimated to be about 5.4 million Kurds according to Institute Kurde De Paris Foundation) (2017).

The number of students continues to increase, as there are new students enrolling in the schools each year (Khalid, 2014). Table 1 shows the total number of students in basic and secondary schools. The numbers show that the KRG faces many challenges, such as finding adequate funding and providing facilities for the increasing number of students.

Table 1: Scope of Education System

Scope of Education System in KRI		
Numbers of Students	2008-2009	2015-2016
Total Number of Students	1,284,186	1,517,729
Total Number of Teachers	86,580	126,112
Total number of Schools	5,323	6,799

Source: MOE in KRI

Before 1992, Arabic was the official language in the region and it was the language of instruction in the majority of schools. After the establishment of the KRI in 1992, Kurdish was proclaimed the official language of the region (Haig, 2007). Thus, changing the language of instruction in schools from Arabic to Kurdish was the first step the KRG took to reform the old education system. The process of changing the language of instruction in schools began from grade one and gradually expanded until students from all grades were instructed in the Kurdish language.

After 2007, the KRG started adapting a new education system from kindergarten through grade 12 (K-12) in an attempt to modernize the old education system. The KRI witnessed stability and economic growth from new resources, such as energy renewals, after years of isolation from the world under economic sanctions. In such a new environment, the KRG felt the need for reforming the education system as the education curriculum was outdated, schools were very crowded, the number of students' enrolment was increasing, and there was a need for more teachers, especially in certain subjects such as mathematic and English (Vernez et al., 2014). Khalid (in Overview Education, 2014, p. 171) explains that "The KRG as a whole has begun to believe that education must be the first step for any future growth within the Kurdistan Region". In 2007, the MOE held a conference and invited more than 500 local and foreign education experts to discuss ideas for reforming the education system in the KRI. The conference ended with certain recommendations to change the education system and resulted in the following reforms:

- Education made compulsory from grade 6 until grade 9.
- A new, more rigorous curriculum was implemented across all grades.
- The system was restructured into two levels: basic education from grades (1-9) and secondary education from grades (10-12).

- New teachers were required to complete higher levels of education (bachelor's degrees) to be qualified to teach in schools.
- New policies were implemented to reduce the rate of failing in the early stages of schooling.

All the changes in the education system were introduced in the following academic year (2008-2009), except adapting the new curriculum, which was introduced gradually (Vernez et al., 2014). Thus, the system was restructured into the basic education and secondary level instead of the old three levels (primary, intermediate, and secondary). Now, the educational stages consist of 2 years of pre-school education for children aged 4-5 (not compulsory); 9 years of compulsory basic education for the ages 6-14; and 3 years of secondary school for the 15-17-year-olds. In addition, students can attend some vocational secondary education after finishing their basic education, for instance at industrial and computer institutes. Table (2) shows the education ladder in the KRI.

Table 2: Education System Ladder in KRI

KRI Education System Ladder	
Pre-primary education	Official entry age 4, 2 years, non-compulsory
Basic-education	Official entry age 6, Grades 1-9, compulsory, free of charge
Upper-secondary education	Theoretical entry age 15, 3 years, non-compulsory
University and Higher education	4 to 5 years

Source: UNESCO Iraq, 2011

2.1.2 Financing education in the KRI

The education sector is funded by the KRG, from public basic to secondary schools. Parents do not pay any fees for their children's schooling. As mentioned above, there are 12 general directorates of education, which are responsible for dealing with all educational issues in each district of the KRI. Each of the general directorates at the district level first prepares its budget and sends it to the MOE. The MOE makes an overall budget proposal for the educational expenditures and sends it to the Ministry of Finance, which then allocates the budget (Vernez et al., 2014).

The education sector in the KRI has expanded dramatically in recent years. This required more funding resources to be allocated to the education sector. Khalid (in Overview Education, 2014, p. 171) states that "We are trying to ap-

proach education from a variety of different perspectives, as well as by subsidising it to the greatest extent possible”. Increasing the funding for education in the KRI is very important, since the number of students continues to increase. In 2013, the KRG allocated 16% of its annual budget for the education and higher education sectors, giving the education sector the biggest share of the region’s budget. The KRG has expended a total of 668 million US dollars on the education sector between the years of 2006-2013. By allocating such a budget, the KRG aims to develop a well-educated population in the Region that is capable of developing the economic growth (Overview Education, 2014, p. 167). However, the KRG’s plans for improving the education sector faced substantial challenges after 2014 due to the war with ISIS.

2.1.3 Challenges in the education sector in the KRI

The KRG has faced many challenges to develop the education sector since its establishment in 1992. All the important economic sectors in the KRI were affected by the policies implemented by the Iraqi government before autonomy. The infrastructure, agriculture, health and education sectors were all left undeveloped (Fattah, 2008). The following section describes some of the challenges facing the education sector.

Funding challenge

Having no connection with the central government in Iraq and no budget for running the education sector initially were the biggest challenges following establishment of the KRG. The first challenge was funding teachers’ salaries. The second challenge was to change the language of instruction in schools from Arabic to Kurdish.

Reforming the curriculum

Another challenge that the MOE faced was curriculum reform. In 2007, the KRG prime minister Nechirvan Barzani stated that “Our teaching methods are too much like military instruction and not enough about developing our capacities to think. We need to modify our classrooms and our teaching styles to allow for more interactions with students, more group work and discussion, and more hands-on experience in the sciences, math, arts, and information and communication technology. The world in which we live is changing dramatically, and we must change our educational system with it” (Akrawi, 2011, p. 8). Accordingly, this led to the 2007 education system reform described above.

Lack of schools and qualified teachers

According to the previous minister of education Dr Khalid (in Overview Education, 2014, p. 171), the two biggest challenges facing the development of the education system in KRI are: the limited number of schools available and the low skill level of most of teachers in basic and secondary schools. One part of the 2007 educational reforms was to change the old curriculum by a new one. However, the biggest challenge was that most of the teachers were not qualified enough to teach it. Therefore, the MOE has started opening training programs for teachers in order to equip them with the necessary knowledge and skills to enable them to teach the new curriculum and implement it effectively. The teacher training process is continuing and needs a lot of funding to be done successfully.

As stated above, the biggest proportion of KRI's government budget goes to the education sector. Employees of the MOE make up 24% of the overall employment in the KRG (Hansen et al., 2014). Most of the budget allocated for the MOE is spent on salaries paid for teachers and staff working in the education sector. In recent years, the central government of Iraq stopped sending the KRG budget and the war against the terrorist groups started. Also, the Syrian and DIPS refugees came to the KRI, many of whom (about 325,000) are children under the age of 18 and thus require education. However, most of these children do not go to school. Numbers show that 70% of the IDPs and 48% of the refugee children are out of school. The KRG needs to build more schools, hire more teachers, provide textbooks, and solve the issues with the language of instruction in order to be able to enrol the remaining children into schools. Dealing with the situation of the DIP and Syrian refugee children out of school requires substantial funding. It is estimated that the KRG needs about 34.0 million US dollars for the refugees and 161.5 million US dollars for the IDPs to enrol them in schools (World Bank, 2015). Thus, funding the education sector adequately has become a burden on the KRG. While all these challenges are difficult enough to contend with, the number of students is increasing, which requires building more schools and hiring even more teachers.

The language of instruction challenge in the KRI schools

In 1921, Iraq was established as a state following World War I. Immediately, Kurdish people demanded to use Kurdish language in education in their region instead of Arabic. As a result, the Iraqi parliament drafted a legislation which granted minorities some linguistic rights to use their mother tongue language in their regions (Sheyholislami et al., 2012). However, the use of Kurdish language in education was not implemented until the late of 1950s. Furthermore,

Arabic became the official language of education again in the 1960s. Although Sorani Kurdish was briefly used officially in the 1970s, schools soon reverted to Arabic. Furthermore, even when Kurdish was used in education, this was only in the five first stages of primary schools. In the end, all Kurdish schools were replaced by Arabic schools (Haig & Mustafa, 2019).

Kurdish language became the official language in schools after the establishment of the KRI. The language of education in schools changed from Arabic to Kurdish (Sorani dialect). This meant that Kurdish students in Duhok city, where the Sorani dialect is not native, were not using their mother tongue in schools as the language of education, making school instruction difficult for students to comprehend (Haig, 2007). Later, in 2002, the KRG in Erbil agreed to a request presented by the Duhok Assembly Board of Education to use the Kurdish Bahdini dialect as the language of instruction in schools in Duhok city. This meant that the language of education was replaced again in Duhok city. This change was implemented in grades one to six. Ten years later, the whole Sorani Kurdish dialect was completely replaced with Bahdini in all schools in Duhok city (Sheyholislami, 2015). This issue regarding the change of language of instruction in schools continued with the establishment of by opening several private schools, which many use English as the primary language of instruction.

The change of language of instruction in public schools appeared again in the academic year of 2015-2016, when the KRG began to implement the use of English as the language of instruction for the subjects of mathematic and natural sciences in some selected schools as a part of a trial program. Plans were made to implement the use of English in all public schools for the two mentioned subjects (Haig & Mustafa, 2019). However, this program was cancelled after the formation of a new cabinet in the KRI. This shows how the language of instruction in KRI public schools was changed multiple times, and even when Kurdish was the medium of instruction, there was some tension between different dialects (especially in Duhok City).

Higher education in the KRI

Before 1992, there was only one university in the Kurdish territories in Iraq. This reflects that higher education was not available for most young people in Iraqi Kurdistan. The only university in what was to become the KRI was the Salahaddin University in Sulaymaniyah city. In 1981, this university was moved to Erbil city by the Iraqi government as a reaction to student protests in Sulaymaniyah city. All the new universities in the KRI were established after 1992. Now, there are 14 state, free of charge universities that are under the supervision of

the Ministry of Higher Education of the KRI, as well as 11 private universities that are owned by the private sector.

The higher education in the KRI consists of 2-6 years of study between the ages of 18-24. Two years of study are required to complete a diploma in a technical institute. Four years of study are required to complete a bachelor's degree at university, except at the college of medicine, which requires 6 years of study.

The KRG has put much effort into making sure that the access to all levels and sectors of education is possible for everyone. Since 2003, more than 160 new kindergartens, 2,220 k-12 schools, five technical institutes, and four new public universities have been opened. The total student enrolment has increased, which is particularly pronounced in secondary and post-secondary technical education. The gap between boys' and girls' enrolment is in favour of boys in basic and secondary education. However, in the academic year 2011-2012, girls' enrolment reached 54% in postsecondary technical education and university. This indicates that girls are more likely to continue their higher education than boys (Sindi, 2013).

2.1.4 Private schools and the Kurdish society

One of the primary functions of education is to transmit cultural heritage to the new generation in society. However, in a changing society, education has to prepare the young generation for adjustment to a changing future. In contemporary societies, Patil (2012, p. 207) notes that "the proportion of change that is either planned or issues from the secondary consequences of deliberate innovations is much higher than in former times". This could happen in societies that have recently become independent and are still evolving. Thus, sometimes society influences changes in the educational system and at other times the educational system makes changes in the society. Accordingly we can say that the relationship between educational system and the society is mutual (Patil, 2012).

As the KRG was established in 1992, it started to change the education system in the Kurdistan Region. One of the big changes was allowing for the private sector to be involved in the education process by opening private schools and universities (which had been forbidden under the previous Iraqi regime). The private schools should be approved by the Ministry of Education in the KRI. Therefore, in order for a body to open a private school, a license must be obtained, which confirms the government's approval. It is not obvious on what basis a body can establish a private school in the Kurdistan Region and this lack of clarity and knowledge is due to the lack of academic research devoted to this topic. The majority of private schools accept students after they complete an entrance exam. Then the students who pass the exam are interviewed and, based on certain evaluation criteria, they are selected to be enrolled in the school.

Schools where English is the medium of instruction also require prospective students to take an English language proficiency test. However, some schools just accept any student who can afford the fees.

One of the changes in the education system that can be observed in many societies is the development of the private sector's involvement in education, especially in developing countries. This phenomenon can be seen in many countries around the world. This study is trying to elucidate how the increase of private schools reflect in the Kurdish society. In the Kurdistan Region of Iraq, private education sector is developing to cover all the educational levels from kindergarten to university education.

It has been discussed that schools have certain functions in society. What, then, are their functions in the society of the KRI? While the increase in the number of private schools in the KRI is clear, there is no literature about it. One of the objectives of this study is to address this gap by identifying the development of private schools and their functions in the Kurdish society of the KRI. This could be done by investigating the types of private schools that exist in the KRI and the factors that affect parents' decisions in choosing private, rather than public, schools for their children. A question such as what functions private schools fulfil in the Kurdish society will be addressed.

2.2 Educational Systems and their Relationship to Society

Educational institutions have a significant impact on the development of any society and schools are considered the basic form of educational institutions in any society (Durkheim, 1977; Bowles & Gintis, 1976 in Halsey et al., 1997; Haveman & Wolfe, 1984). School is defined as the first place where a child is socialized and gains experiences which institutionalise a distinction of status on a nonbiological bases (Parsons, 1959). Currently, schools exist in different forms. In general, there are public (state) schools and private (non-state) schools. Private schools are also divided into different types based on the owner of the school, on who is responsible for running the school, and on how the school is financed.

2.2.1 Functions as a theoretical approach

Educational institutions hold a very important position in society. They are seen as the basic foundation for a meritocratic society (Halsey et al., 1997; Autin et al., 2015). This means that each individual has the same opportunity to play a role in the development of the society and has similar chances to be allocated certain jobs based on the qualifications they have. Blackledge and Hunt (1985) provide an analysis of society by discussing what are the conditions necessary

for a society (large or small, simple or complex) to evolve. They suggest that there must exist a way for the young generation to master the language and common values of their society in order to maintain this society's existence. Society must respond to any change and foreign threats by creating social coherence among the members. Functional theory examines the way how a society solves fundamental problems. The ways of dealing with the problems may differ from one society to another, but in societies there are general problems to be observed, which are common to all societies in the world. In functionalist theory, the mechanisms which are used for solving the problems in the society are called institutions. An institution could be a family which helps in increasing the members of the society; economic institutions which help in producing goods and welfare for the population; political institutions which help in regulating the laws and preserve justice in society; religious institutions which assist in maintaining the basic values and norms; and educational institutions which help in educating and training the young generation. Social institutions therefore have certain important functions in society and try to satisfy society's need (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985).

The work of different social institutions may be combined to solve a certain problem or one single institution may work to solve different problems in society such as the educational institutions. Education systems are considered institutions that solve multiple problems. Next generations, for example, have to be able to read and write. School systems have been built as educational institutions to solve these reproduction problems. Education influences the maintenance of cultural values, language, religion, and economy, and shapes the future of society (Fend, 2011). In modern societies, education is a highly developed institution and, as such, can serve as a basis for social classification or stratification. It divides individuals into different categories, based on the "adequate" (to a society's problems and needs) knowledge they possess. Besides, it also defines which individuals have the right skills to be able to access certain high-status positions in society (Meyer, 1977). The influence of education goes from educating individuals to the whole community. Having a flourishing society is one of the responsibilities of the education and educational institutions, as they contribute to raising adequate numbers of people who can effectively work for the benefit of their community (Türkkahraman, 2012). Thus, education is an essential element for the organization of society and has an impact on it by providing social experience to individuals (Meyer, 1977).

From a sociological perspective, education responds to the needs of society. The educational system of any society is related to the whole social system and it has certain functions to perform (Patil, 2012). Educational institutions are fundamental social organizations for developing individuals to be competent to per-

form certain roles in the society. Education has to make sure that people can do their best to develop the society through acquiring technical and social skills in order to maintain the society's common culture and values (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985).

Educational institutions are places where differences between individuals can be evaluated and certified according to the assessment methods followed by schools, rather than based on their social backgrounds. Therefore, educational credentials, such as certificates, became an indicator of having access to certain social positions (Autin et al., 2015). The basic function of education in society is to create social cohesion among people by proving knowledge and skills needed to assure the enhancement of the society (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985 in Sever, 2012). As a social institution, education has links to different facets of society: economy, family, political and religious structures. Thus, education has certain functions to perform within these systems (Sever, 2012).

School is the main big educational institution, which has a unique position in society. It teaches individuals skills and roles and provides them with the knowledge necessary to function in society (Parsons, 1959 as cited in Sever, 2012). Meyer (1977) states that schools provide students with the experiences of acquiring knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values. Students then expand their personal qualities to be able to participate more in the structure of modern society. Thus, school is not just about providing students with knowledge and skills, but it has a bigger role, which is preparing students to use this knowledge and skills in the context of society.

Parsons (1959, p. 297) states that school classes or year groups in primary and secondary schools function primarily in the society as agents of socialization and allocation. He argues that “individual personalities are trained to be motivationally and technically adequate to the performance of adult roles”. The school class plays the role of a socialization agent from the first time students enter the school until entering into the labour market or marriage. Parsons explains that the socialization function is the development of the capacities and awareness of commitments that are fundamental for individuals’ future role-performance. An example of such commitment is the obligation of individuals to be honest at work, while ability to perform such work is an example of a capacity developed through school. A mechanic or a doctor should not have only the necessary skills for performing his or her job but also needs to know how to behave with the people he or she is working with. School class could work as an agency of allocation. Parsons argues that both social status and educational level attained by an individual are clearly connected to their occupational status. The socio-economic status of a child’s family and his or her ability to perform at school are both influencing the selective process of acquiring an occupation in the future.

Students from high-status families are more likely to complete their education and enter college not only because of their performance ability but also because they tend to have a clearer plan for finishing college and acquiring a graduate job, as well as the capacity to afford the costs of education.

2.2.2 Different functions of schools

Based on what has been discussed, it is obvious that schools fulfil different functions in society. In general, educational sociologists agree that the school in modern societies serves three main functions: the delivery of knowledge, secondary socialization, and selection-allocation roles (Angus, 1975). Angus adds the function of legitimation as a fourth function to the other three functions. Each function serves a different purpose in the society and the following is a discussion of them.

The qualification function (educational function)

One of the functions of the school is the reproduction of cultural systems, and this is often recognized as knowledge and skills. This includes gaining basic abilities, ranging from language to writing in order to achieve certain professional qualifications. This is accomplished by instruction and it is referred to as the qualification function (Fend, 2011). Durkheim (as cited in King, 1983, p. 17) defines education as “means by which society prepares within the children the essential conditions of its existence”. The definition has an indication of a certain functionalist element, in which education could be defined in terms of its contribution to the maintenance of society (King, 1983). It means that education is used as a means for preserving the society’s traditions and culture. Autin et al. (2015) mention that the educational function promotes learning for all by providing all students with knowledge, skills, and capacities for learning by offering equality of chances to all individuals for developing every student’s potential. The qualification function is supposed to prepare individuals for an independent professional life that secures their future and enhances their abilities in different areas (Drinck, 2010).

A question could be asked as to whether the quality of education is affected by the way society organizes its relationship to certain types of schools. The problem is, how is society organizing this process – through the structures of the state or through civil society? Who controls what? Who offers what? Who is investing in, and paying for, what? What qualifications can certain types of school offer? There are different types of schools, such as public and non-public schools. One may expect that they provide certain different sets of educational qualifications for society which are different from what public schools offer.

The selection function (allocation function)

Another function of education is selection. At the beginning, compulsory education provides opportunities for all, but then individuals are prepared to serve different social positions (EECD, 2013 as cited in Autin et al., 2015).

Education is usually considered influential in the community through socializing individuals. This concept has been criticised, with some scholars noting that education is playing a role in selecting some individuals as destined for success, while pre-defining others as failures (Meyer, 1977). The selection function is related directly to the society's social structure. Social structure is defined as the allocation of positions in the professional and social area (Fend, 2011). The allocation function focuses on educational results; it divides individuals into various groups and ultimately sets them up to fulfil various social positions based on individual features (Autin et al., 2015).

We have already discussed one of the definitions of education provided by Durkheim, where he explained the qualification function of the school. However, in another definition, Durkheim (as cited in King, 1983) defines education as “the influence exercised by the adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life”. Here, the purpose of education is to awaken and develop a number of physical, intellectual and moral states in the child, which answer the demands of the political society on one hand and the special milieu for which they are specifically intended on the other hand (King, 1983, p. 17). Based on this definition, the purpose of selection and allocation function is training younger generations in order to occupy certain positions in society. The selection function can be defined as sorting students effectively based on their skills and interests (EECD, 2013 as cited in Autin et al., 2015).

In most contemporary societies, social positions are supposed to not be inherited any longer but to reflect individual merit. In the education system of the Western cultural models, merit is seen as ability and motivation, and quality is viewed as intrinsic to the individual (Plaut & Markus, 2005 as cited in Autin et al., 2015). However, Parsons (1959) argues that equal opportunity brings some differences in achievement arising from differences in ability, family attitude towards education, individual motivation, and variations in the level of interest in education, as well as the student's willingness to work hard. Differences in educational achievement also introduce new forms of inequality. Educational qualifications now largely determine the job one gets and, thereby, one's income, status, and position in the system of social stratification (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985).

Function of social integration

School systems are also instrument for social integration. Schools are reproduction of norms, values and belief systems which serve to strengthen predominant power relationships. (Fend, 2011). Schools are organized connections as of socializing experiences which process individuals and equip them to act in the society (Meyer, 1977). Function of social integration refers to the contribution of schools to the cultural transmission and development at different levels of society. At the individual level, schools help students to develop their creativity and aesthetic awareness and to be socialized with the successful norms, values, and beliefs of society.

According to the functionalist point of view, each society has a culture, which consists of some values and norms. Accordingly, there is a kind of agreement on certain values and norms in the society. Values are considered standard actions which could be desirable or undesirable for a specific society. Norms, on the other hand, are the rules and regulations of everyday life and are particular applications of values (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985). Durkheim explains moral education by stating that “it is by respecting the school rules that the child learns to respect the rules in general, that he develops the habit of self-control and restraint simply because he should control and restrain himself” (King, 1983, p. 17-18). The value of education relies upon attitudes, values, social and communicative skills, rather than productive norms and technical knowledge (Türk-kahraman, 2012).

Function of legitimation

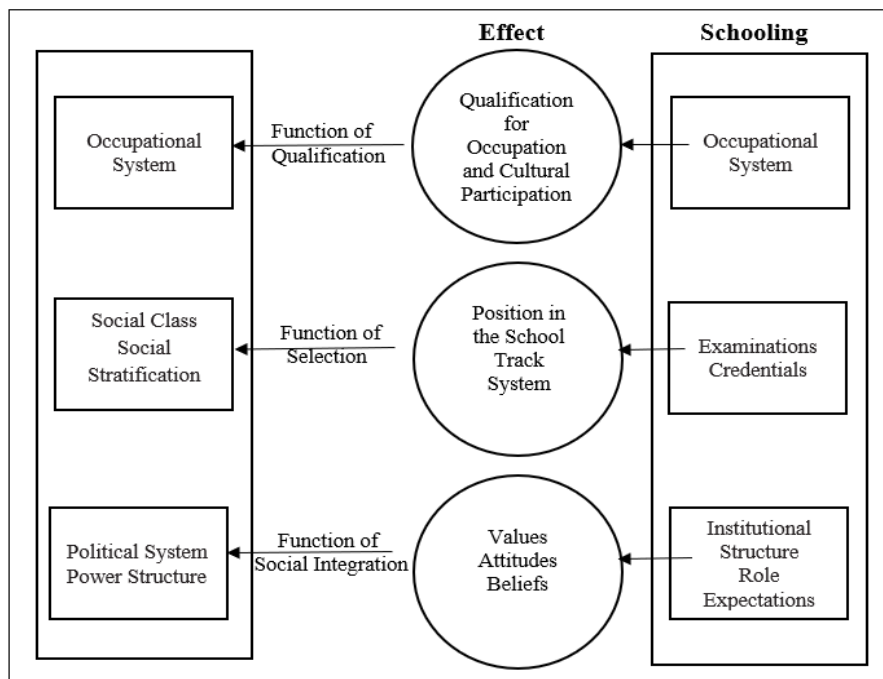
The legitimation function, first defined by Max Weber, is considered as an essential function of schools in the modern society and it is regarded as a way of better understanding the role schools play in the development of the society (Angus, 1975). Meyer (1977) states that education reshapes society, redefining the rights and obligations of people and producing elites. Legitimation theory deals with education as having both the constructing and altering functions in the society (and, consequently, the authority to assign individuals to different positions). Berger and Luckman (1966) clarify that all social institutions need legitimation, and that the legitimation function is needed when one generation passes on the institutional world to the next. Angus (1975, p. 1) refers that “the legitimation function of educational ideas runs in two directions; ideas about schools and schooling legitimate aspects of the institutional order and the institutionalization of education as schools and school systems must be legitimated from the point of view of the general public”. Thus, Angus argues that school systems must be legitimized in order to be able to carry on its other functions.

According to what has been mentioned, the school has the function of legitimation, which gives it the power of being authoritative to allocate roles in society to particular individuals. However, whether the function of legitimation of schools succeed on this mission or not, in some cases, they do allocate individuals to some higher social positions and this affects the expectations and socialization of the students as well as their experiences.

Summary of the functions of schools

To summarize the functions of the schools in the society, Fend (2001) shows the effect of the functions of the educational systems in modern society as tasks and goals in the figure below (1). In this model, he treats both the functions of integration and legitimation as one function, as the socialization process in education institutions is both integration and legitimation. The three functions together contribute to defining a society’s social system, which is important for its existence.

Figure 1: Fend, 2011. Social Functions of Schooling



The literature about private schools in general concentrates on the factors of private school choice and discusses the different types of private schools in the world. However, it is hard to find literature about private schools’ functions in society. Some studies try to investigate the role of private schools in society in some parts of the world, such as (Day Ashely et al., 2004), and we may substitute the word of role of private schools for the function of private schools. However,

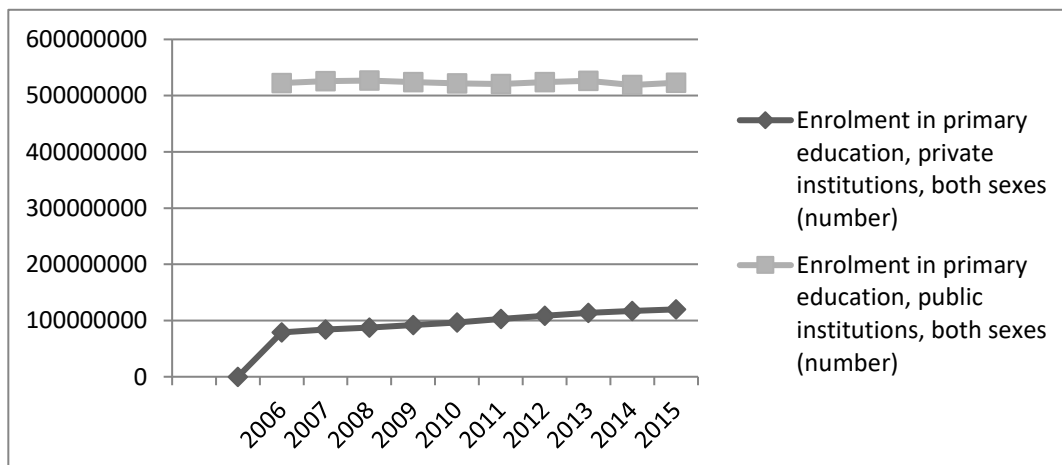
literature does not tackle the functions of private schools specifically as it has been discussed earlier in this chapter. It is necessary first to discuss the international discourse on private schooling in the world and find out whether private schools have certain functions to perform for the societies they serve as educational institutions.

2.3 The International Discourse on Private Schooling

The rise of private schools in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq is linked to a world-wide trend of increasing private education. This increase is obvious, especially in non-industrialized countries (Aga Khan Foundation, 2007; Tulloch et al., 2014; Steer et al., 2015).

Based on data compiled by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2016) (Henceforth UIS), the number of students' enrolment in private primary schools in developing countries has constantly increased between the years of 2006-2015, by 50% in total (from 79 million to 119 million), while enrolments in public primary schools has increased by 0.9% (from 522 million to 523 million), as it is illustrated in figure (2). The percentage of private primary enrolments in 2006 in developing countries was 13%, compared to 18% in 2015. These data indicate that the share of the private education sector is obviously increasing in the education sector of developing countries across the world.

Figure 2: Enrolments Increase in Public and Private Primary Education in Developing Countries



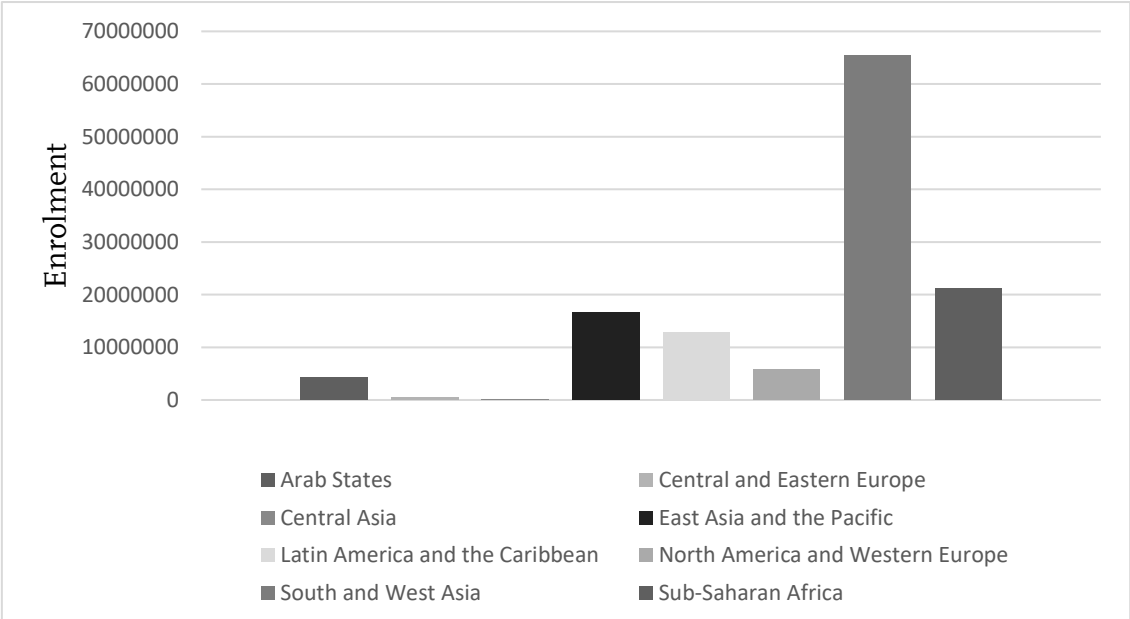
UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2016)

The distribution of the private primary enrolments across different regions in the world in the last ten years (see figure 3) shows that the South and West Asia comes first, with 65 million enrolments, i.e., an increase of 52% between 2006-2015. Sub-Saharan Africa comes second, with 21 million enrolments and, with

an increase of 82%. East Asia and the Pacific occupy the third rank, with 16 million enrolments and with an increase of 41%. This is followed by Latin America and the Caribbean, at 12 million enrolments and with an increase of 21%. North America and Western Europe have about 5 million enrolments with an increase of 4%, followed by the Arab States with 4 million enrolments and with an increase of 56%. Central and Eastern Europe have more than 4 hundred thousand enrolments with an increase of 67% and the Central Asia has about 79 thousand enrolments with an increase of 87%.

India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan constitute the largest proportion of the enrolment number in private schooling (Aga Khan Foundation, 2007). There are 48 million students enrolled in the primary private sector in India alone. This number forms about 40% of the total number of students in private primary schools in the developing countries (UIS data, 2016).

Figure 3: The Enrolment in Private Primary Education Across Regions



UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2016)

It is important to mention that these data may not represent the actual increase of students’ enrolment in private schools, as many such private schools are still not registered officially yet, especially in developing countries. In some cases, some countries treat private schools as public schools in order to give the impression that the number of students’ enrolment in the public school system is increasing (Scheunpflug & Wenz, 2015). This indicates that the numbers of students’ enrolment in private schools may exceed the numbers given by UNESCO.

In order to understand the development and increase of the numbers of private schools in KRI, as educational institutions that provide education, it is important first to understand the nature of educational institutions in any society and what functions generally schools fulfil in society.

2.3.1 The increase of private schooling

Research shows that private schools are becoming increasingly popular around the world and that they have different purposes and goals depending on what communities they serve (Draper & Hofmeyr, 2015). The increase in the number of existing private schools put the state sector under questioning about the actual situation of the public schools and why there is an increase in the private sector. This increase engenders fears over the role of the state educational sector, as it creates the impression that providing high quality education is not a governmental duty, potentially leading to a situation where the private sector is solely responsible for providing it.

Green et al. (2010) argue that although private schools are considered a good investment for parents who want to leave the public schools because of the earnings advantages in the future, in a broader sense, the increase in the number of private schools could lead to economic and social inequality, as not all parents can afford private schooling. Böhlmark and Lindahl (2007) add that, while individual choices of private schools are understandable, their effects on inequality is worrying. They state that students in public school may suffer, as good teachers and students leave to join private schools. The concern is that school choice would result in greater segregation of pupils by ability, income, ethnic background or religion, and that such segregation would have negative effects.

This may lead us to ask about the function of private schools in society. Do private schools play the function of selection-allocation in regard to what has been discussed? Do private schools exist as a result of social stratification? The idea that the increase of private schools leads to some kind of segregation in the society gives the assumption that private schools have the function of selection and allocation.

The choice of private schools is often related to the socio-economic status of families. Vadder and Hall (2002) claim that as the incomes of parents rise, they seek better education, which is found in private schools as a form of social distinction and optimizing life chances (Day Ashley et al., 2014; Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Liu, 2013). If the future of the children will be secured by having certain educational qualifications that are needed to find jobs (such as government jobs and overseas jobs) and where this only can be provided by private schools, parents select private schools (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Subedi et al., 2014; Figlio & Stone, 2012). Parents' involvement in their children's education is also a reason

for some parents to choose a private school (Goldring & Phillips, 2008). These processes deepen social injustice and violate the idea of a meritocratic society and equal chances.

This gives private schools the function of selection-allocation, as some children are given the opportunity to have better education and consequently obtain better jobs in the future.

2.3.2 Types of private schooling

Literature shows that there are different types of private schools. OECD (2012) notes that the historical, cultural, and socio-economic contexts of each country must be taken into account to understand private schooling. Thapa (2013) states that private schools are categorized based on the owner, management and financing, which could be by parents' association, business, non-profit organization or religious institutions and sometimes by the government. In general, private schools are differentiated according to financial sources and types of providers (owners) of private schools.

Financial involvement

Private schooling differs in regard to the financial involvement of the state. In some nations, such as the Netherlands, non-governmental schools are 100% financed by the state (Scheunpflug & Wenz, 2015). Other types of private schools are financed only by parents, with schools which are just covered by tuition or schools which are commercial enterprises giving profit to their owners (Steer et al., 2015). In some regions, non-profit organizations (NGOs) finance private schools, especially what is called low-cost private schools (Tulloch et al., 2014). Also, there are schools financed by philanthropists or religious organizations (Zeitlyn et al., 2015). Another type of financial involvement is cooperation between the state and the private sector for financing private schools. Such schools are called "private-public partnership" (Henceforth PPP) schools.

Types of private school providers

Sometimes, it is the type of provider (owner) of the private school which determines the type of a private school, as private schools are financed by different sources. Researchers refer to different types of providers of private schools and accordingly distinguish between different types of such schools. The following is an attempt to describe each type of the private schools.

a. Private schools for-profit

Private schools for-profit have been defined as schools established to serve a small, specific part of a community that can afford high tuition fees (Aga Khan Foundation, 2007). In some studies, the for-profit private schools are referred to as *market schools*. Coulson (2009) defines a free education market as populated by schools which are chosen and funded by parents, where tuition fees are only to a limited extent) controlled by the state.

In general, private schools for-profit are known for providing high quality of education and meeting internationally recognized standards. They offer extra-curricular programs and have well trained, experienced teachers. They are known for having modern facilities such as classroom, libraries, sport facilities, science laboratories and computer with internet access (Aga Khan Foundation, 2007). Thapa (2013) states that as private schools for-profit seek for making profit, they try to achieve high levels of academic achievements, especially in many developing countries. Muir (2012) explains that the advocates of private schools for-profit believe that allowing private sector involvement in education provides new schools, which helps the state in providing extra places for more students.. The private sector is able to provide good quality of education because it can secure good funding from the fees. However, private schools with high fees can only be accessed by high-income families and this may lead to a deepening of social differences in society and may contribute to inequality. Private providers of for-profit education run schools in different regions around the world and have already proved their success in some respects. However, Muir (2012) suggests that the education system, schools in themselves, should not seek to achieve profit. Private schools for-profit can be run by different kind of enterprises. They may appear as local investors interested in providing education or as educational companies run private schools for-profit from pre-schools to primary and high school levels.

b. Low-fees private schools

It has been discussed above that private schools for-profit serve the social elites and are too expensive for the poor. However, there is another type of private school, especially in developing countries, which is the low-fee private schools. Low-fee private schools are expanding very rapidly all over the world and are recognized to attract children from the low-income families (Aga Khan Foundation, 2007; Tulloch et al., 2014). Tooley et al. (2007) argue that the low quality of the public schools for the poor communities is one of the main reasons why private schools are increasing. For example, in Ghana, Kenya, Tanzania and Pakistan, parents consider private schools to be of better quality than public

schools (Heyneman & Stern, 2014). Thus, millions of families in developing countries choose private schools that require fees over public schools (Tulloch et al., 2014). The low-fee private schools are expanding in most developing countries (Heyneman & Stern, 2014). Tulloch et al. (2014) state that “the majority of low-cost private schools, whether in Lagos, South Africa, the Pakistani Punjab or Hyderabad, are managed by individual proprietors running their schools on a for-profit basis from buildings they either own or rent”.

Many private education providers have established institutions that are for-profit but do not require the payment of high fees. (Moumne & Saudemont, 2015). Families who choose low-fee private schools often pay just a few dollars every month (Tulloch et al., 2014). In Pakistan and India, for example, 60% of private schools are low-fee schools. These low-fee private schools charge less than 7 US dollars per months. Low-fee private schools give great opportunity for low-income families to send their children to school, especially in areas where public schools are not a viable option (Moumne & Saudemont, 2015). However, although low-fee private schools target low-income families, Moumne and Saudermont (2015) state that even then, they are often beyond the average wage of many families, largely due to extra costs, such as uniforms and examinations costs, which parents have to bear. This makes it more difficult to distinguish which private schools are considered low-fee from the high-fee schools, as it is not clear how high a fee should be to be considered high. Moumne and Saudermont (2015) argue that even 7 US dollars per month can be considered “high fees” for some families. In Pakistan, for example, the average wage for many families is 119 US dollars per month, which is quite low. Thus, a family that has two children in a low-fee private school pays 14 US dollars per month, which becomes expensive when combined to the expenses of housing, food, health, and the other extra educational costs mentioned above.

Low-fee private schools, despite being attractive to low-income families might face some serious financial problems. Heyneman and Stern (2014) mention that low-fee private schools rely to a great extent on tuition or income from the founder (pensions, church donations, etc.). If a low-fee private school heavily depends on one single founder, they would be at risk of going bankrupt, and banks and other lending institutions could be reluctant to engage them in long-term planning or investment.

c. Religious private schools

Religious schools are another important type of private schools. The majority of such schools across the world are either Muslim or Christian. Buckingham (2010) defines religious schools "as those schools that are connected with religious groups or established churches". Bosetti (2004) states that religious private

schools are interested in providing religious education as one of the important components of their curricula. Many parents may choose private schools because they offer religious syllabus even if they are not specifically religious private schools (Yaacob et al., 2014).

Van Pelt et al. (2007) state that parents who choose religious schools are interested in education that provides morals, values, religion, family, and character development, as these are important for their expectations. A study conducted by Beavis (2004) shows that the religious values, discipline, the tradition of the school and wearing a school uniform were essential for parents in choosing a Catholic school. Yaacob et al. (2014) mention that the main reason for choosing a private school for some parents is the religious syllabus used by some private schools, especially in those countries where public schools do not offer any religious education. However, the growth of religious private schools is not always related to increasing religiosity. Scheunpflug (2015) concluded that the increase of religious private schools in Germany, for instance, is related to social and cultural distinction offered by religious schools, migrant parents religious background, the quality of teaching, problems in the state system and religious homogeneity but the latter reason is not considered as a dominant one.

d. NGO schools

Private schools may be sustained by non-governmental organizations (NGOs), parent's associations or philanthropists. NGOs intend to help to develop the public interest and serve the community, rather than seeking profit (Binder-Aviles, 2012; Delaney, 2008; Overall & Goodman, 2011). Davaadorj (2011) explains that NGOs have been established in various communities for a long time, but they have been growing in number and gaining international recognition since the 19th century. However, Davaadorj mentions that the impact and importance of NGOs is different from one country to another based on the national context in which they operate. In many countries, NGOs have taken efforts to provide education by bringing sources and supply capital investments, such as building schools, paying teachers' salaries or running a school (Aga Khan Foundation, 2007).

Ulleberg (2009) mentions that NGO schools are essential service suppliers where the government in some countries cannot sustain its traditional role in the education sector. They can also address specific social concerns. In a country like Bangladesh, for instance, NGO schools have a remarkable role in decreasing the gender gap in primary schools by registering one girl to one boy in the schools and this has led to female enrolment growth in the schools from 7.7% in 1990 to 52% in 2008 (Asadullah & Chaudhury, 2013).

e. Public-private partnership schools

Public-private partnership schools (PPP) are considered another type of private schools, as they are managed by non-state actors. PPP schools are private investments, where the private sector and the government together form a kind of partnership to open school called PPP (Luthra & Mahajan, 2013). Moumne and Saudemont (2015) state that “the term is broad and applies to any type of agreement in any form between the state including municipalities, local agencies or other public entities and a private entity”. Thus, it is argued that schools are not supposed to be classified as fully public or fully private, but a combination of both. For example, community managed schools are schools funded by the government, but managed by some non-governmental body (Thapa, 2013). Chaudhry and Uboweja (2014) suggest that PPPs are effective and demonstrate innovation in education. In the PPP model, the government allows the private sector to manage school operation with some degree of autonomy. These kinds of schools can be found in the United States, England, Colombia, Uganda and Pakistan. In France, the United States, Colombia, Latin America and Spain, Qatar, and Pakistan, PPPs are privately managed but remain publicly owned and publicly funded. The contract form and legal obligations depend on the national contract law or the PPP’s Law (Moumne & Saudermont, 2015).

Chaudhry and Uboweja (2014) argue that PPPs can increase access to schooling and improve the quality of education. In Cote d’Ivoire, for example, the number of students in the private school sponsorship program grew from 116,000 in 1993 to 223,000 in 2001, an increase of 92% (Luthra & Mahajan, 2013). In Egypt, the government offers land, while the private sector designs, constructs, finances and furnishes schools and provides non-educational services for a 15-year agreement (Moumne & Saudermont, 2015). Over the past few decades, governments across India have experimented with various forms of PPPs in education (Chaudhry & Uboweja, 2014).

Summary of types of private schools

Luthra and Mahajan (2013) posit that governments in developing countries are not able to provide quality education and face difficulties because of limited resources. This opens the way for non-governmental organizations, business corporations and communities to become involved in providing management and services in education. It has been stated that private schools are differentiated in regard to financial involvement and the type of owners. Private schools can be free of charge and funded by state or philanthropists, NGOs, and religious organizations, or they can be financed fully or partially by parents who paying fees

for their children. Table 3 below shows the different types of private schools from the financial, management, and content perspectives.

Table 3: Types of Privat Schools

		Provider and content		
		State, state curricular	Non-state, state curricula	Non-state, special profile curricula
Finances	State	State Schools	Non-state schools, re-financed by the state	
	Mixture		PPP	PPP
	Non-state		Low fee High fee	Religious schools Low fee High fee

Does the financial involvement of the mentioned organizations have any power over the education they offer? Are there any agendas set by these different organizations to target specific social groups? Accordingly, do private schools contribute to play the function of social integration? The other question might be whether different types of the private schools are legitimized. Would it be possible to suggest that private schools have the function of legitimization based on what we have learned about the different types of private schools?

2.3.3 School choice

One reason for the growing influence of private schooling is the fact that governments struggle with providing good quality education, due to the increase in students' enrolment on one side and economic problems and crises of states on the other (see for Asia Aslam & Atherton, 2012; for Mali in Africa Boncana, 2102; for the better quality of private schooling Bhatta & Budathoki, 2013).

Private education is often organized with English as the language of instruction (Booth, 2008). Chimombe et al. (2014) argue that private schools are often marketed as international or English medium schools in order to be competitive with public schools. It has been proven that English as medium of instruction is a crucial factor for parents in choosing a school (Day Ashley et al., 2014; Subedi

et al., 2014; for Pakistan Das et al., 2012; for Ghana Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). Ahmed and Sheikh (2014) indicate that knowing the English language creates certain opportunities for securing good jobs in the future, such as jobs in the civil service. Therefore, students achieve high social status, which is considered an important factor in choosing a school. Thapa (2013) states that in most of the private schools which use English as the medium of instruction, students and teachers feel connected and open to the world outside. Also, it is believed that the goals and aspirations of students in private schools are much higher than of those in public schools (Caddell, 2007).

Most literature emphasises the role of the private schools to offer better quality of education, especially in developing countries; only a few studies show the opposite. This is clear in better schools, which offer advanced curricula, instruction in English, and sometimes a safer environment for students. Therefore, the qualification function of private schools is obvious, since they provide students with better knowledge and abilities for mastering a language and other skills needed to attain specific professional qualifications in society. More discussions about the school choice factors can be seen in chapter three.

2.4 Desideratum: research on functions of private schools in KRI

It has been previously discussed that private schools are developing in the world and the numbers of students enrolling in private schools are increasing consistently, especially in developing countries. UIS (2016) data shows that the percentage of enrolment in private primary education schools in the developing countries has increased from 13% in 2013 to 18.6% in 2015. Yet, the data about students' enrolment in private schools in Iraq in general and in the KRI specifically is missing from the UIS database. No academic study has been found concerning the developing of private schools in the KRI. Only one report has been found so far about the numbers of private schools in Iraq and in the KRI, which was published by the Bayan Center organization in 2018, indicating that there are 1,133 private schools in the centre of Iraq and 89 in the KRI in the academic year of 2015-2016. However, the number of private schools in the KRI quoted in the study was wrong, and the numbers of students' enrolment were missing as well. The geographical distribution of private schools in Iraq or the KRI have not been discussed. This leads us to define one of the first research questions of this study, which is how the development of private schools looks like in the KRI.

One of the observations on the discourse related to the development of private schools is that there is almost no discussion about the profiles of the private education providers. An analysis of the profiles of the private education companies is missing to know who are the private education providers and what agendas other than providing good quality education they may hold. Several private

education providers with different names and capacities operate within the KRI. SABIS, Knowledge Schools, Fezalar and Schools of Medes are some examples. Some of these private education providers are not just running private schools in the KRI but also in other countries. SABIS, for example, has private schools in Germany, Panama, United States, Egypt, Kenya, China, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Jordan, Lebanon, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the United Arab Emirates. There is a gap in literature about the profiles of private education providers and academic research that investigates the history of private education providers, the schools they run, the educational systems they implement and their objectives, for the world in general and the communities they serve in specific, is important. The above discussion forms the second research question, which is: what are the profiles of the private education providers in the KRI?

Research has shown that private education providers offer different types of private schools, such as private schools for profit, low-fee schools, religious, NGO and PPP schools. Private schools for-profit are usually oriented towards making profit through providing exceptionally high quality of education (Thapa, 2013). They are found in both developed and developing countries and mostly target high and middle-income families. Low-fee private schools, on the other hand, target low-income families, especially in developing countries (Tulloch et al., 2014; Heyneman & Stern, 2014). According to Moumne and Saudemont, (2015), parents have to only pay few dollars each month for the school and can expect to receive better quality education than at public schools. Religious private schools provide religious education as a key part of their curricula (Bosetti, 2004). Van Pelt et al. (2007) argue that many parents prefer religious private schools for their children because of the morals, values, religious and family development orientation characteristics they offer. NGO schools are established mostly to serve the communities where the government cannot provide schools for all (Ulleberg, 2009). In Bangladesh, for example, Asadullah & Chaudhury (2013) have found that NGO schools have served to reduce the enrolment gap between girls and boys by giving the same number of seats to both. The PPP schools are considered another type of private school, which are formed through collaboration between the government and the private sector. In countries like France, the United States, Colombia, Latin America, Spain, Qatar, and Pakistan, PPP schools are privately managed but remain publicly owned and publicly funded (Moumne & Saudermont, 2015). The discourse on the types of the private schools creates the third research question, which is: what are the types of private schools in the KRI, and which one is more dominant?

One of the areas most investigated by researchers regarding private education is the school choice, i.e., what motivates parents to choose private over public schools. Different factors for choosing private schools have been found in litera-

ture. One of the key ones is using English as the language of instruction (Day Ashley et al., 2014; Subedi et al., 2014; for Pakistan Das et al., 2012; for Ghana Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). Other factors are also important for parents when choosing private schools. In Ghana, for example, the academic performance of the students is one of the factors (Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). In Pakistan, the better course subject that private schools offer (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014). In Nepal, it is the better job opportunities that the children will get in the future if they attend private schools (Caddell, 2007; Subedi et al., 2014). For more details about the factors influencing private school choice, see 3.1.4.1.

Although research has covered the factors of choosing private schools to some extent, there is still a gap in the literature about the factors influencing the choice of private schools in recently formed regions, such as the KRI. So far, only one academic study has been found conducted by Salih and Khalifa (2013), which has only investigated the physical environment of private schools as compared to public schools in Kirkuk. They have concluded that private schools in Kirkuk offer a better quality in terms of facilities, such as classroom, classroom furniture, fire extinguishers, sources of water. Yet this study does not investigate whether the physical environment factor has any influence on the private school choice by parents. This is why the fourth research question is: what are the factors influencing the choice of private schools in the KRI?

Based on the above discussion, it is obvious that the literature has focused more on investigating the types of private schools and the factors that influence parents' choices than on the functions private schools fulfil in society. Although the general role of such functions (qualification, selection, social integration and legitimation) has been described by Angus, 1975; Meyer, 1977; Fend, 2011; Drinck, 2010; Autin et al., 2015, their works is clearly based on the functions of public schools, even when this is not stated explicitly. This assumption is based on the fact that an international school would have different educational features for a certain society than a local one. That is why it is seen as necessary to investigate the functions of private schools for society, in order to address this gap in literature and find out whether private schools would fulfil the same functions in society as public schools or not. This argument leads to the fifth research question of this study, which is: what are the functions of private schools for the Kurdish society?

The research questions defined above hopefully will provide the academic community a thorough insight about the most important aspects regarding the development of private schools in the KRI and enrich the literature about the increase of the private schooling phenomenon, especially in newly forming re-

gions such as the KRI. In summary, the following are the five formulated research questions of this study:

- What does the development of private schools in the KRI look like?
- What are the profiles of private education providers in the KRI?
- What are the types of private schools in the KRI, and which type is dominant?
- What are the factors of private schools choice in the KRI?
- What are the functions of private schools in the KRI?

Chapter 3

Methodology and Methods

This chapter introduces the methodology and methods adopted to achieve the objectives of this study. It describes the procedures used to answer the five research questions, which have been formulated in the theoretical chapter concerning the development of private schools in the KRI. In the beginning, the methodological decisions that have been taken to link the methods adopted in this study with the research questions are discussed. An explanation of why the mixed methods approach is used and how the data from both quantitative and qualitative research methods are combined to help to explain the functions of private schools in the KRI follows. The chapter goes on to present an overview of private schools in the KRI and how the data have been collected to provide information about the profiles of private education providers and the type of private schools they offer in the region. The design of the questionnaire and the theoretical background behind its content is illustrated as well. All the administrative issues related to questionnaire data collection are explained thoroughly.

3.1 Methodological Decision: Mixed Methods Approach

It is obvious from the discussions of the last chapter that the development of private schools is continuing all over the world. However, from the discussion of the state of the study, it is clear that there is a research deficit regarding the functions of private schools as a whole, as well as with regards to the KRI. Therefore, one of the research questions of this study is to investigate what functions private schools fulfil in the society of the KRI. A mixed methods approach is chosen to answer this question.

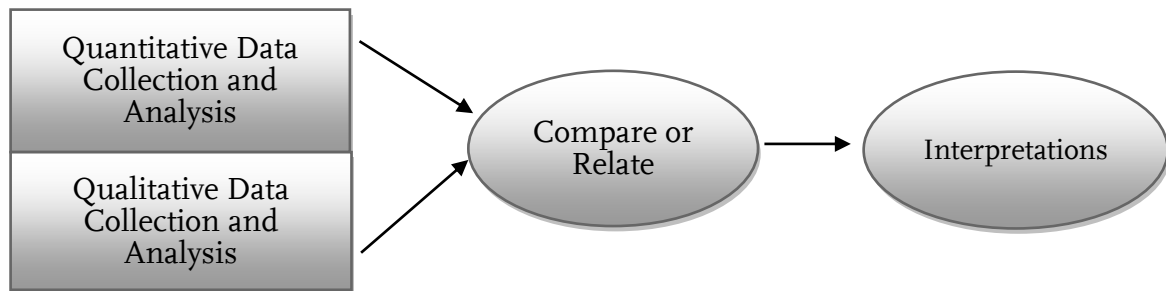
It became clear that this work is intended to describe the development of the landscape of private schools. That means there is a need for mapping intended to provide information about all private schools in the region, including data on their foundations, profiles of providers, affiliations etc. These data will form the basis for an analysis of the type of private schools available in the KRI. The collection of such data would need the implementation of both qualitative and quantitative data – the reasons for this are explained below. In addition, a survey of parents regarding their reasons for choosing private schools will be conducted. This is related to the research question concerning the factors that affect parents' decisions when choosing private schools for their children, and it requires the use of quantitative method.

The results of both findings, from the mapping and the questionnaire, allow one to determine the functions of private schools in the KRI. Thus, the study

implements a mixed methods approach to deal with the research question. This means that quantitative method is used to investigate the development of private schools and their types by collecting descriptive data and the factors of choosing private schools by a survey. At the same time, qualitative method is used to find out information about the profiles of private schools. The two methods are then combined to create a mixed approach, used to investigate the research question concerning finding out the functions of private schools in the Kurdish society. The way each of the methods used is discussed later to elucidate which research questions are tackled by what means and how the data are collected. Descriptive statistics and document analysis are used for analysing the quantitative and qualitative data, respectively.

As it is mentioned above, mixed methods is used to answer the research question that is concerning the functions of private schools for the Kurdish society. Creswell (2014) mentions that using mixed methods is supposed to provide better interpretations than using a single type of method (qualitative or quantitative), especially in case of questions which cannot be adequately answered through a single type of method. Creswell defines mixed methods approach as merging both quantitative and qualitative methods research data to investigate possible interpretations and answers to a research question. In general, mixed methods has more definitions and forms (Creswell, 2014). In the current study, using the mixed methods means including the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative forms of data. As the mixed methods can be defined in a number of ways, so its design has different types. In this study, a convergent parallel mixed methods design is adopted. This design consists of merging both quantitative and qualitative data to give a thorough analysis of the research questions. Both types of data are collected nearly at the same time, and the results of the two analyses are integrated to give interpretations of research questions (Creswell, 2014). One of the ways to converge the data is by analysing two datasets separately and then make a side-by-side comparison. The researcher is going to report the results of the quantitative and the qualitative data and then compare them as shown in figure (4), which is illustrated by Creswell (2014). The procedures that are used for data collection are going to be discussed in the section on the private school landscape and parents' choices.

Figure 4: Convergent Parallel Mixed Methods



The quantitative method is implemented to investigate the factors that parents consider when choosing private schools, in addition to some demographic information about the parents who did choose private schools. It is also used to obtain information about which types of private schools do the private education providers offer. Primary data was collected based on a designed questionnaire distributed to parents who have children in private schools. Secondary data was collected from the MOE website of the KRG, private schools' websites, and government and official documents. Primary data are used to analyse the factors that influence parental choice of private schools. Secondary data are used for building a database about the development and types of private schools in the KRI.

The purpose of implementing the qualitative method is to collect data to understand the profiles of private education providers that are involved in providing education in the KRI. Creswell (p. 4, 2014) describes qualitative research as “an approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem”. One of the research questions of this study investigates the profiles of private education providers in order to understand who runs private schools and what education models they implement in their education systems, as well as what objectives they intend to achieve for the Kurdish society. Thus, the qualitative research method is adapted in order to answer this research questions, as no information were available to fill the gap about the profiles of private education providers at the time of conducting this study.

Table 4: Overview of Mapping PS and Parents Choice 6

Research interest	Leading to	Data from	Approach
Mapping the private schools	Database on all private schools in KRI Profiles of Private Schools Providers	- ministry databases - general directories of schools of three cities - internet search - private provider website	- collecting descriptive data - collecting descriptive data - collecting descriptive data - qualitative
Describing the choice of parents	Factors of school choice	- questionnaire during field visit	- quantitative

The whole process of data collection, which consists of building the database, collecting general data on private schools in cities of the KRI, designing and implementing the questionnaire, the population and sample of the study, reliability and validity of the questionnaire and the process of applying the questionnaire will be discussed thoroughly. Document analysis as a qualitative research method has been applied for collecting and analysing the qualitative data. Table (4) shows an overview of how the data are collected for mapping the private schools and a survey is conducted for finding out the factors of school choice in the KRI. It illustrates that descriptive data have been collected from the MOE, general directories of education and internet search, while qualitative data have been collected from the private education providers' websites. These data together make the database of all private schools, which shape the mapping of private schools in the KRI. The quantitative data on the other hand have been collected from distributing a questionnaire to parents during a field visit to the KRI. The data provide information about the factors of school choice, which give a description about the choices parents make for the education of their children.

3.2 The Private School Landscape

As noted previously, investigating the development of the landscape of private schools required mapping the terrain of the private schools. In addition, the determinations of profiles of private education providers required the use of a

qualitative method. The procedures which have been used to obtain the data are going to be thoroughly explained in this sections.

3.2.1 Mapping the terrain

In order to gain an insight into the development process of private schools in the KRI, building an initial database was necessary due to the lack of available information about the private schools in the KRI. It was important for the researcher at the beginning of this study to obtain some information about the numbers of private schools that are operating in the KRI, when they were established, their geographical locations, their types, how much they charge in tuition fees and who are the providers of the private schools. Initially, it was difficult to obtain this information as the Ministry of Education in the KRI provided only very limited information regarding the names and numbers of some private schools in the region. Furthermore, no pre-existing studies concerning the private schools in the KRI nor any relevant database have been found. Therefore, it became necessary to build such a database from scratch.

Building the initial database was not an easy task due to the scarcity of available data about the private schools in KRI. The following steps have been implemented when building the database. First, the researcher gathered information about the numbers of private schools in Duhok city by contacting some people working in the education sector there. Secondly, data about private schools in Erbil and Sulaymaniyah were collected from the website of the MOE of the KRG. However, the dataset was not complete; it also contained some duplicated information. Then, the researcher carried out online research to identify schools' websites and social media profiles. Many private schools do in fact make extensive use of such online resources, where they provide information about the school, its values and goals. However, as many of these private schools are new, some important information was missing, such as the year the schools were established. Online research was also carried out to identify the locations of these schools, as well as to elucidate the names and structures of educational companies and organizations which own private schools in the KRI.

Building this initial database at the beginning of this study helped to determine the types of private schools in the KRI and gave an overview of which types are dominant. Having this information enabled the researcher to decide which type of private school should be investigated. This information also provides data about how many private schools are operated by each educational company and organization. Last step was to collect all the data about the private schools in the KRI by visiting the Region in order to build the main database that includes reliable and accurate data.

First, accurate data about the private schools in the KRI have been collected directly from the directories of education in Duhok, Erbil and Sulaymaniyah cities by visiting each directory. The researcher visited the KRI on the 5th of May 2016 and conducted fieldwork over nine weeks (6th of May-7th of July 2016). This was deemed necessary, as the initial database built by the researcher was not complete and some important information were missing regarding the accurate numbers of private schools in the KRI, as well as information about the exact number of students and teachers. The researcher started collecting data about private schools in the KRI in order to expand and improve the main database (see appendix 1). In Duhok city, the researcher was given so-called information forms of private schools by the General Directory of Education (see appendix 2) that contain all the information related to each private school located in Duhok, Zakho and Akre districts. However, after checking, the researcher found that the information forms of some private schools were missing. In this case, the researcher had to visit the private schools and collect their information forms directly. The researcher wanted to make sure he had complete data about all the private schools in Duhok City district, for the sake of data quality and also because this was necessary when for determining the sample for conducting the parent questionnaire.

After collecting data about the private schools in Duhok city, the researcher visited the General Directories of both Sulaymaniyah and Erbil cities to collect similar information forms of private schools there. The reason behind collecting the information forms of private schools directly from the Directories of General Education of each city in the KRI and not from the MOE itself is to have complete data about the private schools because, as many of the private schools in the KRI are new and the MOE does not have complete data about them yet.

The determination of the profiles of private education providers that own and operate private schools required the use of qualitative data. Some private education companies in the KRI have websites that work as an umbrella for all the private schools that they own. In addition, many individual private schools have websites that introduce their education services to the society. The aim of analysing the website pages of private education providers is to give information that answer the research questions related to private education providers' profiles and the types of private schools they offer. The websites are thus valuable resources that contain information which help the researcher answer the research questions.

One of the ways of collecting qualitative data is document analysis. Creswell (2012) states that documents are useful sources for printed data for qualitative research. Document analysis is considered a methodical step for reviewing and assessing documents in the form of printed and electronic materials (Bowen,

2009). In this study, the document type that would be used for collecting data were website pages of private education providers in the KRI. They are thus institutional documents type. Several steps were followed to collect the data. First, the content on the websites was scanned to select relevant information. Then the selected material was sorted out and arranged into catalogues. Afterwards, the material was read to search for information relating to the second and third questions of the current study. A coding process on the data was then performed and certain results were abstracted. Finally, an analysis was given for the results obtained from the processed data. The following summarises the procedures of data collection:

- a. Documents that included information from the private education providers' websites were saved and printed.
- b. The printed material from each private education provider was stored in files.
- c. A careful scanning process of the printed material was performed.
- d. Sections of texts containing potentially valuable information were identified.
- e. The identified texts of each private education provider were analysed.
- f. Tables categorizing the selected texts were made.
- g. Keywords were applied to the selected texts.
- h. Coding process of the selected material was applied.
- i. Written analysis was implemented at the end of the process.

Peer debriefing method was applied to check the validity of the data. This means that some persons were used as peer debriefers in order to review and critique the data and analysis (Creswell, 2014), to ensure that the process of data collection were valid. The reliability of the data was thus achieved by attempting to document the procedures followed in collecting the qualitative data of the current study. Also, a cross check of the codes has been done by two other researchers to give feedback about the codes and the results of the data.

3.2.2 Database and determination of providers

The outcome of mapping the terrain has shown that there are 103 private schools operating in the academic years of 2015-2016, as is shown in appendix (1). It has been discovered that most of the private schools belong to different private education providers. Therefore, it is decided that there will be a need for investigating which private education providers are operating in the region. This was important in order to collect data about the providers' profiles that would be used later for determining the functions of private schools.

It has been mentioned previously that qualitative data have been collected from the websites of private school providers. The process of collecting qualitative data began with searching for the websites of the private education providers in KRI. The researcher looked carefully at the types of information that the website pages provide. Then, it was decided to print material from the website pages of private education providers that included sufficient information about themselves. This decision was made after a checking process had revealed that not every private education provider had adequate information that help to answer the research questions. Thus, website pages were chosen based on the availability of the information they provided. This process led to a selection of material from ten websites, representing ten education providers operating in the KRI. The selected websites include information about their history of their establishment in the KRI, the education system they implement, the objectives they want to achieve for the students specifically and for the Kurdish society in general. Table (5) below includes the names of the ten selected private education providers, the links to their websites, and the date when the materials have been retrieved.

Table 5: The Selected Private Education Providers in KRI

No.	Private Education Providers	Websites Links	Retrieving Date
1.	Fezalar (Ronaki) Educational Institution	http://fezalareducation.com http://www.ronakihawler.com	12.04.2017 Current
2.	SABIS Educational Network (SEN)	http://pppsardam.sabis.net	23.02.2018
3.	The Classical School of the Medes (CSM)	http://www.csm.school	18.11.2017
4.	Knowledge Private Schools (KPS)	http://www.kps-duhok.com	19.02.2018
5.	Mission Laïque Française (MLF) Institution	http://mlferbil.org https://www.mlffmonde.org	04.09.2018 Current
6.	Rast Education (RE)	https://www.rast.co/en/zakhobis.html http://www.britishinternationalschoolzakho.com	20.11.2017
7.	Cihan Group Schools (CGS)	http://cihan.com	19.02.2018
8.	Ihsan Doğramacı Erbil Foundation (IDEF)	http://iderbilcollege.org https://w3.bilkent.edu.tr/bilkent/bilkent-erbil-college/	15.06.2018 Current
9.	Hezel Organization	http://www.ishtartv.com/en/viewarticle,35213.html	21.10.2015
10.	Archdiocese of Erbil	http://marqardakhschool.org https://marqardakh.com	23.10.2015 Current

3.3 The Parents' Choice

As mentioned before, a questionnaire was distributed to parents who choose private schools for their children to find out what factors motivate their decisions. In this section, the researcher provides details about the theoretical background, instrumentation, administration, validity and reliability, and the sampling of the questionnaire, which are considered necessary procedures for building the questionnaire in order to provide accurate data.

A quantitative method was implemented to determine the factors that parents consider in choosing private schools and to find out which factors are most important for parents when making this decision. One of the quantitative methods that is widely used in research is survey design. Survey design provides a quantitative or numeric description of trends, attitudes, or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population, from which the researcher generalizes or draws inferences about the population (Creswell, 2014). A cross-sectional survey design was used, which is considered the most popular survey design in education. In this design, the researcher collects data at one point in time, which has the advantage of measuring current attitudes or practices and provides information in a short amount of time that is required for administering the survey and collecting the information (Creswell, 2012).

After reading and checking the literature that explores the parents' choice of private schools, the researcher decided to design a questionnaire rather than to adapt an existing one. This decision was reached following the realisation that there were some differences in factors that parents consider when choosing private schools between the developed and developing countries. OECD (2012) emphasises the necessity of taking the historical, cultural, and socio-economic contexts of each country into account to understand private schooling. Additionally, the researcher could not find a questionnaire that thoroughly measuring what this study attempts to find out. Thus, in order to understand the factors that influence parents in choosing private schools, the researcher had to design a new questionnaire.

3.3.1 Theoretical background and instrumentation of the questionnaire

Twenty-seven studies have been defined by the researcher to identify the factors that influence parents' decisions when choosing private schools for their children. Among these 27 studies, 15 studies have been chosen for constructing the content of the questionnaire, as they are all set in the context of developing countries. The reason behind focusing on the studies that are related to developing countries is that the Kurdistan Region of Iraq may share the same educational and economical characteristics and has more homogeneity with the rest of the developing regions of the world than it does with the developed world. It is also thought that focusing on studies that are related to developing countries gives more validity to the construction of the questionnaire, as it will be explained below.

After a thorough analysis of the 15 studies, a number of factors have been determined and then the most frequent factors were chosen, organized and listed in a table, with reference to the related literature. One supplementary factor was added based on the researcher's observation of private schools in the KRI (see

number 9 in Appendix 3). The factors were then transformed into 23 statements and provided a basis for constructing the questionnaire as shown in Appendix 3. These 23 factors cover twelve characteristics that parents consider in choosing private schools for their children and the twelve characteristics themselves come under the umbrella of six main domains for choosing private schools: academic quality, language of instruction, school environment, values and beliefs, physical resources and logistics (see table 6 and appendix 5).

The first domain deals with the academic quality of private schools, covering the education quality reputation of the school, the teaching quality and teachers' quality. Parents' perceptions of a school having a reputation for good quality is a key factor influencing the choice of a private school for their children. The growth of the private school sector internationally is driven by the parental demand for an education above what the state can provide and by a need for better quality of education (Draper & Hofmeyr, 2015; Subedi et al., 2014). Better academic performance of the students is another factor that parents seek when making the decision to choose a private school. Yaacob et al. (2014) state that students' academic performance is one of the most important preferences when it comes to choosing private schools. For instance, in Ghana, the connection between choosing a private school and the academic performance of the students was made by almost every respondent in a study (Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). Private schools tend to provide better course-subjects than the public schools. Ahmed and Sheikh (2014) argue that one of the reasons why parents choose private schools, especially at a high level, is the quality of the subjects that private schools offer. Even low-cost fee private schools have to offer better subjects to attract parents and to survive competition in the market (Jamil et al., 2012). Better teaching approaches are considered an important factor for parents. Teaching is usually better in private schools than at public schools. This leads to improved learning outcomes, which is what parents want for their children (Day Ashley et al., 2014). Parents tend to prefer a higher standard for subject teaching, especially in disciplines such as English, mathematics and science (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014). It is also believed that attending private schools provides students with more future opportunities. In Nepal, parents are ready to spend as much as they can to send their children to private schools in order to give them more chances to get a good job in the future. They believe that attending a private school will make their children more competitive in the job market inside and outside the country (Caddell, 2007; Subedi et al., 2014). Parents relate the quality of a school to the quality of the teachers. This is another key factor in choosing private schools, as they usually have better quality teachers than public schools (Yaacob et al., 2014). This could be explained by the fact that private schools in general have the freedom to select the best teachers, while teachers in

public schools in many developing countries are assigned by the government and the public schools do not have much control over the teacher selection process. This is the case in the KRI. Parents also link lower teacher absenteeism in private schools to better teaching quality and because the presence of teachers in private schools is higher than in public schools, it is another factor influencing their choice (Day Ashley et al., 2014).

Another important domain that parents consider when choosing private schools is the language of instruction, and this observation is more obvious, especially in developing countries. Zeitlyn et al. (2015) mention that private schools are often referred to as International or English medium. Literature suggests that most private schools in India, for example, are English-medium and that for Indian parents, this is a top priority (Tooley et al., 2007; Rangaraju et al., 2012). Parents value teaching English at a very early stage in the learning process and claim that the teaching styles of English at private schools are more successful, especially when it comes to speaking skill, than at public schools (Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). Students' performance in the English language is higher in private schools than in public schools in India. Das et al. (2012) state that the top government schools in India are significantly behind in students' performance in English compared to private schools, arguing that a median private school is equivalent to the top 5th private schools in test scores. Caddell (2007) mentions that parents choose English medium private schools because it gives their children better chances for pursuing higher education.

Physical resources are another important domain that has been discussed in literature. This covers extracurricular activities and school infrastructure characteristics. Private schools are known for providing extracurricular activities for students and they often try to offer more curricular and teaching sessions from the pre-primary level (Subedi et al., 2014). Extra activities may include mural activities or extra academic sessions (Caddell, 2007). Such activities are thought to develop the students' academic and physical abilities, which might be less common in public schools. Small classes and a low teacher-student ratio also play a role for parents in selecting private schools, as public schools are generally known for big class sizes (Yaacob et al., 2015). Parents notice that private schools have smaller classes, and this provides more individualized attention, especially for students who are referred to as "forgotten" or "left behind" in the public school system (Heyneman & Stern, 2014). The other characteristic is school infrastructure. Studies show that most private schools are considered to have better quality infrastructure in terms of school buildings, functional latrines, electricity, water, etc. (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Jamil et al., 2012).

The fourth domain is the school environment, which covers student discipline and general atmosphere of the private schools. Discipline is important for

parents and based on this assumption, they choose the school that is known for a high level of discipline. Rangaraju et al. (2012) explain that student discipline is one of the main reasons for parents' preference for private schools. In a study they carried out in Bihar (India), they discovered that it was the third most important factor. Heyneman and Stern (2014) state that parents notice more violence in public schools and that non-government school provide a safer and more nurturing learning environment for their children. Ahmed and Sheikh (2014) add that the safety and security of girls is crucial for parents when choosing a school for their daughters, especially at the primary level of schooling. In general, parents prefer schools with a friendly atmosphere where the teacher-student and parent-teacher relationships are positive. Yaacob et al. (2015, p. 406) state that "it is customary to the parents to insure the best possible educational environment for their children". The environment in private schools is perceived as good by parents and this one of the reasons for their choosing private schools (Subedi et al., 2014).

The fifth domain deals with values and beliefs. This domain consists of two characteristics, which are social and religious values of the school. It is important for parents that a school shares their values. Rolleston and Adefeso-Olateju (2014) note that a range of certain values affect the educational choices that parents make, such as educational, social, ethical, and care values. Many studies show that religious affiliation has an impact on many parents in the decision-making process for choosing a school for their children. Heyneman and Stern (2014) argue that most countries have non-governmental schools that are related to a specific religious affiliation and provide additional focus on religion that public schools do not offer. In Malaysia, most parents who choose religiously defined private schools do so because they are concerned about religious value characteristics (Yaacob et al., 2015).

The sixth domain that the survey investigates is related to the logistical characteristics of private schools: location and cost. School location seems to be an important factor for some parents, especially when choosing a school for girls. Parents mentioned that they choose private schools because of a shorter walking time from home. However, distance from home does not affect parental choices at the high school level (either for boys or girls) (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014). Some studies also note that tuition fees for some private schools are low, especially in developing countries, where low-fee private schools are popular. Parents may consider low-fee private schools for their children because they are affordable and still provide better quality of education than public schools (Day Ashley, 2014; Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014). Table 6 below shows the domains and their characteristics as well as all the statements that constitute the content of the questionnaire.

Table 6: Domains and Characteristics of PS Choice

Domain	Characteristics	Statements
Academic Quality	Education quality reputation	The school has reputation of good quality education
		Students achieve high academic performance
		Graduating from this school gives more job opportunities in future
	Teaching quality	The school offers better course-subjects
		The school is better in terms of teaching approaches
		The school has small classes
	Teacher quality	The school has good quality of teachers
		The school has foreign teachers
		The teachers' presence is high
Physical Resources	Extra Activities	The school offers extra activities
	School infrastructure	The school has good infrastructure
Language of Instruction	English as language of instruction	English is the language of teaching
		The school has high quality of teaching English
		Students have high performance in English language
		Studying in English gives better chance for pursuing higher education
School Environment	Students' discipline	The students' discipline at school is high
	General atmosphere	The school has safe environment
		The school has a friendly atmosphere
Values & Beliefs	School values	The school shares the same values as parents
		The parents of other children at the school share the same values as I do
	Religious values	The school is related to a particular religious philosophy
Logistics	School location	The school location is close to home
	School cost	The school tuition fees are relatively low

The initial form of the questionnaire has been constructed based on the discussion above. It was divided into three sections. Section A consists of 23 items that are related to finding out the factors that parents consider in choosing private schools and which factors are most dominant. Parents were asked to rate the importance of each factor that were important to them at the time they chose private schools. Section B gathers demographic information of the parents who did choose private schools and gave an overview about their age, education level, occupation, income, and their mother tongue. Section C adds some information about the number of children parents have and how many of their children attend private or public schools, as well as on the gender of the child(ren) who attends the private school. See the completed version of the questionnaire in appendix (5).

The items in section A have been given values on a four-point scale measurement in order to measure the importance of the six domains described above, which are represented by the 23 items in the questionnaire. The given values ranged from 1 as not important to 4 as very important (see Appendix 5). The questionnaire has been written first in English and then translated into Kurdish (see appendix 6) by three experts: one expert in Kurdish linguistics, one in English linguistics and a third expert who works in the Kurdish media. This was in order to ensure that the Kurdish version of the questionnaire was clear and understandable to all the respondents.

3.3.2 Administration

The questionnaire was conducted by direct and telephone interviews with the help of three assistant researchers for the purpose of saving time and having a representative sample. All assistant researchers hold master's degrees, work in academia, and are familiar with the relevant research methods. They were also briefed by the researcher about the questionnaire content and trained on how to perform the interviews for controlling the quality of conducting the interviews with the parents.

Direct and telephone interviews were chosen as two methods of conducting the questionnaire for several reasons. The researcher or assistant researcher could answer any questions concerning the purpose of filling out the questionnaire or any misunderstanding experienced by the interviewee. Also, questionnaires may present problems especially to people of limited literacy and in such cases, the presence of the researcher or an assistant researcher was key as they could provide clarification (Cohen et al., 2007). The researcher avoided conducting the questionnaire by post because the postal system in KRI is not very reliable.

During conducting the direct interviews, the interviewee filled the questionnaire by him/herself, while when conducting the interview by telephone, the interviewer would fill the questionnaire instead of the interviewee based on his/her answers. Following these two techniques, the researcher managed to collect the data needed in the specified time for data collection during the field work.

3.3.3 Pre-test, validity and reliability

Validity

Validity is considered an important procedure to be checked before applying any research instrument. Questionnaires are measurement instruments that must have sufficient validity (Dornyei, 2003). The concept of validity is defined as a measurement instrument which measures exactly what it is supposed to measure (Drost, 2011, p. 114). Three different steps have been followed to by the researcher to provide a strong validity to the questionnaire designed.

First, as mentioned above, the content of the questionnaire was based on 15 studies, which are related to the factors that affect parents' decisions when choosing private schools for their children in developing countries. 23 factors have been determined after analysing the 15 studies and transformed into different statements, as shown in table 6 above. The statements cover six domains, and each domain covers different characteristics concerning the choice of private schools by parents in developing countries. The procedures followed for developing the items is called content validity. Content validity is achieved when the items of a questionnaire cover a representative sample of the domain of the aspects supposed to be measured. Bollen (1989) defines content validity as a qualitative type of validity, where the domain of the concept is made clear and the analyst judges whether the measures fully represent the domain (Cited in Drost, 2011, p. 118).

The second procedure followed to provide more validity to the questionnaire is having face validity. Face validity means asking people, experts in the same field, what they think about the instrument of the measurement (Borsboom et al., 2004). In order to apply the face validity procedure, the researcher discussed the designed questionnaire with a group of PhD students who are working on similar studies related to private pre-schools and private schools. The questionnaire has also been discussed at a PhD students' meeting at the Rieneck⁵ winter seminars in 2016. These two procedures were considered sufficient to ensure the validity of the questionnaire.

⁵ Rieneck is a gathering event of a group of PhD students in the field of education every six months under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Annette Scheunflug from University of Bamberg.

Reliability

It is very important for the questionnaire to be reliable besides being valid. Field (2009) states that reliability means whether an instrument can be interpreted consistently across different situations. There are different techniques for checking the reliability of a questionnaire. The technique which is used in this study is the polite test. Polite test determine to answer whether the questionnaire consistently measure whatever to measure (Radhakrishna, 2007). Also, polite study helps the researcher to find out and modify any questions that could be not obvious or misleading and this step strengths the validity of the questionnaire (Blumen, 2009).

Pre-test

A polite study was conducted on 20 parents who did choose private schools for their children to establish the reliability of the questionnaire. Interviews were conducted by telephone; this was faster than in-person interviews, allowing the researcher to prepare the final version of the questionnaire in time to be ready for field work. Cronbach's Alpha was used for checking the reliability of the questionnaire. It was 0.822, which is considered high and acceptable. Cronbach Alpha is the most common measure of scale reliability and a value of 0.8 or higher is an acceptable value (Field, 2009). The polite test sample results were only used for checking the reliability of the questionnaire and it was not used in the analysis of the questionnaire itself.

3.3.4 Sampling

The sample targeted for conducting the survey comprised parents who have children in the first, second and third grades in private schools located in the districts of Duhok city in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. First, stratified sampling was applied to make sure that the sample of the study was representative of the parents in the three main district of Zakho, Akri and Duhok. For conducting the parent survey, the researcher had to visit all the private schools in Duhok, Zakho and Akre districts to ask for their cooperation in establishing contact with the parents. Second, random sampling method was used for selecting the participants in the survey. A sample of 223 parents was selected randomly and they responded to the questionnaire by both direct and telephone interviews. Table (7) shows the sample selected for the survey.

Table 7: The Selected Sample of Each Private Schools in Duhok City Districts

School Name	Participated Parents	Percent	Population of grades 1,2,3
Brayan	23	10.3	53
Bright Star	27	12.1	62
Heezle	33	14.8	184
British Zakho	16	7.2	82
Mede	42	18.8	258
Duhok World Class	38	17.0	279
British Duhok	25	11.2	44
Cihan	13	5.8	75
Ishik	6	2.7	341
Total	223	100.0	1378

Duhok city was selected for conducting the survey with the parents which means the private schools that located in the districts of Dohuk city constitutes the targeted sample for the survey. This decision was taken based on several reasons. The researcher had to finish collecting data approximately in six weeks and this was only in hand by conducting the field work in Duhok City. It was very difficult for the researcher to reach all the private schools in Kurdistan Region cities since this would consume a lot of time and cost. Most of the private schools addresses can't be reached easily in KRI. Reaching the private schools and contacting the parents for the purpose of the survey in Duhok city was much more possible since the researcher is familiar with the most of Duhok city districts. Also, it was wise to limit the travel to the other cities only for collecting general data about the private schools in the region as the situation in KRI was not safe during the time of collecting the data.

Chapter 4

Profiles of Private Schools in the KRI

One of the research questions concerns the precise nature of the increase in the number of private schools in the KRI. This chapter attempts to answer this question by following the development of private schools from the inception of the KRI until the present day. It provides a systematic description of the number of private schools in the KRI, as well as the number of students' enrolled in them. The chapter then attempts to answer the question which is related to what the profiles of private education providers in the region. A description of the schools themselves, the education models, and the goals of some of the major private education providers in the KRI are presented. Finally, the chapter attempts to define what types of private schools have been established in the KRI.

4.1 The Development of Private Schools in the KRI

Based on the collected data, The first private school in the KRI, Ishik Boys College Erbil was opened in 1994 by a Turkish company, Fezalar Education Institution that provides education services. Fezalar continued to open more private schools in the region, eventually becoming the biggest private education provider in the KRI.

Following the Fezalar Education Institution, Bala Academy of Education and Teaching established three private schools in Erbil city in 1998. Later in 2000, the Elizaphan Educational Company established the Classical School of the Medes in Sulaymaniyah in 2001 and then opened two others private schools in both Erbil and Duhok cities. In 2006, SABIS Education Network came to the KRI and opened several private schools, starting with the International School of ChouEIFat in Erbil and then moving on to open more schools in Sulaymaniyah and Duhok. Currently, SABIS is considered the second biggest private education provider in the KRI. SABIS have also established several private-public partnership (PPP) schools in collaboration with the KRG, in an attempt to improve the quality of education in the KRI.

Thus, the development of private schools in the KRI began in the academic year 1994-1995. Since then, the number of private schools in the KRI, including both basic and secondary schools, has increased from one in 1994-1995 to 144 in 2017-2018. Based on the location distribution of private schools in the KRI, there were 88 private schools in Erbil city, 33 in Sulaymaniyah city, 18 in Duhok city, one school in Halabja city and four in the Garmian district in the academic year 2017-2018. Table (8) shows the number of private schools in the KRI between 2015-2018.

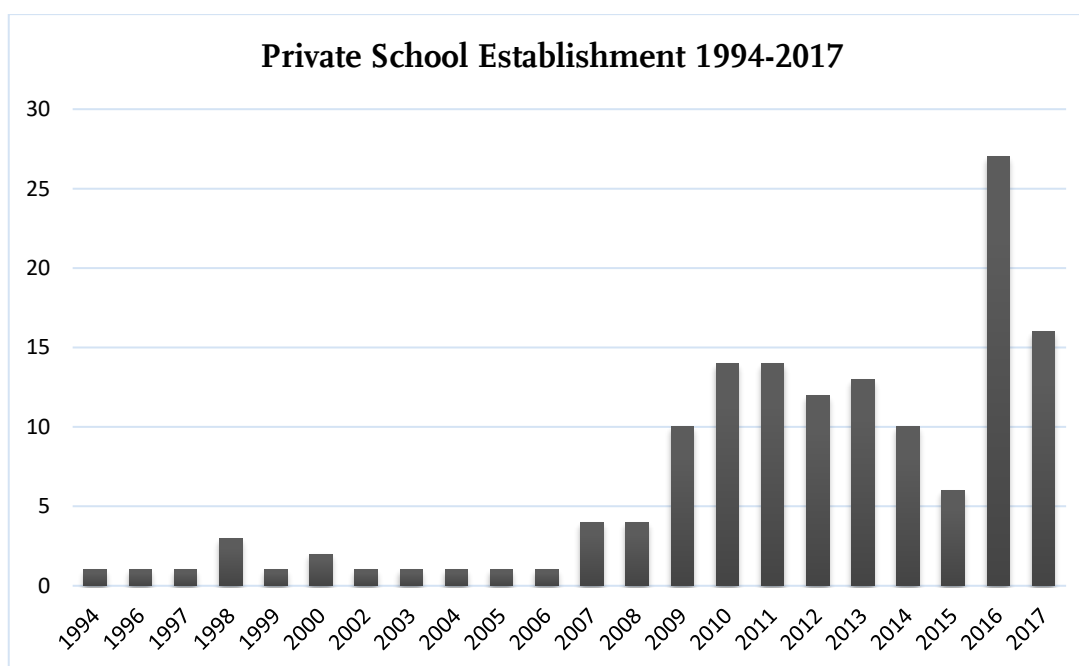
Table 8: Private Schools in KRI

No.	Locations	Basic & High Schools 2015-2016	Basic & High Schools 2016-2017	Basic & High Schools 2017-2018
1.	Erbil	64	81	88
2.	Sulaymaniyah	20	25	33
3.	Duhok	17	17	18
4.	Halabja	-	1	1
5.	Garmian	2	4	4
Total		103	128	144

Source: Ministry of Education (KRG)/ Organized by Researcher

Figure 5 below shows the number of private schools established in each year. It is clear that the number began to increase more rapidly from 2009. This could be due to two factors. First, the KRI became more stable after the removal of the previous Baath regime in Iraq. Second, the KRI witnessed economic improvement and a high increase in the total income of the population. These two factors gave the private sector a kind of assurance of a good business environment, allowing them to expand their education services in the KRI. However, it should also be noted that this has been accompanied by a global increase in the number of private schools, and the KRI might be considered no exception.

Figure 5: Establishment of Private Schools in KRI from 1994 to 2017



Source: Ministry of Education (KRG)/ Organized by Researcher

The enrolments in private schools kept increasing after each year in both basic and secondary schools. In the academic year 2016-2017, the students' enrolments reached 44,465 – an increase of (87.6%) from the previous academic year of 2015-2016. However, a decrease is shown in the numbers of students' enrolments in the academic year 2017-2018, as shown in table 9, despite the opening of 16 new private schools. The decline in the students' enrolments for the academic year of 2017-2018 could be due to the impact of the war between the KRI and ISIS, which lasted between 2014-2018. This war brought instability to the region and had a profound effect on local life. The number of student enrolment has declined from 44,465 in the academic year of 2016-2017 to 33,613 in 2017-2018, with a decrease of 24%.

Table 9: Student Numbers in Private Schools between 2015-2018

No.	Locations	2015-2016			2016-2017			2017-2018		
		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1.	Erbil	NA	NA	15700	16116	12364	28480	13484	10646	24130
2.	Sulaymaniyah	NA	NA	5259	4829	4571	9400	4533	4031	8564
3.	Duhok	NA	NA	2602	2792	2463	5255	1961	1435	3396
4.	Halabja	NA	NA	-	379	52	431	20	20	40
5.	Garmian	NA	NA	136	507	392	899	275	208	483
Total		NA	NA	23699	24623	19842	44465	20273	16340	33613

Source: Ministry of Education (KRG)/ Organized by Researcher

The decrease in the number of students' enrolments could be due to the economic problems that the KRI faced after the war. At the time, many citizens received less income, as the KRG had to spend a high proportion of their budget on military expenses, and parts of this were covered through decreasing people's salaries. This may be the reason behind some parents moving their children to free public schools, as they could not afford the private school fees. The fact that there is an increase in private schools' numbers in the same period of the academic year of 2017-2018 could be explained through the fact that private education providers in the KRI believed in the KRG's ability to restore political and economic stability and security, especially as it became apparent that it handled the war very effectively. The plans for expanding private education were also part of a longer-term strategy on part of some providers, as will be explained be-

low. Finally, another reason for an apparent decrease in the number of students enrolled in private schools in 2017-2018 is that the MOE appears to have excluded PPP schools from their data on private schools. This to some extent explains the dramatic drop in student enrolment apparent in the data (by 24%). This demonstrates that the data provided by the MOE must be analysed carefully, as certain definitional discrepancies may arise. In the following sections, some of the main private education providers that operate private schools in the KRI are investigated.

4.2 Private School Providers in the KRI

One of the aspects that this study investigates is who are the providers (owners) of private schools in the KRI. The following is a description of some of the external and local educational companies and institutions that work as not-state actors in education in the KRI. Qualitative methods have been used when collecting the data, as explained in the chapter on methodology and methods (3.2.2 Database and determination of providers).

4.2.1 Fezalar (Ronaki) educational institution

The Fezalar education institution⁶ belongs to Hizmat schools, which are related to the Turkish organization called the Gulen Movement⁷. In 1982, the first two Gulen inspired high schools were established in Izmir and Istanbul, swiftly followed by hundreds more private schools across Turkey. Two decades later, Hizmat established more private schools in some other Asian, African and Western Countries. KRI is one of the locations in which Hizmat private schools were established at the beginning of the 1990s.

Fezalar schools in the KRI

Fezalar Educational Institution started providing private education in the KRI in 1994 by opening the Erbil Ishiq College for boys. Since then, it has been considered one of the first leading private education providers in the region. In 1996, Fezalar Educational Institution established a new high school for girls. Today, the institution has several primary and secondary private schools, as well as kindergartens, all over the KRI, in the main cities of Erbil, Duhok, and Sulaymaniyah, as well as in some districts such as Soran and Halabja. Fezalar Educational Institution expanded its network of private schools, which now consists of three

⁶ Fezalar Education Institution name has recently changed; it is now called Ronaki Education Company.

⁷ Gulen movement (also “Hizmet movement”) is an organization that contributes, through several types of activities, to intercultural dialogue and also provides educational services (Canbolat, 2017).

educational groups. Each group is responsible for running a number of private schools in a specific city in the KRI. These are the Ronaki Hawler Education Company, Ronaki Salahaddin Ayyubi Colleges (US Colleges now) and Duhok Ronaki Schools.

Ronaki Hawler Education Company is based in Erbil city and operates ten private schools and one kindergarten. It serves over 5000 students with over 400 teachers in six campuses in the academic year 2015-2016. The company runs Ishik schools for boys and Nilufer Schools for girls, providing high-quality education and modern facilities for students in the Region, from kindergarten until university level. In 2016, the company strengthened its position in the market by forming a partnership with Khoshnaw Group⁸ to continue to develop more in the Region.

Ronaki Salahaddin Ayyubi group (US Colleges now) is located in Sulaymaniyah city and consists of seven schools. The number of enrolments in these schools reached about 2,916 students in the academic year of 2015-2016. The Duhok Ronaki education company is located in Duhok city, where it has about 935 students in five schools. The company also has a kindergarten located in the Maseky campus. Table (10) shows the three groups of Fezlar schools in the KRI.

⁸ Khoshnaw Group of Companies is among the largest companies within the Middle Eastern region. Its capital reaches over 1 Billion US dollars (<http://lg-khoshnaw.com/index.php/lg/abotukh>).

Table 10: Fezlar Schools in KRI

Groups	Schools	Type of Schools	Year	Enrolments 2015-2016	Level	City
Ronaki Hawler Education Company	Ishik Kindergarten	For-profit	2005	NA	Pre-School	Erbil
	Ishik Brayaty	For-profit	2012	935	Primary	Erbil
	Ishik Gulan	For-profit	2008	601	Primary	Erbil
	Ronaki	For-profit	2005	649	Primary	Erbil
	Soran Ishik	For-profit	2010	NA	Primary	Soran/ Erbil
	Soran Ishik	For-profit	2010	59	Secondary	Soran/ Erbil
	Nilufer Girls School	For-profit	2010	510	Secondary	Erbil
	Erbil Ishik Boys	For-profit	2009	560	Secondary	Erbil
	Nilufer Girls College	For-profit	1996	472	High School	Erbil
	Erbil Ishik Boys College	For-profit	1994	402	High School	Erbil
Soran Ishik College	For-profit	2010	42	High School	Soran/ Erbil	
Roonaki Salahaddin Ayyubi Colleges/ US Colleges Now	Salahaddin Ayyubi College Boys	For-profit	1997	301	High School	Sulaymaniyah
	Salahaddin Ayyubi Boys	For-profit	1997	155	Secondary	Sulaymaniyah
	Sulaymaniyah Girls' College	For-profit	1999	317	High School	Sulaymaniyah
	Salahaddin Ayyubi Girls/ US Girls	For-profit	1999	388	Secondary	Sulaymaniyah
	Haji Muhiddeen Rashid School/ US Colleges	For-profit	2013	617	Primary	Sulaymaniyah
	Primary Private 1/ Kanikurda Now	For-profit	2007	762	Primary	Sulaymaniyah
	Sulaymaniyah Primary 2	For-profit	2010	376	Primary	Sulaymaniyah
Roonaki Duhok Schools	Duhok Ishik Primary School	For-profit	2009	613	Primary	Duhok
	Duhok Ishik Boys' College	For-profit	2009	90	High School	Duhok
	Duhok Ishik Boys' Secondary	For-profit	2009	111	Secondary	Duhok
	Duhok Ishik Girls' College	For-profit	2009	41	High School	Duhok
	Duhok Ishik Girls' Secondary	For-profit	2009	80	Secondary	Duhok
	Duhok Ishik Kindergarten	For-profit		NA	Pre-School	Duhok

Source: Database, Appendix 1

Education model of the Fezalar schools

Fezalar Institution Education system is based on what it is called “Project Based Education”. The system is project-oriented and it encourages students to do activities individually or in small groups. Fezalar schools ensure that through this student-centred approach, students can develop as individuals and cultivate the ability to overcome any obstacles they may face later in life. The schools also emphasise critical thinking and strong communication skills. The system allows students to exhibit their projects in competitions and paves their way to become scientists. This “learning through doing” program starts from primary level to high school level, giving students the opportunity to display their ideas and participate in national and international competitions.

In Fezalar schools, students learn different languages: English, Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish. The English language is the medium of instruction and it is taught based on the outlines of the Oxford Quality Programme. Kurdish language is taught as the mother tongue, while Arabic language is taught as a second language. Turkish language is taught in Fezalar schools as a foreign language.

Regarding the teaching of the English language, Fezalar states that it is the only Oxford Quality School in the region, as the company signed a memorandum with Oxford University Press to provide English education to students. This allows Fezalar schools to receive dedicated consultation services, comprehensive testing and assessment, as well as high quality English language teaching materials.

The goals of Fezalar schools

Fezalar Education Institution defines several aims for their educational model in the KRI. First, it aims at educating qualified people, starting from primary school to university level education. Enabling students to carry out independent research and analysis, especially in the field of modern science and technology, is supported through an emphasis on personal development and critical thinking. Secondly, the students learn multiple foreign languages. The schools’ language programs help students gain fluency in English in order to be able to study mathematics and science in English. In addition to these academic objectives, Fezalar schools also focus on the importance of moral values and duties of the students towards family and society. One of the most important aims of the Fezalar schools is to prepare students at the high school level for the national Wazari Exams (national Ministry of Education exams) and international exams such as SAT, ACT or TOEFL, which are required for university acceptance.

The Fezalar educational goals are designed with the aim of graduating students who are multilingual and fluent in English, Kurdish, Arabic, and Turkish. It is assumed that the students become more open minded and integrated into the global world, while remaining ready to serve their country with unique skills and talents. The mission of the Fezalar schools is to teach the art of living together and celebrating cultural diversity. The schools have a vision of making students become integrated with the world on their education and future career planning. The values of faith, love, scientific thought, critical thinking, free minded, respect to freedom of thought, collaboration, analytical thinking and artistic skills are embraced and encapsulated in the schools' motto of "from tradition to future".

4.2.2 SABIS educational network (SEN)

SABIS is a global education network with a 131-year history of running Pre-K and K-12 schools. The network goes back to 1886, when the first a school was opened in the village of Choueifat in Lebanon. SABIS expanded significantly and today, it is a key global education provider, running public and private schools in 20 countries on five continents. It operates through three independent corporations headquartered in the U.S., Lebanon, and the U.A.E. SABIS schools have about 70,000 students in around the world and a team of more than 8000 employees.

SABIS schools in the KRI

SABIS began working in the KRI as a non-state actor in education in 2006, when it opened the International School of Choueifat in Erbil. Later, it expanded its services through establishing an agreement with the KRG to open a number of PPP schools. This step was taken to bring the high-quality education that SABIS offers to more students. On the 1st of September 2008, the Fakhir Mergasori International School (FMIS) opened, enrolling more than 300 children in both kindergarten and first, second and third grades of primary education. The Fakhir Mergasori school is considered the first PPP school in the KRI. Today, SABIS runs 4 private schools and 7 PPP schools in the region, as demonstrated in table (11). SABIS is considered the second largest private education provider in the KRI, after Fezalar schools.

The number of enrolments in SABIS schools in the KRI is estimated to be more than 4733 for the academic year 2015-2016. More than 1120 students were enrolled in SABIS private schools in 2015-2016 (this an estimate only, as enrolment data were not available for the International Schools of Choueifat in Erbil). Looking at table 11 below, we can see that SABIS PPP schools have more enrolments, at about (3613) in 2015-2016. In 2018, a new private school for profit,

the Cadmus school, was established by SABIS in Duhok city. The company plans to open more private and PPP schools in the KRI in the coming years. In October 2015, the KRG and SABIS Network signed a three-year renewal of their agreement, ensuring that students in the PPP schools will continue to benefit from the same high-quality that other SABIS private schools offer.

Table 11: SABIS Schools in KRI

No.	Schools	Type of Schools	Year	Enrolments 2015-2016	Level	City
1.	International School of Choueifat	Private for-Profit	2006	NA	G1-G12	Erbil
2.	International School of Choueifat Dream City	Private for-Profit	2012	580	K & Primary	Erbil
3.	International School of Choueifat Sulaimaniah	Private for-Profit	2009	540	K & G1-G9	Sulaymaniyah
4.	Cadmus	Private for-Profit	2018	NA New School	Primary	Duhok
5.	Fakhir Mergasori International School	PPP	2008	480	K & G1-G9	Erbil
6.	Sardam International School	PPP	2009	626	Primary & Secondary	Duhok
7.	Sarwaran International School	PPP	2009	800	K & G1-G9	Erbil
8.	Kalar International School	PPP	2012	500	K & Primary	Sulaymaniyah/ Kalar
9.	Soran International School	PPP	2012	361	Primary	Erbil/ Soran
10.	Sulaimaniah International School	PPP	2012	550	K & Primary	Sulaymaniyah
11.	Zakho International School	PPP	2012	296	Primary	Zakho/Duhok

Source: Database, Appendix 1

Education model of SABIS

The education system of SABIS was developed and refined over the last century to give a balance of academic, self-development, and life preparation. In general, the SABIS philosophy is to prepare almost all the students to have the skills needed for accessing university education. Their advertising is based on claims of 131 years of excellence in education. SABIS schools aim at providing distinguished education by helping all students to achieve their full latent abilities and become responsible citizens of the world. The SABIS curriculum is updated regularly to be relevant to the age, the international community, and the global environment. SABIS schools encourage students to work in the SABIS student life organization, which is a program dedicated to help students to uncover their abilities, find out their interests and improve basic life skills such leadership, collaboration, cooperation, communication, and critical thinking.

The goals of SABIS

In general, SABIS has two types of goals for students: academic and non-academic. One of the academic goals is preparing students for pursuing higher education around the world through providing a high-quality education that enables them to master English, Kurdish, and French languages, as well as mathematics. Critical thinking and logical reasoning are heavily emphasised. Students have to be prepared to keep up their intellectual effort throughout their lives. SABIS teaches students how to be enthusiastic about learning. The non-academic goals focus on supporting ethical, moral and civic manners. Students must be able to take part in decision-making related to the society and they learn how to defend their opinions and overcome negative pressure from their peers. Collaboration, forgiveness and acceptance of others are key values.

4.2.3 The Classical School of the Medes (CSM)

The Classical School of the Medes (Henceforth CSM) is a private, English-based network of Christian schools operating in the KRI. The Elizaphan Educational Company is the main owner of the CSM schools.

Yousif Matty Yousif is the founder of the Elizaphan Educational Company which is an institution officially recognised by the KRG. He is an Iraqi Christian with Chaldinian Catholic backgrounds. He was working for years as a geological engineer for the Iraqi National Oil Company. He travelled with his wife to the KRI in 1992, after the Kurdish revolution, hoping to serve the Kurdish community. He got his bachelor's degree in science in Geology from the University of Mosul in Iraq. Yousif became a senior pastor serving the Evangelical Church of Iraq. In 1995, he was ordained as a pastor by the

Belmont Church of Nashville, Tennessee in USA. He and his wife have established three fellowships, three schools, bookstores, and radio stations in the KRI. He is the founder of one of the first indigenous protestant group congregations in Kurdistan and is the director of the Classical School of the Medes, a Christian school aimed at serving the Kurdish community.

The Classical School of the Medes states that their schools were a response to the requests of the local church and government authorities in the KRI to open schools with an English-based curriculum and international training support as a step to bless and enrich the Kurdish community. They proclaim that parents, local officials, and community leaders are all very supportive of these schools. The schools received land and assistance from the KRG.

The Classical Schools of the Medes in the KRI

The Classical Schools of the Medes are located in the three major cities of the KRI (Erbil, Sulaymaniyah, and Duhok). The first school opened in Sulaymaniyah in 2001, serving about 589 students, from kindergarten through 12th grade. The second school opened in Duhok in 2002, and the number of students in the academic year 2015-2016 reached about 550. A year after, a third school in Erbil opened, with the capacity for enrolling 830 students in 2015-2016. The total number of the students attending the CSM schools in the KRI was about (1969) in the academic year of 2015-2016 (see table 12). Over 95% of the students are from Kurdish Muslim families, with the rest from Orthodox, Evangelical Christian, and other backgrounds.

Table 12: CSM Schools in KRI

No.	Schools	Type of Schools	Year	Enrolments 2015-2016	Level	City
1.	Classical School of the Medes	Private for-Profit	2001	510	Primary & Secondary	Sulaymaniyah
2.	Medes Preparatory	Private for-Profit	2000	79	High School	Sulaymaniyah
3.	Mede International Basic	Private for-Profit	2002	513	Primary & Secondary	Duhok
4.	Mede International Preparatory	Private for-Profit	2014	37	High School	Duhok
5.	Classical School of the Medes	Private for-Profit	2003	830	Primary & Secondary	Erbil

Source: Database, Appendix 1

Education model of CSM

CSM offers a full curriculum for grades K-12 and a team of educators from the United States of America work with the local administration in Kurdistan Region to design and compile the program curriculum. These educators are linked to the Servant Group International (SGI)⁹, which is a non-profit Christian organization headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee (USA). All curriculum development, foreign staffing, and training is arranged through SGI.

The Medes Schools are referred to as “classical schools” because they are based on a classical educational model. The CSM aims at equipping students with the classical education model with age-appropriate skills, knowledge, and virtues. The language of instruction at CSM is English for most subjects; pupils also study Kurdish and Arabic languages. Although the language of instruction is English, students can take supplemented classes in Kurdish or Arabic if needed.

The goals of CSM

CSM states that its curriculum enables students to graduate with all the necessary credits required for attending universities in the KRI and abroad. As many other school networks, CSM has plans to expand their schools and even build a “life-transforming”, Christian (Evangelical) university in the KRI. CSM aims at developing students in a way that positively shapes the future of their families, community, and nation.

4.2.4 Knowledge private schools (KPS)

Knowledge private schools (KPS) are licensed by the KRG/Ministry of Education. The first KPS was founded in Duhok city in 2010 by Ms. Sulein Rohz. This was followed by the establishment of a company/foundation to run the school in Duhok city. The second KPS opened in Zakho city in 2015, and a third one in 2017 in the Barzan district of Duhok city. The schools offer primary education, with plans to extend to grade 12.

Knowledge private schools

Based on the data provided by the Directorate of Education in Duhok city, there were 138 students enrolled in the KPS school in Duhok city in 2015-2016, while only 48 students were enrolled in the opening year of KPS in Zakho city (see table 13). There are plans to open a fourth KPS school in Erbil city. KPS are

⁹ SGI was founded in 1992 with the goal of focusing on serving Muslim communities in the USA and worldwide with the hope and love of Christ.

based on the American school model and a board of ten directors provide supervision and assistance to the schools, each in his/her field of expertise.

Table 13: Knowledge Private Schools In KRI

No.	Schools	Type of Schools	Year	Enrolments 2015-2016	Level	City
1.	Knowledge Private School	Private for-Profit	2010	138	Primary & Secondary	Duhok
2.	Knowledge Private School	Private for-Profit	2015	48	Primary	Zakho
3.	Knowledge Private School	Private for-Profit	2017	NA	Primary	Barzan

Source: Database, Appendix 1

Education model of KPS schools

The KPS are based on the American style of education for Kindergarten K1/K2 and from Grade 1 through 7 (with plans to expand to Grade 12). In KPS, students study English, science, mathematics, Kurdish, handwriting, social studies, art, health and physical education, computer technology. The KPS put emphasis on students being responsible and committed to a strong work ethic, in particular through timely completion of school assignments. To that end, the KPS teaches students how to manage their time and plan their work. The KPS also encourages cooperation between teachers and parents to help students learn how to avoid failure in their life through preparation and determination. KPS' program provides extra tutoring for students who experience difficulties in some subjects in order to help students achieve their best. KPS focuses on using technology in education and claims to provide classes in a computer laboratory to make all students familiar with current technology. The enrolment process of the KPS requires the applicants to pass an admissions exam, which tests the candidates' raw intelligence and ability to maintain concentration.

At KPS, two languages are taught in the early years: English and Kurdish. Later, students are expected to learn a third language. English is used in teaching science and math, while Kurdish language is used in teaching social studies, civilization, human rights, art, and religion. In KPS, students have to be fluent in English, Kurdish and Arabic.

KPS offers students annual field trips outside the KRI to enrich their cultural and scientific education experiences. On a previous trip to the United States of America, a group of students from the KPS visited, among others, NASA, Wash-

ington State University, and Disney World. The idea behind such trips is to motivate students and open their minds.

The goals of KPS

The KPS aims to be one of the top ten American-style private schools worldwide. Sulein Rohz, the founder of KPS, states that one of the goals of KPS is to enable students to pursue higher education in the United States or in other countries around the world by following the American style of education. The primary goal of the KPS founders is to establish a university based on American-style education in Duhok city. Dr. Rich Yates who is the principle of the Knowledge private school in Duhok city states that “By stirring the imagination to encourage development of the thinking process, Knowledge Private School will provide an American-style education equal to the best private schools in the United States”. He mentions that KPS aims to bring knowledge to the Kurdish community, and he expects students to be able to use their creative and critical thinking. One of the most important goals that KPS want to achieve is making students successful and teaching them how to avoid behaviours which cause failure.

4.2.5 Mission Laïque Française (MLF) institution

Mission Laïque Française (MLF) is a non-profit international French organization founded in 1909, headquartered in Paris. MLF oversees 109 French educational institutions around the world in 38 countries, from kindergarten to the final stages of schooling. About 60,000 students attend MLF schools worldwide. The MLF is fully responsible for 35 institutions, while the others are 53 partner institutions and 21 business schools. The MLF is related to France by two conventions, with the Ministry of Europe and Foreign Affairs and with the Ministry of National Education. It is firmly in line with the main orientation of France's foreign policy and follows the directives of the Ministry of National Education on the conformity of programs of accredited schools.

The MLF schools in the KRI

In 2009, the MLF established the French International School Danielle Mitterrand in Erbil city, the capital of the KRI, and the second MLF school was established in Sulaymaniyah in 2013. The MLF in Erbil services about 141 students, from kindergarten to the final stage of schooling. The number of students in the MLF school in Sulaymaniyah is about 68, from kindergarten to grade 9. The total number of students in both MLF schools reaches 209 (see table 14).

Table 14: MLF Schools In KRI

No.	Schools	Type of Schools	Year	Enrolments 2015-2016	Level	City
1.	French International School Danielle Mitterrand	Private for-Profit	2009	141	Primary & Secondary	Erbil
2.	French International School Sulaymaniyah	Private for-Profit	2013	68	Primary	Sulaymaniyah

Source: Database, Appendix 1

Education model of MLF schools

All MLF schools apply the same educational standards set by the French Ministry of Education. The MLF claims that it offers a world class education based on secular, free and critical thinking. The French Ministry of National Education certifies the primary, lower and upper secondary schools, and teaching is mainly done in French, by French teachers. The Cambridge Certificate is also offered, so that if a student wants to move to an English-language school, the language is not an issue. The courses offered are in accordance with the programs defined by the French Ministry of National Education. The French Secular Mission, however, asserts its own identity through a pedagogical project that is broken down into objectives and structured around three clear instructions.

MLF welcomes and brings together children from all backgrounds and cultures in its network of schools, centred around secularism. MLF developed a pedagogy of the encounter between two cultures, reinforced by the learning of three languages. Schooled in French, students learn the language of the host country from kindergarten, while acquiring a third language of international communication, usually English. Beyond the academic success and the individual development of the students, MLF seeks to develop the exercise of free judgment, respect of the other, understanding of the inheritance of history, and the importance of being opened to the world with its diversity.

The goals of MLF schools

The MLF aims at spreading French language and culture throughout the world, in particular through secular and intercultural education. Throughout its history, MLF has conducted a public service mission dedicated to the education of young French people around the world and has a role in promoting the education of young nationals whose families choose to train them in the French language and culture.

4.2.6 Rast Education (RE)

Rast Education (RE) is a branch of Rast Group, which is a company from the KRI established in 1993. Rast Group consists of different business sectors, such as food, building and construction, marketing, tourism and travel, health and education.

Rast Education schools in the KRI

Rast Education began operating by opening the Zakho British International Private School in Zakho city in 2014 and then expanded its education services by opening another private school in Duhok city in Autumn 2015 (the Duhok British International School). About 205 students attended the RE school in Zakho city from K1 through grade 9 in the academic year of 2015-2016. In Duhok city, the number of the students enrolled at the RE school reached 44 in the academic year of 2015-2016, covering the education level from K1 through 3 (see table 15). Both RE schools in Zakho and Duhok continue to cover the rest of the school levels to the grade 12. RE has plans to build an advanced educational complex in the future.

Table 15: RE Schools In KRI

No.	Schools	Type of Schools	Year	Enrolments 2015-2016	Level	City
1.	Zakho British International School	Private for- Profit	2014	205	K1 – G 9	Duhok/ Zakho
2.	Duhok British International School	Private for- Profit	2015	44	K1 - Primary	Duhok

Source: Database, Appendix 1

Education model of Rast Education schools

All RE schools adapt the English National Curriculum. The British Council supports RE schools by offering an English curriculum from two well-known British institutions (Cambridge and Oxford international curricula). The RE also states that it makes use of the Edexcel curriculum model. According to RE, their curriculum planning and development approach is supported by leading professional educators. By adapting the British education model, RE argues that there is a great demand for an English curriculum around the world, as it offers high academic standards and helps develop students' capacity for critical thinking and personal confidence. The curriculum followed in RE schools is aimed at preparing the students for the International GCSE at 16 and post-16. IGCSE is

considered one of the most highly regraded examinations world-wide and can be depended on for accessing further education at the best international universities. The RE advertises that children in their schools will receive an education that will equip them with qualifications and personal qualities enabling them to enter the professional life confidently. The language of instruction in RE schools is English at all the educational levels, from kindergarten to grade 12.

The goals of Rast Education schools

As an educational company located in the KRI, RE believes passionately in the importance of education in the life of a nation. Rast Education announces that its goal is to develop and fulfil every child's unique potential. RE assures that every effort is taken to ensure that each student feels valued, happy, and successful. It adds that students are encouraged to be responsible, enthusiastic and to participate actively in the schooling duties. Another goal of the RE is to teach British (expatriate) students in its schools and to help them integrate into the Kurdistan Region and serve it with their skills and abilities. RE claims that there are many aspects of school life that have a global focus. They emphasise teaching students the sense of recognising right from wrong and of how to be responsible citizens. Students are encouraged to learn from their mistakes and to express themselves freely. Parents' participation in school life and serving the community is also highly valued. The RE states that their overarching aim is to achieve an excellent education in a caring environment and to provide safety and security for the students.

4.2.7 Cihan Group schools (CG)

Cihan Group (CG) is one of the main leading financial conglomerates in the KRI. It consists of 15 different business companies located in Iraq, Turkey and the UAE. The history of CG backs to 1949, when it started as a family-owned business by the late Haj Yahya Saeed Bajger. Later, the sons of Haj Yahya continued to run the business. Today, the main business areas of CG are trading, banking and finance, automotive, construction, insurance, media, transportation, and education. Furthermore, CG is one of the founders of the Kurdistan Stock Exchange in Erbil. CG became involved in providing education in the KRI first by opening Cihan University, then by establishing private schools.

CG schools

In 2007, the Cihan Group opened the Cihan Private University in Erbil and soon after began establishing private schools in Erbil, Duhok and Sulaymaniyah. The first Cihan school was founded in Erbil city in 2010. The number of students in

this school reached 268 in the academic year 2015-2016. This school covers the education level from grade 7 to grade 12. The other two schools were established in Duhok and Sulaymaniyah cities in 2014. Both schools take students from grade 1 to grade 9 (see table 16). The Cihan school in Duhok claims that the teaching staff includes teachers from Britain and the USA.

Table 16: Cihan Group Schools In KRI

No.	Schools	Type of Schools	Year	Enrolments 2015-2016	Level	City
1.	Cihan Private School	Private for-Profit	2014	150	G1-G9	Duhok
2.	Cihan College School	Private for-Profit	2010	268	G7-G12	Erbil
3.	Cihan Sulaimani Private School	Private for-Profit	2014	NA	G1-G9	Sulaymaniyah

Source: Database, Appendix 1

Education model of CG schools

Information about the education model followed by CG schools is not available. However, the language of instruction in CG schools is English (as is the case at most other private schools in the KRI). CG schools advertise that they have English and American teachers as a sign of the high quality of their education.

The goals of CG schools

The CG education sector aims at providing high quality undergraduate education, which is affordable and appropriate for students in the KRI. It states that it strives to bring services and resources that promote student learning and academic success. CG is also involved in some charity work in the field of education and it offers scholarships for students in the KRI.

4.2.8 İhsan Doğramacı Erbil Foundation (IDEF)

İhsan Doğramacı Erbil Foundation is a Turkish foundation established by professor İhsan Doğramacı, who was born in Erbil in 1951. The foundation established many private schools in Turkey and elsewhere, as well as some non-profit institutions.

IDEF schools

In August 2010, Ihsan Dogramaci Erbil Foundation (IDEF), which claims to be a non-profit foundation, opened Ihsan Dogramaci Bilkent Erbil College with 190 students. After 5 years of operating, the school registered 444 students in 2015, with plans to expand their capacity even more for students between the ages of 4-18. The school employs 50 teachers, recruited from Australia, Azerbaijan, Canada, Iraq, New Zealand, the Philippines, South Africa, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the USA. The school was ranked the top private school in the KRI for the academic years 2011-2012 and 2012-2013 by the KRI Ministry of Education (MOE).

Education model of IDEF schools

The education model of the IDEF schools is based on applying the IB¹⁰ Primary Years Program (PYP) and Middle Years Program (MYP). The IB PYP focuses on the development of the whole child, from age 3 to 12, in a way that fosters curiosity and enables them to ask questions in the classroom and in the world outside. The MYP is based on a challenging setting to help students make practical connections between what they study and the real world. The MYP consists of a five-year program, which focuses on teaching students eight subjects such as language acquisition, language and literature, individuals and societies, sciences, mathematic, arts, physical and health education, and design.

The goals of IDEF schools

The purpose of IDEF is to provide high quality international education for the community of Erbil city. IDEF supports students in developing critical, analytical, and independent thinking. The school tries to raise students who are creative, open-minded, principled, and responsible leaders for the future, who will be able to improve the world around them. Both English and Turkish language are emphasised from the initial stages of education throughout.

4.2.9 Hezel organization

Hezel is a Christian Organization established in October 2004 in Zakho city, Duhok Governorate. Hezel initially began as a cultural centre, then was recognized as an NGO by the local authorities in the KRI. It was funded and supported by Sarkis Aghajan, a former finance minister in the KRG. It carries out relief

¹⁰ The IB (international Baccalaureate) is an international foundation established in 1968, headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland. It offers different educational programs: IB (DP), IB (CR), IB (MYP) and IB (PYP). Schools can receive authorisation from the IB foundation to teach these curricula.

and construction work for both Christian and non-Christian refugees and displaced people fleeing from the acts of violence in many parts of Iraq.

Hezel schools

Hezel Organization established the Hezel Private School in 2008. It is an English-language primary school, located in Zakho city. The number of enrolments in Hezel school reached 393 students in the academic year 2015-2016. The school offers education from level G1 till G9.

Education model of Hezel schools

The educational model of the Hezel private school is based on the current teaching program in the KRI. However, the language of instruction in Hezel schools is English.

The goals of Hezel schools

The organization offers humanitarian and financial support and is involved in building, reconstructing and renovating houses, churches, health centres, and schools belonging to the villages that were destroyed by the last Iraqi regime.

4.2.10 Archdiocese of Erbil

In 2011 the Archdiocese of Erbil¹¹ opened the Mar Qardakh private school in Ankawa in Erbil. Mar Qardakh is a private Catholic, coeducational day school. The school was built by donations from the USA government, through the office for the protection of minorities of the U.S. Embassy in Iraq, and the Archdiocese of Erbil.

Mar Qardakh school

In the academic year of 2015-2016, Mar Qardakh school provided basic education for 196 boys and 198 girls (i.e., 394 students in total).

Education model of Mar Qardakh school

The school education system is based on the American model, divided into 12 grades. It provides the international baccalaureate. The principles of Christian

¹¹ The Archdiocese of Erbil belongs to the Chaldean Catholic Church, which is an Eastern Syriac particular church of the Catholic Church, under the Holy See of the Catholicos-Patriarch of Babylon, maintaining full communion with the Bishop of Rome and the rest of the Catholic Church.

religious are the guiding light of the school in which in its website it states that the school is anchored in the Judeo-Christian¹² tradition.

The goals of the Mar Qardakh school

The school has an influence on the local Christian community and aims to cement their presence in their homeland while providing an education that meets international standards. The school aims at providing students with a holistic, international education encompassing academic, social, spiritual and personal development, and awareness of the world around them.

4.3 Types of Private School Providers in the KRI

Based on the description of private education providers in the KRI, private schools could be assigned to different categories. They can be divided based on their owners' regional background (local/international), on whether they are run on a for-profit or non-profit basis, and on whether they are religious or not.

Private schools may be owned by external, international or local bodies or companies. Some international owners, such as SABIS, are private companies that run many schools inside and outside the KRI and which focus predominantly on education. Churches form another global type of organization which may run private schools, although it should be noted that local churches, such as the Archdiocese of Erbil, also operate educational establishments. On the other hand, the local sector consists of companies that operate more than one private school in the KRI and those which only run one. Some of these have diverse business interests, others focus exclusively on education.

4.3.1 International private schools

The term "international private schools" refers to those private schools which are operated by foreign private education providers. Such providers operate in the KRI but are based in different countries. Sometimes, it is easy to distinguish international private schools from local ones by name alone. For instance, the school's name may contain the word "international" or it can include a name of a foreign country or nationality (American, British, Deutsch and French). Examples include the International School of Chouefat, British International School, American International School, Cambridge International School, Deutsche Schule Erbil, etc. However, there are international schools whose names are not so transparent, for instance the MLF Danielle Mitterrand

¹² Judeo-Christian tradition is related to the religious writings, beliefs, values, or traditions held in common by Judaism and Christianity (<http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Judeo-Christian+tradition>).

or Ihsan Dogramci Bilkent Erbil College. Sometimes, people refer to Deutsch Schule as the German School, and Danielle Mitterrand as the French School. Some of the international companies had started by opening private universities in the region and then opened private schools, which then expanded.

Some private education companies operating in the KRI originate from Turkey, such as the Fezalar Educational Institution Company and the İhsan Doğramacı Foundation. One international educational institution, SABIS, originates in Lebanon, one (Mission Laïque Française, or MLF) is French. American and German schools also operate in the KRI. SABIS and Fezalar Schools are considered the biggest private education providers in the KRI, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Two aspects that distinguish international private schools from local ones are the language and the allocation policies they follow in their education system. Almost all of the international private schools in the KRI use English as the language of instruction, though some other use French or German. The importance of using English as the language of instruction for the parents is explained in detail in chapter six (6.3.3 Function of Private Schools in KRI). Also, many international private schools offer different certificates than most of the local private schools, which are considered important for pursuing higher education outside the KRI. For example, the Danielle Mitterrand private school gives their students the same certificate as if they were in any school in France. Another fact that makes international private schools different from local ones is that they require higher tuition fees. The average of fees for the international private schools is 3.140 US dollars per year; the average for local private schools is 2.070 US dollars per year.

4.3.2 Local private schools

Local private schools are operated by local education companies or by individuals from the KRI. They play a significant role in running private schools in the region. The Bala Academy of Education and Teaching, the Elizaphan Educational Company and Rast Group Company are examples of the most important local education companies in the KRI. In 1998, the Bala Academy of Education and Teaching opened three private schools in the region, followed in 2000 by the Classical Schools of the Medes, which are owned and operated by Elizaphan Education Company. In 2013, the Rast Group company has entered the education sector by opening two private schools (one in Zakho, one in Duhok), with plans for future expansion.

Some other private schools in the region are run by individual people from the KRI. Usually, an individual will start by establishing one private school and within a few years would open another one, eventually becoming a private edu-

cation enterprise. The language of instruction in most of the local private schools is English, with the exception of a few schools that use Kurdish and few others that use English for scientific subjects and Kurdish for the humanities.

4.3.3. Religious private schools

It has been observed that some private schools in the KRI are grounded in specific religious traditions. The Hezel and Mar Qardakh private schools are two examples. These private schools are Christian and are operated by a local Christian organization or by a church.

Religious private schools may receive support from foreign organizations, as is the case with the private schools of the Medes. The Schools of the Medes's staff receive training and aid with curriculum development through cooperation with a Christian organization from the USA. Other religious schools might be supported by the church, as is the case for the Mar Qardakh private school, which is supported by the Archdiocese of Erbil. English is the language of instruction in all religious private schools in the KRI. However, due to the lack of available data, it is not clear whether they provide any special qualifications or certificates; the researcher has assumed that they provide the same qualifications as local schools, as otherwise they would likely advertise programmes such as the IB on their websites. The average tuition fees for the religious private schools in the KRI come up to 2.012 US dollars per year – almost the same as the 2.070 US dollars per year charged on average by other local schools.

Some religious based private schools in the KRI accept students from diverse religious backgrounds. For example, 95% of students enrolled with a Christian based private education provider come from a Muslim religious background. There may be several reasons for this. It could be argued that it is important for the reputation and integration of the religion and religious community into society to be perceived not as proselytizing or missionary but in terms of tolerance and coexistence. Also, it could be simply for those schools to be able to cover the school costs. As a fact, any private education provider needs financial resources to operate the private schools. In General, Christians are minority in the KRI and finding enough students from a Christian background is difficult, especially in some locations.

However, when a religious based private school charges more than 2.000 US dollars per year and has more than 500 students, the boundary between the categories of a “religious private school” and “for-profit private school” becomes blurred. In fact, some other private schools have a certain religious “bent”, even if their religious character is not as straightforward as in other cases. For example, Fezalar private schools are related to the Gulen organization, which is an

Islamic, religiously inclined entity, although the operators of Fezalar schools always deny this.

4.3.4 Private-public partnership schools (PPP)

Private-public partnership schools (PPP) have first appeared in the KRI as a result of an agreement between SABIS and the KRG. The objective of opening PPP schools is to provide high quality education at a minimum cost; in this specific instance, it was also to benefit from SABIS' expertise in the field of education. This cooperation between SABIS and the KRG began in 2008 through the opening of the Fakhir Mergasori International School. At the moment, there are seven PPP schools operated by SABIS in the KRI. Three schools are located in Erbil and two each are in Sulaymaniyah and Duhok.

4.3.5 Privet schools for-profit

Most of the private schools in the KRI are considered private schools for-profit, as they charge (relatively high) tuition fees; this is despite their frequent claims of extra-monetary objectives. The PPP schools are an exception, since they do not charge tuition fees. However, for-profit schools dominate the private education landscape in the KRI. The cost of tuition fees ranges from one private education provider to another, as well as within the same private education provider that operates more than one private school. Table (17) below gives an idea about the tuition fees that parents must pay for private schools per year.

These costs can be considered starting prices for each level of schooling in some private schools. For example, the first or the second grade of a basic school starts with a fee of (2500 US dollars), the price then rises for the third and fourth grade and for the following grades . The data about the tuition fees of the private schools in the above table collected either from the private schools' websites or by contacting with the mentioned private schools by the researcher. The data represents the costs that allocated for the academic year 2015-2016.

Table 17: Private Schools Fees

No.	Private Schools	Location	Year	Type	Fees per Year	Extra
1.	Bright Star Basic School	Duhok	2013	For-Profit	2500 \$	
2.	Brayan Basic School	Duhok	2015	For-Profit	1500\$	
3.	Hezel Basic School	Duhok	2008	Religious	1150\$	
4.	British International School Zakho	Duhok	2014	For-Profit	2250 \$	
5.	Mede International Basic School	Duhok	2002	Religious	2300\$	
6.	Duhok World Class	Duhok	2010	For-Profit	2500 \$	700 \$
7.	British International School Duhok	Duhok	2015	For-Profit	2250 \$	
8.	Cihan	Duhok	2014	For-Profit	2000 \$	
9.	College Ishik Duhok (Basic School)	Duhok	2009	For-Profit	3100 \$	307 \$
10.	Ishik Secondary School for Boys	Duhok	2009	For-Profit	2900 \$	307 \$
11.	Ishik Secondary School for Girls	Duhok	2009	For-Profit	2900 \$	307 \$
12.	Knowledge American School Duhok	Duhok	2010	For-Profit	2500 \$	
13.	knowledge American School Zakho	Duhok	2015	For-Profit	2500 \$	
14.	Mede International Preparatory	Duhok	2014	Religious	2300\$	
15.	Danielle Mitterrand	Erbil	2009	For-Profit	3000 \$	
16.	Bala Private 2 Kurdish	Erbil	1998	For-Profit	1350\$	
17.	Bala Private 1 English	Erbil	1998	For-Profit	1700\$	
18.	International School of Choueifat Erbil	Erbil	2006	For-Profit	3660\$	2160
19.	International School of Choueifat Dream City	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	4080\$	1260
20.	British International School	Sulaymaniyah	2011	For-Profit	2600 \$	1650 \$
21.	Ecole Francaise Danielle Mitterrand	Sulaymaniyah	2009	For-Profit	2900 \$	
22.	Margaret Private school	Sulaymaniyah	2013	For-Profit	1950\$	400\$
23.	Classical School of the Medes	Sulaymaniyah	2000	Religious	2300\$	
24.	British International Preparatory	Sulaymaniyah	2011	For-Profit	2600 \$	1650 \$
25.	International School of Chouoifat	Sulaymaniyah	2009	For-Profit	3660 \$	2160 \$

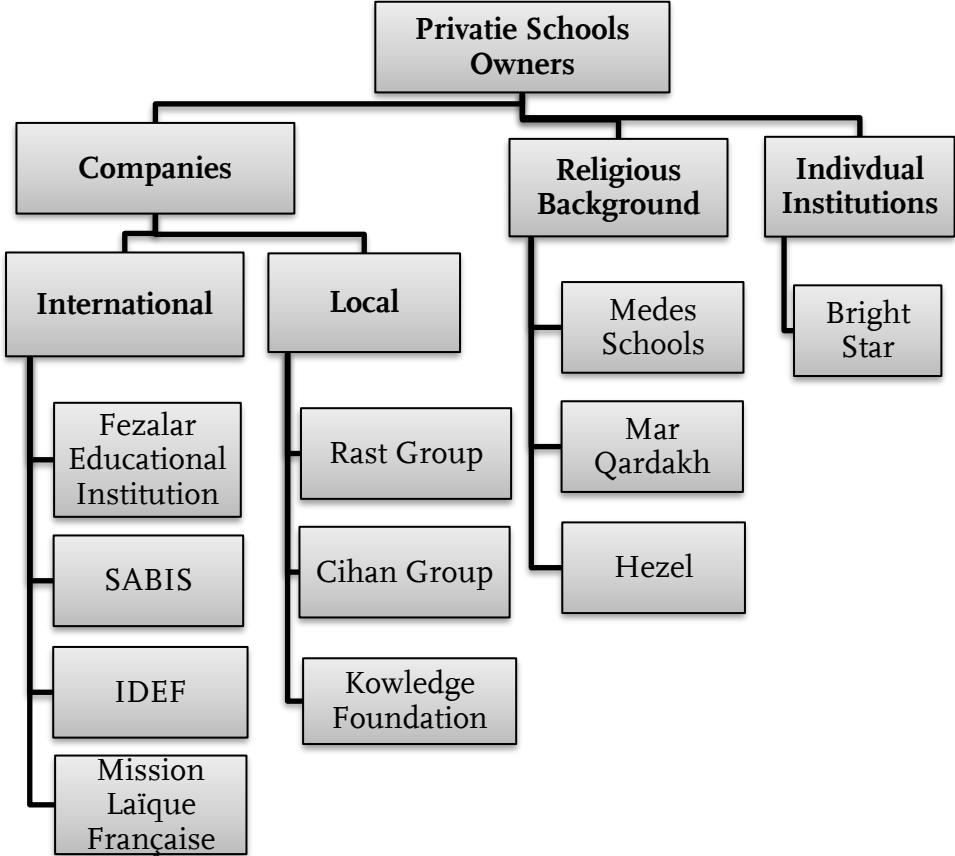
The average tuition fees come up to 2498 US dollars per year. The lowest tuition fees are charged by Hezel private schools, at about 1150 US dollars, while the highest are 3660 US dollars, with extra fees of (2160 US dollars), making up (5820 US dollars), charged at the International School of Choueifat in Erbil. The

extra fees cover things such as uniforms, transportation, school cafeteria and stationery. Most private schools charge fees in US dollars, but a minority require payment in Iraqi dinar. For the simplicity of understanding the cost of tuition fees in this study, charges in Iraqi dinars are transferred into US dollar. Tuition fees can be paid at the beginning of each school semester or in several instalments during each academic year. Some private schools offer fee reductions to parents who have more than one child enrolled there.

During the war between the KRG and ISIS between 2015-2018, some private schools decreased their tuition fees to help parents who may have otherwise been unable to afford them. Others increased their fees, claiming that they were spending more money on providing their usual high-quality education. In general, tuition fees charged at private schools are considered too high to be affordable to most of the people living in the KRI. However, there are of course families who can afford them. This topic is explored more in the next chapter when discussing the factors involving the choice of private schools in the KRI.

Figure (6) below illustrates the types of private schools in the KRI. It should be noted that only the Bright Star private school is shown in figure 6 as an example for the individual providers that have only one private school.

Figure 6: Private Schools Owners



4.4 The Goals of Private School Providers in the KRI

From the above description of the private schools' types and its education models and diversity, it is observed that each private school provider in the KRI has some specific goals to achieve in the Kurdish community while some other goals are common among the different private school providers. The two common and specific goals are discussed thoroughly in the following section.

4.4.1 The common goals of private schools

The following are the common goals that some private schools share, as illustrated in table (18).

1. High quality of education

One of the most common goals among the private school providers in the KRI is to provide high quality of education. Six schools set this goal in their advertisement for the parents of prospective students, as shown in Table (18). According to these private schools, high-quality education is achieved by providing the best international curriculum, textbooks that are designed by distinguished and well-known publisher such as Oxford or Cambridge University Press, native foreign teachers for languages, making English the language of instruction from early stages, focusing on the importance of sport, art and music activities, and hiring the most qualified teachers. The latter can be done more easily at private than public schools, as teachers at the former are not appointed by the Ministry of Education but contracted directly by the schools. In addition, private schools advertise that they have the best methods to instil good values and behaviour in their students, both at school and outside. This is considered something that most parents in the KRI appreciate. Private schools also offer better school infrastructure compared to public schools. For example, they can provide well-equipped classrooms as well as good sport, music and eating facilities. Some private schools facilitate educational scientific visits to other countries, such as the USA and Turkey, which again is not found in public schools. The curricula of private schools also differ from one school to another, as each private school uses its own textbooks designed specifically or bought to match the education model of the school. Such attention to detail and consistency are presumably also appreciated by parents.

By ensuring such high quality of teaching as most private schools claim, private schools in the KRI try to match the quality of education in developed countries. Therefore, some private schools call the education they offer "world class education". However, it is worth mentioning that the textbooks used in public school are also designed and printed by some external foreign publishers out-

side the KRI, and the curricula themselves are often quite sophisticated. However, public schools cannot offer many of the superior facilities that private schools can afford.

2. Personal development

Another common goal that private schools try to accomplish is to develop the students' personality by focusing on developing the elements of critical and independent thinking, developing the children's unique potential, and reasoning, increasing the students' awareness of the world. In general, private schools claim to encourage students to think independently and critically in order to develop their personality and to gain confidence in themselves as valuable individuals. Private schools also aim at finding their students' unique potential and helping them to hone their skills and talents through learning and practice.

3. National exams

The National Exam is the exam that all students in the KRI must sit at the end of grade 12. It is required to study at any university in the KRI. Private schools always advertise strongly in the community that they have the best learning and teaching environment that prepares students for the National Exam. Private schools claim that their graduates usually obtain high grades, required for entering the best colleges, such as the colleges of medicine and engineering. These are both considered the most desirable colleges that the vast majority of parents in Kurdish society want their children to attend.

This kind of advertising is very clear on the web pages of some private schools, which proudly announce the number and names of the students who obtained high grades in the National Exam and the best colleges they were accepted at. This does not mean that students in public schools are not able to obtain high grades and enter top colleges. However, private schools claim that their students have higher chances of pursuing a good academic career based on the idea that they offer better quality education than public schools.

4. International exams

Some private schools attempt to prepare students not only for the National Exam but also for various international exams, as required by foreign universities. For instance, Fezalar schools state that one of their main goals is to make their students qualified to study at the best universities around the world. Fezalar schools offer their students preparations courses to enable them to sit the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test), which is one of the most popular exams that measures mathematics and English knowledge and abilities in the world. Par-

ents are convinced by Fezalar that by sitting such tests, students can apply for universities in many countries, such as Turkey, USA, Jordan and the UK. Fezalar also offers some other international preparation courses such as AP (Advanced Placement), ACT (American College Testing) and GED (General Education Development) on demand.

Another example is the offer of RE schools, which hire international teaching staff (most of them are British and American native speakers). RE schools believe that international teachers will help students to learn better and be familiar with the international leaning environment. Likewise, KS schools claim to enable students to pursue higher education in the USA and other countries.

5. Open-minded students

Some private schools focus on attempting to raise open-minded students. In the KRI, the term “open-minded students” is quite specific to the private education sector and does not appear in the public education discourse. According to the Collins Dictionary, “open-minded” can be defined as someone willing to listen to and consider other people's ideas and suggestions. However, it is not clear what exactly each private school means when they advertise to achieve such a goal. Fezalar schools, for instance, relate open-mindedness to their students' integration with the rest of the world. The IDEF school, on the other hand, relates open-mindedness to the process of learning along with shaping their pupils to become creative, competent, and responsible leaders to improve the future of the community and the world. This ambiguity means that it is never clear what schools mean by “open-minded”, and indeed the researcher believes that private schools in the KRI should be clearer about their use of the term, defining it precisely instead of using it merely as fancy word for advertising purposes.

6. Serving the community

Another common goal is helping shape students into successful individuals and in their life and be good citizens, ready and able to serve their country in the future. Schools advertise their ability to raise future leaders who take responsibility and are committed to helping lift up the Kurdish community. Private schools plan to achieve this goal by equipping students with high-quality knowledge and enhancing their life skills. Precisely how this goal of “serving the community” is formulated may differ from one private school provider to another. For example, KP school defines it as bringing knowledge to the Kurdish community, i.e., providing a quality of education surpassing that available in public schools. For the Hezel school, “serving the community” means targeting

a very specific group: the Christian families of Zakho city. Thus, this goal can be defined more or less broadly.

7. Education for foreigners

A common goal among some private schools is to provide education services to foreign families that live in the KRI. The expatriate community of the KRI is substantial, including people working in diplomacy, business, and the oil industry, as well as many people working in international humanitarian organizations. Expatriate families who live in the KRI want to make sure that their children receive an education of a standard comparable to that they would be able to get in their home countries. Some private education companies fill this niche. For example, the RE group provides education according to the British style and curriculum, while the MLF schools provide an education in French, based on the same educational standards set by the French Ministry of Education. At British school, Students are accepted at the age of five like most of the schools in Britain, while students can join the public schools only at the age of six.

8. Multilingual students.

Creating multilingual students is another common goal among some private schools. For example, Fezalar schools teach four languages: Kurdish, Arabic, English, and Turkish to a high standard, and the usual language of instruction is English. By contrast, public schools in the KRI teach only three of those (Kurdish, Arabic and English), and the language of instruction is Kurdish. Speaking multiple languages not only develops students intellectually and provides valuable skills, but also increase their knowledge about foreign nations and cultures.

The idea behind creating multilingual students is that the more languages students can master, the more career opportunities will be available to them in the future. However, it should be noted that the cultural contact described above can also be a key aim. For instance, Fezalar schools are linked to a Turkish organization, and learning the Turkish language is a way for promoting Turkish culture among Kurdish students. In fact, a report from the Gulen website states that “what makes us so happy is that each one of these kids grows up as lovers of Turkey and the Turkish people”.

SABIS private schools similarly provide extensive language training, teaching English, Kurdish, Arabic and French. English is taught as the language of instruction, Kurdish as the mother tongue, and Arabic as a second language. SABIS does not clarify why French has been chosen to be taught as a foreign lan-

guage to Kurdish students. The one explanation that could be given is that French is the second most popular language internationally.

9. Education services

In 2014, the ISIS gained control over large parts of Iraq, leading to a large-scale movement of people from Iraqi cities and as a result of that many people left their homes and went to the Kurdistan Region, which was safer. The children of the displaced families could not attend public schools, as they were housed in camps outside cities. CSM, as an education provider operating in the KRI, launched a mission to build a school for these displaced children to give them a chance to continue their school education despite being displaced. In March 2015, the Shivani Meds School became the first refugee school built for Yazidi children, initially welcoming 350 students; this number rose to over 1000 by the end of the year. However, the Shivani school did not follow same education system as other CSM school. The curriculum was based on the Iraqi curriculum and some classes were taught in Arabic.

The biggest contribution to the education sector from the private sector comes from SABIS. SABIS began to provide low-fee private education based on an agreement with the KRG to open public-private partnership (PPP) schools in the region. The first PPP school opened in Erbil in 2008. Now, there are seven PPP schools in all the major cities of the KRI, all free of charge. This gives many children an opportunity to receive private-quality education without paying any fees.

Hezel organization also states that it took part in renovating schools and providing education services to people from villages that were destroyed before by the Iraqi government before 1992. This shows that some private schools are not just working as fully private companies, but sometimes contribute to serving the community of the KRI.

10. Building universities in the future

Building a university that has a Cristian (Evangelical) basis in the KRI is one of the long-term goals of CSM. It was mentioned earlier in this chapter that CSM are based on Christian values, that the educators of the schools are related to Servant Group International (SGI), and that the founder of CSM, Mr Yousif Matty, serves as the senior pastor of the Evangelical Church in Iraq. Although the founder's and organization's background make it clear why CSM seeks to build specifically an Evangelical university, it is not clear what such an institution will offer to the community. CSM themselves state that it will be "life transforming", but this term is not explained any further.

KS's goal of establishing an American-style university in Duhok city is another example of a private school provider aiming to expand into higher education and to eventually provide an entire education program for students, from kindergarten to university.

Table 18: Common Goals of PSP in KRI										
Goals	Fezalar	SABIS	CSM	KS	MLF	REG	CG	IDEF	Hezel	Archdiocese of Erbil
High Quality of Education	X	X			X	X	X	X		X
Personal Development	X	X	X	X		X		X		X
National Exam	X	X	X	X						
International Exam	X		X	X		X				
Open-minded Student	X							X		X
Serving the Community		X	X	X		X			X	
Education for Foreigners					X	X				
Multi-lingual Students	X	X			X					
Education Services		X	X						X	
Building Universities	X		X	X						

4.4.2 Specific goals of private schools

Having discussed the goals multiple private education providers have in common, we will now turn to the specific goals that are unique to each private education provider. Each goal is going to be described in detail in order to find out the reasons behind setting them. The goals specific to each private education provider in the KRI are summarised in table 19.

1. Learning by research

Students at private school are encouraged to do research from the earliest levels of education, especially in science and technology. They are trained on how to use the library and search for information that they need when writing a scientific report. They also carry out independent scientific projects and participate in scientific competitions. organized either by the school or by external institutions. This kind of learning through research and projects is generally missing from the curricula of public schools, making it possible for a private school to distinguish itself. A private school offering such a programme looks like it has a modern style of education, which makes it attractive to parents.

2. Moral values

It is known that students spend a lot of time in school and that the culture of the school has a significant effect on the students' morals (Rahiem, Abdullah, Rahim, 2012). Students learn a lot of information and behavioural patterns from the culture of the school and especially from their teachers.

Certain private schools tap into this link. For instance, Fezalar schools state that they help their students develop good moral values and an ethical attitude towards family and society. However, they do not expand on this topic, so it is difficult to analyse precisely what Fezalar means by “more values towards family and society”. It can be said that Fezalar schools implement in their curriculum certain strategies to develop their students’ awareness towards the importance of moral values, such as respecting their parents and school staff or being good citizens.

Indeed, a meeting with some parents whose children attend Fezalar schools revealed that parents considered sending their children to Fezalar schools based on the idea that students are taught to respect their families and to uphold high moral standards in society. In general, parents make this assumption about Fezalar school based on the information they gather from other parents’ experiences.

3. Teaching living together

The population of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq is quite diverse. Although the majority of the residents are Muslim Kurdish, there are also other communities from different religious and ethnic backgrounds, such as the Yezidis, Christians, and Arab Muslims. Fezalar schools claim to teach the students the art of living together in a region known for such cultural diversity. This claim is part of their advertising strategy, intended to attract students from different ethnic and religious backgrounds to their schools. However, it is worth mentioning here that students from all different ethnic and religious backgrounds have always attended public schools together, long before the existence of private schools.

4. Faith values

This goal is considered very specific to Fezalar schools. Although some other private education providers state that their schools are based on a certain religion, they do not define instilling religious values as a goal they strive to achieve.

When interviewed, some of the parents whose children are enrolled in Fezalar schools stressed the schools' focus on teaching students Islamic values more strongly than the other private schools and even more than public schools. This focus is apparent from the way the schools are structured. Fezalar schools separate boys and girls from the secondary school level. This has not been observed at any other private schools in the KRI included in this study. Certainly, this focus on religion and morality appeals to some parents in the Kurdish community, although others do not care about teaching faith values.

5. Long life learning

SABIS is the only private school provider declaring that life-long learning for students is one of the goals that has an important place in its education program. SABIS is advertising proudly that its education system is based on a century of experience in providing education and academic programs. This clearly distinguishes it from the other private education providers in the KRI.

SABIS achieves life-long learning for students by focusing on their self-development, preparing them for success in university, and fostering a lasting curiosity and interest in learning. Providing an education quality which makes students believe in hard work and in being responsible citizens is another way for achieving such a goal.

6. Scholarships for Kurdish students

CG states that it offers scholarships for Kurdish students to pursue academic studies abroad. Certainly, this charitable initiative is a positive contribution from the private sector to the Kurdish community. In general, the private sector does not provide educational services for free. This contribution by CG is no doubt enabled by them being a large company and thus having significant financial resources, which are not solely based on providing educational services. However, CG does not give any information about the number of students who receive scholarships or how much money is allocated to them.

7. Avoiding failure

Failure in public schools is a common problem in the KRI. Every year, a lot of students fail to graduate to the next grade. Thus, a private education provider like KS makes it one of its goals to avoid behaviours that cause failure among students, positioning themselves as providing a kind of “insurance” against failure through developing the students’ thinking process and providing an American-style of education that matches the same quality of best private schools in the USA. Such promises can have a strong impact on the parents’ choice of a private, rather than public, school.

8. Language and culture by education

Alongside providing education services for students in many countries, MLF declares a mission to spread French language and culture throughout the world. As one of the education providers in the KRI, MLF declares that one of its goals is to teach students French language and culture. This is achieved by making French language the main language of instruction, teaching it besides Kurdish as a mother tongue and English as a foreign language.

Opening a French school in the KRI might have been facilitated by the good relationship between the KRG and the French government. The school opening in Erbil was inaugurated in the presence of the former First Lady of France, Danielle Mitterrand. Naming the school after her was considered a symbolic reward or token of gratitude for her support for the Kurdish cause since the 1980s.

9. Parents’ involvement in education

Parents' participation in education is always considered an important part of the education process. Private schools aim to involve parents in the process of education from the beginning by having regular meetings with them during the academic year. Public schools also have regular meetings with parents during

the school year, but they are usually devoted to explaining problems or giving new school instructions to parents, while in private schools, the meetings are more about listening to the parents' suggestions and recommendations for the purpose of improving the education process. This could be due to the fact that public schools are managed directly by the Ministry of Education, while private schools are managed by the private sector and are more open to parental involvement.

10. Safe environment

RE claims to provide a safe and secure environment for students. The schools do not give further information about the reason behind setting such a goal. It should be noted that all the public schools in the KRI are safe and secured and that there have not been any problems regarding the safety and security of the students in the KRI since the formation of the region in 1992. It could be that RE means to shelter students within the school, curbing bad behaviour such as bullying, school violence, smoking, etc. It is important to mention that most of the public schools have large classes due to the shortage of schools in the KRI. On the other hand, private schools tend to have smaller classes and fewer students overall. This makes it easier to manage the safety and security of students inside the school. Consequently, RE uses such claim in its advertising, to attract many parents as possible.

11. Affordable high-quality education

The quality of education in public schools has been questioned for a long time and many studies have shown the weaknesses and various problems in public schools in the KRI, ranging from issues with teaching quality to school management. This gave an opportunity to the private sector to offer alternative options for parents. One of the private education providers claims to offer high-quality education that is affordable for students. This is emphasised especially by CG, since it demands only 2000 US dollars per student per year. Although lower than many other providers, it is not the cheapest, and can be hardly considered affordable for many families in the KRI. Yet, CG states that providing affordable high-quality education is one of its goals.

12. Social services

Alongside providing education services, Hezel, which is a Christian based organization located in Zakho City, participates in providing social services to the community. It offers financial support, as well as building and reconstructing houses, churches and health centres, especially in the villages that were de-

stroyed because of the actions of the Iraqi government before the formation of the KRI.

13. Maintaining local Christians

Christians are one of the major ethnic and religious groups in the Kurdistan Region and have also been living peacefully in Iraq for centuries. However, in recent years, many Christians have been leaving the country and travelling abroad for different reasons, such as weak economy and the general lack of political stability. After the attack of ISIS on many Iraqi cities in 2014 in particular, many Christians started to migrate abroad. Currently, there are almost 320,000 thousand Christians living in the KRI. This number fluctuates significantly, as some emigrate, while other Christians move to the region from less safe parts of Iraq. This shows the difficulty of estimating the accurate number of Christian living in KRI.

Facing such a problem, the Archdiocese of Erbil built the Mar Qardackh Private School and set a mission for the school to encourage the local Christians to remain in the region. The school promises Christians students to receive a high-quality education that meets their expectations. It attempts to provide them with a holistic, international education, social, spiritual and personal development, and to increase the Christian students' awareness of the importance of staying in their land and participating in shaping the future of the region.

Table 19: The Specific Goals of Private Education Providers in KRI									
Fezalar	SABIS	CSM	KS	MLF	REG	CG	IDEF	Hezel	Archdiocese of Erbil
Doing research in field of science and technology, by educating qualified people	Generate excitement for long life learning	-	Teaching students to avoid behavior that cause failure	Spreading French language & culture through the world, through secular & intercultural education	Encourage parents' participation in school life	Provide affordable high-quality undergraduate education for students in KRI	-	Provide social services to the community	Influencing local Christian community to remain in their homeland by receiving an education meeting international standard
Importance of moral values towards family and society			Be one of the top ten American style private schools worldwide		Provide safe, secure & caring environment	Offering scholarship for students in the KRI			
Teaching art of living for students having cultural diversities									
Value faith, love, scientific thought, freedom of thought									

Chapter 5

Private School Choice

In the previous chapter, the types of private schools available in the KRI and their development have been described, followed by an in-depth analysis of the profiles of the private education providers. This chapter sheds lights on the factors that affect parents' decisions when choosing private schools for their children. This is an attempt to answer the fourth research question, which is "what are the factors influencing the choice of private schools in the KRI?". In order to investigate this question empirically, a questionnaire has been designed and presented to parents who have children enrolled in private schools in Duhok city.

The questionnaire consists of 23 factors, which cover 12 characteristics related to private school choices in the KRI. Those 12 characteristics fall into six domains, which are: academic quality, language of instruction, physical resources, school environment, values and beliefs, and logistic. They are illustrated in table (20) below. These characteristics are what parents look for when choosing private schools over public schools. The design of the questionnaire and its implementation have been discussed thoroughly in the methodology chapter (see section 3.3).

Table 20: Domains and Characteristics of Choosing Private Schools

No.	Domains	Characteristics
1.	Academic Quality	Education Quality Reputation, Teaching Quality and Teacher Quality
2.	Language of Instruction	Language of Instruction
3.	Physical Resources	Extra Activities and School Infrastructure
4.	School Environment	Students' Discipline and General Atmosphere
5.	Values & Beliefs	School Values and Religious Values
6.	Logistic	School Location and School Cost

The statistical analysis of the data aims at describing how the participants have rated the importance of the factors presented in the questionnaire. All factors are analysed and demonstrated within their domains for the purpose of providing an easy understating of the data and coherent interpretations (see table 6 in section 3.3). The compute variable function in SPSS has been used for

transforming the mean scores (MS) of the school choice factors into their domains (see figure 7). Therefore, the analysis of the questionnaire begins with the interpretations of the domains, from the most important to the least important.

Two main types of analysis are performed on the data of the questionnaire: primary and secondary analysis. The primary analysis of the questionnaire data starts with interpreting it based on the whole sample of parents who participated in the survey to answer the research question concerning the factors of private school choice in KRI. The secondary data analysis consists of three different analyses on the questionnaire data. This secondary data analysis splits the participants in the survey based on the types of the private schools they chose for their children. There are the religious background private schools (RBPS) versus non-religious private schools (NRPS), as well as Christian parents' sample and Muslim religious background private Schools. The secondary analyses aim at finding out whether the secondary results would match the results of the first analysis, derived from the whole sample of the survey, or whether they would reveal different outcomes.

5.1 Primary Analysis of the Questionnaire

The study has found out that most of the factors presented in the questionnaire have an impact on the parents' school choice. The parents consulted in this study choose private schools because of their different characteristics which, in the participants' opinion, either surpass those of public schools or else are not available at the latter altogether. However, the analysis shows that some factors are more important to the participants than others. This indicates that the importance of the six domains differs according to the parents' needs and expectations of the private schools they choose.

According to the means illustrated in figure (7) below, it appears that language of instruction domain has the greatest impact on parents' decisions in choosing private schools, followed by school environment, academic quality, physical resources, values and beliefs, and logistic, respectively. In the following section, the importance of the factors of choosing private schools according to their domains would be discussed and interpreted. Table (21) below gives more insights about the results obtained from the analysis conducted on the level of the 12 characteristics of choosing private schools.

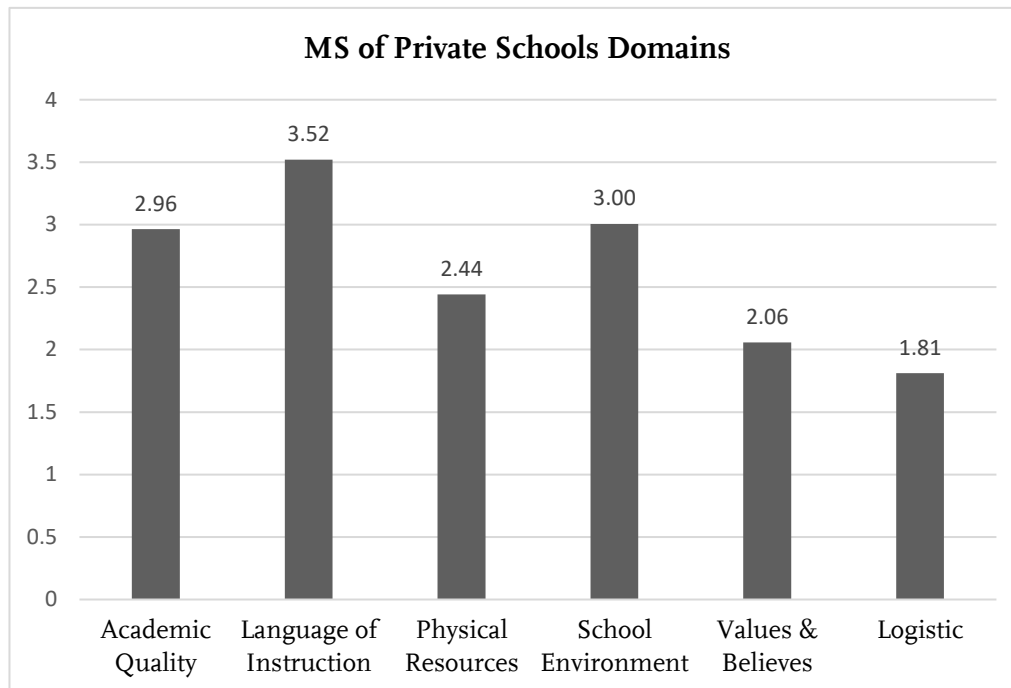
Table 21: Characteristics Level Analysis of the Questionnaire

No.	School Choice Characteristics	Items in Questionnaire	Means	Std. Deviation
1.	Education Quality Reputation	1, 2, 7	2.9492	.71967
2.	Teaching Quality	3, 4, 6	3.0987	.63217
3.	Teacher Quality	8, 9, 10	2.8416	.77486
4.	Language of Instruction	11, 12, 13, 14	3.5202	.48934
5.	Extra Activities	5	2.4574	1.07248
6.	School Infrastructure	23	2.4260	1.13211
7.	Students' Discipline	15	2.9417	.99150
8.	General Atmosphere	16, 17	3.0695	.83874
9.	School Values	18, 19	2.3834	.83684
10.	Religious Values	20	1.7309	1.04807
11.	School Location	21	1.5561	.97502
12.	School Cost	22	2.0673	1.11094

However, the results shown in figure (7) below which cover all the six domains, are used for discussing the factors influencing parental school choice. This is in order to provide an easy understating and more coherent interpretation of the data.

A four-value measurement scale has been implemented to give values to each item in the questionnaire. These indicate the importance of the domain characteristics to the parents who have chosen to enrol their children in private schools. For each statement, a value has been applied. Thus, "very important" takes value 4, "important" takes value 3, "slightly important" takes value 2 and "not important" takes value 1. This method has been applied to make it easier for parents to evaluate the importance of each statement in the questionnaire when they decided choosing private schools. SPSS software has been used to obtain accurate results from analysing the data of the questionnaire.

Figure 7: Private School Choice Domains in KRI



5.1.1 Language of instruction domain

This domain covers only one characteristic of school choice, which is using English as the language of instruction in private schools. Four factors listed in the questionnaire represent this domain (see appendix 4). These are related to using English as the medium of instruction in private schools, the quality of teaching English, the students' performance in English and the importance of mastering English for future college entrance.

The MS of this domain is 3.52, as shown in figure (7) above. It is the highest MS value in comparison with the MS of the other domains in the questionnaire. This finding indicates that English as the language of instruction in private schools is the most important factor for parents when choosing private schools for their children.

The language of teaching in most of the private schools in the KRI is English. In some cases, English is used for teaching scientific subjects such as mathematics, physics, chemistry and biology, while Kurdish is used for teaching the humanities and social sciences, such as history and geography. Private schools' advertising is strongly based on the idea of offering English as the language of instruction and on how well English is taught. The schools promise parents that their children will learn to speak and write English language quickly, in the first year of schooling. The high quality of teaching English in private schools could be due to two main reasons. First, small classes are the norm in private schools;

this helps teachers to implement more communication activities for students. Second, some private schools claim to recruit native English speaking teachers from the UK and the USA, which probably makes parents believe that their children will be exposed to a genuine English learning environment. Additionally, the poor quality of teaching English in public schools might push parents to favour private schools. Hassun (2010) states that the quality of teaching English in public schools is questionable. He has found that the traditional methods are still used by English teachers, rather than newer methods recommended in modern pedagogy, such as the communicative language teaching method.

Most parents also value the importance of English language for helping their children enter good colleges in the future. This is because some colleges, such as the College of Medicine and Engineering, require the applicants to prove good skills in English. Furthermore, studying in English open doors for students to pursue higher education abroad. Parents might easily be influenced when exposed to existing private school students showcasing their high level of English language, especially in spoken skill. These are apparent during some activities organized by private schools, such as music parties, National flag day, or scientific competitions. The high level of competence in English among private school students is likely due to early exposure to the language (often from kindergarten).

The importance of English language and its effect on parents' decisions in choosing private schools has been discussed extensively in literature. This study confirms that English as the language of instruction has been found to be the leading factor in choosing private schools by parents in the KRI. It is therefore not surprising that this characteristic attracts many parents as there is a strong tendency towards favouring English as the language of instruction in private schools in the KRI. The results of a study performed by Haig and Mustafa in 2019 support the outcomes of the current study regarding the effect of English on school choice. Haig and Mustafa in their study have attempted to measure the attitudes of three different generations (young, between ages 18-30; adults, 31-50; and older, 51-over) of Kurdish people in Duhok city towards languages of education. Among the three options given (Kurdish, Arabic and English), most of the participants from the first and second generations preferred English as the language of instruction in schools. It is worth mentioning these are the two generations who have the most children in private schools, according to this study.

The data analysis of this domain clearly demonstrates that parents favour English as the language of instruction at schools. Based on the data of the questionnaire, English as the language of instruction and student's performance in English are the most important factors for parents to consider when choosing

private schools. These are followed by the quality of teaching English and the language's possible role in helping students enter the best colleges in the future.

5.1.2 School environment domain

This domain consists of two characteristics of school choice, which are the students' discipline and the general atmosphere in private schools (see table 20). Parents think the environment of a private school encourages learning more than in public schools. They recognize the higher level of student discipline, the presence of more safety measures, and a generally friendly, positive atmosphere for students-school and parents-school relationships in private schools with both teachers and school administrative staff. This claim is based on the MS of this domain, which is 3. It represents a high degree of importance on the questionnaire measurement scale, and it occupies the second position in the ranking order of the domains, as shown in figure (7).

The safe environment of the private schools in this study is related to internal issues, such as fighting and bullying, rather than to external threats. Squelch (2001, as cited in Xaba, 2006) states that a safe school should not have any kind of risk to students' lives, physical or psychological, which is important for creating a healthy environment necessary for the teaching and learning process to be successful. Private schools might be considered less tolerant of student fighting or bullying than public school. How safe a school is can also be measured by physical facilities, such as secure walls and guarded gates, which ensure both that students do not leave the school during teaching hours and that no outsider can enter the school without a security check. This is especially important for parents based in neighbourhoods they consider unsafe. Parents believe that private schools take safety measures more seriously than public schools. The atmosphere inside the private schools has an important effect on the parents' choice. The data analysed indicate that positive students-teachers and parents-teachers relationships are considered crucial, and that parents are convinced that private schools provide a positive educational environment when dealing with the problems that students might face in their schooling life.

Another characteristic of this domain is the students' discipline. Student discipline is one of the important factors that parents consider when choosing private schools. Such discipline might be related to the small class sizes, which enable private schools to have more control over the students' behaviour. Student discipline in public schools, by contrast, is more problematic, partly due to big class sizes.

It is not surprising that every parent will care about the safety of their children, so ranking this domain in the second place is reasonable; however, one should note that there is no danger to students' lives while attending public

schools in the KRI. There are many public schools that are as good as private schools in terms of providing a safe environment for students, however, parents can only send their children to the public school located in their neighbourhood. This fact could be one of the reasons why parents who live in areas they consider unsafe choose private schools, as it is the only alternative to public schools available.

5.1.3 Academic quality domain

The MS of this domain is 2.96, which places it in the third rank, as illustrated in figure (7) above. This domain is related to education quality reputation, teaching quality and teacher quality characteristics of school choice. These three characteristics are related to the learning and teaching process in the private schools and are represented by 9 factors in the questionnaire. For example, education quality reputation could be related to better teaching and better teaching might be affected by teacher quality, or by private schools having a small number of students in one class, which helps teachers devote more time to individual students.

The majority of the parents value the importance of the teaching quality characteristic in private schools that they choose for their children. One feature that differentiates private schools from public schools is that private schools can choose the course subjects they teach to students. Having the freedom to choose an education model that fits the school's agenda makes private schools appealing to parents who believe private schools offer better course subjects than public schools. This is also reinforced by a claim commonly found in private school advertising that private schools implement better teaching methods and approaches than public schools.

Three factors in the questionnaire measure the importance of the teaching quality characteristic to parents. Better course subjects and teaching approaches, which are implemented by private schools, are attractive to parents who consider choosing private schools. Despite the efforts that have been taken by the MOE in KRI, the teaching approaches that are implemented by public schools are still seen as traditional, somewhat outdated, and thus less effective. The MOE has introduced new course subjects for public schools and opened many training programs for teachers to implement new teaching methods to be used when teaching these; however, many public schools keep using the same traditional methods in teaching. For example, the MOE introduced a new course book for teaching English language in public schools, which is called "Sunrise". However, the recommended teaching method which was supposed to be used in teaching the new English course was never implemented fully. Hassun (2010) found that most of the teachers were using traditional methods in teaching English.

Therefore, it can be said that public schools have also adapted new course subjects, but they have not been used properly or implemented fully.

Another factor that influences the teaching quality in private schools is the class size. In the KRI, parents consider class sizes to be small in private schools. This is one of the important characteristics which parents prefer to see in the school. The size of the class is often related to the quality of teaching. The number of students in one class could play a major role in the way teaching and learning process takes place in any school. Kleitz et al. (2000) state that small class size is a prominent factor that parents assume contributes to high-quality education. Most of the public schools in KRI suffer from being loaded with many students in one class. This makes it hard for the teachers to apply the new methods recommended in new course books. In public schools, a big class is a problem for teaching subjects such as English, as it severely restricts the ability to implement communicative activities, for instance. Hassun (2010) has discovered that one of the obstacles to teaching English language properly in public schools is the big number of students in one class. NCES (2002, as cited in Davis, 2011) assumes that a defining characteristic of private schools is small average class size.

School reputation can be a combination of many factors that together contribute to the overall “school reputation characteristic”. However, it can also be treated as an individual characteristic, related specifically to private schools having a reputation of high quality of education, which many parents claim is a key factor influencing their choice of private schools. Parents usually obtain information related to this characteristic through word of mouth, drawing on, their connections with other parents who have children in private schools at the beginning of their search for a private school, as well as from the media or from advertisements made by the private schools.

Another important characteristic of this domain that affects parents’ choice is the quality of the teachers that are available in private schools. Table (21) shows that this characteristic is one of the main reasons why parents choose private schools. This characteristic is based on three factors which are: the private schools’ ability to recruit qualified teachers, having foreign teachers for some specific subjects, and teachers’ presence at the school. Private schools always advertise that they have the best qualified teachers. This claim is based on the fact that teachers in private schools are not appointed by the Ministry of Education, but they are selected directly by the private schools themselves. Also, parents think that the teacher absence phenomenon is less problematic in private schools than it is in public schools. This could be because private schools select teachers directly and have more control over them, as was explained earlier. One could argue that if a teacher is notoriously absent from work, the teaching pro-

cess is affected negatively, and private schools can deal with this phenomenon more effectively than public schools. What also makes private schools more appealing to some parents is the presence of foreign teachers. Some parents hold the notion that foreign teachers might be equipped with better teaching skills, especially in subjects such as the English language.

Based on the discussion above and the data shown in table (21), the school education reputation, teaching quality and teacher quality characteristics are considered important for parents in making their decisions about choosing the private schools.

Most private schools advertise their high quality education by claiming to offer international standards in teaching methods, implementation of a modern, advanced curriculum, the presence of the best teachers, students' high performance, and school infrastructure better than what is available at public schools. Parents expect that their children will achieve high performance by attending a private school, and that this will lead to them entering a good college and studying a prestigious subject, such as medicine or engineering. The data indicates that a big portion of the participants believe that sending their children to a private school will increase their opportunities for getting a good job in the future. However, the information that parents receive about the private schools' reputation is not yet based on academic research as no study has been found specifically tackling the quality of education of the private schools in the KRI. Nevertheless, studies at the international levels find that private schools usually do outperform public schools in terms of education quality, especially in developing countries (Day Ashley et al., 2014). Literature reveals that school quality education plays an important role in determining the school that parents choose for their children (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014). The findings of this study confirm that parents in KRI emphasise the importance of this domain in their decision-making process.

5.1.4 Physical resources domain

This domain consists of two characteristics that might be considered by parents when deciding to choose private schools. These are extra-curricular activities and school infrastructure. The MS of this domain is 2.44 (see figure 7), which suggests that it does have some effect on the parents' decisions to choose private schools.

Private schools offer extra-curricular activities such as music, sport, acting, scientific competitions, and scientific visits, which are important for student development. These kinds of activities are often not available at public schools. The other characteristic of this domain is school infrastructure. Private schools often have sophisticated facilities, such as classrooms with comfortable seats,

playgrounds with sport equipment, and libraries within a healthy building, which might attract parents and influence their school choice decisions. This characteristic describes whether the schools' infrastructure has any influence on parents at the time of choosing private schools for their children. In general, it can be said that the high-quality infrastructure of private schools is tempting to some parents and influences their decisions, while it is not that important for some others.

The analysis of the data gives an indication that while physical resources domain might be important to some parents, it does not hold the same important position as the other three domains described above.

5.1.5 Values and beliefs domain

The values and beliefs domain demonstrates two characteristics of choosing private schools: school values and religious values. The MS of this domain is 2.06, indicating that it does not affect parents' decision making to the same extent as the previous four domains. It has been discussed previously that many private schools have their own values that they want to implement; however, the data shows that not every parent is interested in them and that not everyone takes this domain seriously when choosing a private school.

Values such as respect, integrity, care, excellence, responsibility, innovation, and community might be important to parents and based on these values, parents could decide which private school to choose. Many parents choose private schools simply because they have the freedom of choosing a specific private school that shares many values with the parents. However, a distinction should be made between this individual value influence and the social value factor. The latter investigates the idea of whether parents might choose private schools because other parents share the same values as they do. It is obvious that a lot of parents do not care if the other students' parents share the same values as them.

The other characteristic of this domain comprises religious values. Many studies have proved the effect of the religious values on parents' decisions when choosing private schools. However, the data of the survey show the opposite – the lack of such pronounced influence. Based on the data, the religious characteristic is one of the least effective factors on parents' school choice (see table 21). For example, the Hezel and the Classical School of the Medes private schools state that they are based on Christian values, but the majority of the parents who have children in those two schools come from the Muslim community. This demonstrates that parents are not bound by such values but rather consider other factors, such as the quality of education or the language of instruction, as key when making their decisions on what school is best for their children. Therefore, it can be claimed that most parents do not take religious values

into their consideration when choosing private schools. While the school value characteristic can be said to have some influence over parental choice of private schools, especially when it comes to the correlation between parent-school values, religious values do not influence the parents' school choice, which affects the overall value of this domain.

5.1.6 Logistic domain

School location and tuition fee costs are two of the characteristics of this domain that have been investigated to examine their influence on parents' school choice decisions. It is reasonable for parents to choose a school because it is close to their house or because it is low-cost. However, the participants in this survey show different views towards these two characteristics, and an overall ambivalent attitude is apparent from the MS of this domain, which is 1.81. This means that the logistics domain does not play a big role in school choice decision-making process for most parents.

The data reveals that the location of private schools is the least influential factor when it comes to parents' school choices. Despite the importance of school location for parents noted in some previous studies in other countries, it does not have the same importance for the participants of this study. This is simply because public schools are available in all the urban areas and even in most of the villages in the KRI. Although this factor affects some of the participants, most do not give any importance to the location of the school, as illustrated in table (21). The parents who give importance to the location of the school are probably the ones who live in new cities or new villages¹³. In some new, small cities, the private school is the only option for the students to attend, as no public schools are available.

It is possible that a private school is considered a low-cost private school compared to a public school, especially when parents have to spend more money on private tutoring when the education quality at the public schools is not good. Also, the parents' decisions could depend on the economic situations of the families, which would determine whether private school can be considered low cost or not. It can be argued that participants in this study are split into two groups: some value the private schooling as low-cost, while others do not.

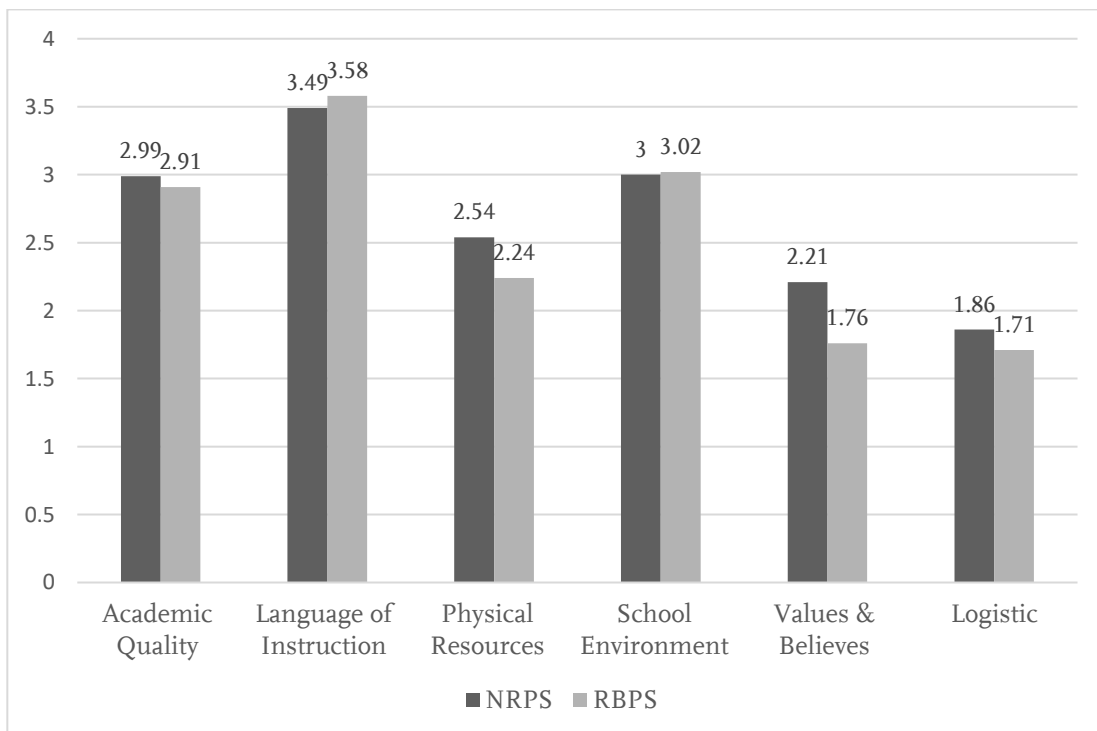
¹³ New cities or new villages are the ones that were built in recent years, with a modern lifestyle in mind, where most of the houses are affordable only for middle- or high-income families.

5.2 Secondary Analysis of the Questionnaire

It was discussed earlier in this study that private schools in the KRI could be divided into religious-background private schools (RBPS) and non-religious private schools (NRPS). Therefore, a deeper analysis based on the RBPS and NRPS types would be interesting to find out whether the data would reveal different results or not even though the answers regarding the factors of choosing private schools have been investigated based on the whole collected sample which is (223) participants as it is discussed in the primary analysis. For the secondary analysis, the participants have been divided into two samples. The first sample consists of (75) participants representing the RBPS, and the second sample consists of (148) participants representing the NRPS.

Based on the data in figure (8) below, the MS of the language of instruction domain in RBPS is 3.58, which is very close to NRPS, with a MS of 3.49. This indicates that there is no difference between the two school types regarding English as the leading factor for choosing private schools. These results match the primary analysis, which has also shown that the language of instruction domain is the leading factor for choosing private schools in the KRI.

Figure 8: MS of RBPS and NRPS Domains



The school environment domain also shows no difference between the RBPS and NRPS. The MS of RBPS is (3.02), which is nearly the same as (3.00) for NRPS. This domain comes in second place for both types of schools and again it matches the primary analysis of the questionnaire data. The academic quality domain occupies the third rank for both RBPS and NRPS, with an MS of 2.91 and 2.99, respectively. The secondary data analysis of this domain is not different from the primary data analysis. The physical resources domain also holds its position in the fourth rank for the RBPS and NRPS, as it did in the primary data analysis. The MS of RBPS is (2.24), which is slightly less than (2.54) for NRPS. However, this slight difference between the two types of private schools is considered significant when performing the t-test, as the P-value is (0.01). This difference between the RBPS and NRPS is because the population difference is big enough to be statistically significant. We could say that the value and beliefs domain still occupies the fifth place, as it does in the primary data analysis. However, there is a difference between the MS of RBPS, which is (1.76), and the MS of NRPS, which is (2.21). The P-value is (0.001), which indicates a significant difference between the two types of private schools. This difference can also be attributed to the big population difference between the two groups. The logistics domain remains the least influential domain on the private school decision-making process for both groups of participants. The MS of RBPS is (1.71), while the MS of NRPS is (1.86), with no indication of any significant difference between the two school type groups. Thus, the domain ranking of importance does not change in the secondary data analysis when compared to the primary analysis. The results match and are, in fact, nearly identical.

Another analysis on the data of the questionnaire has been performed to investigate whether the participants from Christian background would make the same choices in comparison to the first data analysis when choosing private schools or not. The sample of Christian participants for this particular analysis has been derived from the participants whose mother tongue is neither Kurdish nor Arabic. The participants who are Christians would tick the option “other language” which is provided in the questionnaire, as the Christian people in the KRI use Syriani (Syriac) language as their mother tongue (see appendix 5). Sixteen participants have been determined as Christians in the sample of the survey, while the rest of the participants are considered non-Christians (207).

Looking at table (22) below, it is very interesting to see that the importance of the language of instruction domain has risen even higher, from (3.52) in the primary data analysis into (3.70) in this particular subset of participants. Although the small sample used for conducting this analysis has to be taken into consideration, this result could nevertheless indicate that even Christian parents who choose Christian-based private schools for their children are influenced by

the language of instruction the most (as opposed to, for instance, by religious values). The school environment domain again comes in second place, followed by academic quality and physical resources, respectively. However, the values and beliefs domain occupy the least important position in this sample, behind logistics. This is in contrast to the primary data analysis, where the opposite was the case. This could be explained by the idea that Christian parents seek education quality above everything else and do not consider school or religious values important. It should be noted here that the other NRPS private schools have students from Christian families and that even at the (Christian) RBPS, most students come from Muslim families.

Table 22: Christian Parents

No.	School Choice Domains	Christians Parents		All Sample	
		Means	Std. Deviation	Means	Std. Deviation
1.	Academic Quality	3.01	0.36	2.96	0.57
2.	Language of Instruction	3.70	0.38	3.52	0.49
3.	Physical Resources	2.59	0.64	2.44	0.90
4.	School Environment	3.14	0.35	3.01	0.77
5.	Values & Believes	1.81	0.57	2.06	0.74
6.	Logistic	1.91	1.00	1.81	0.83

The final secondary data analysis tried to look at the schools that are Muslim RBPS in order to investigate whether an analysis focused on this group would reveal any changes to the findings of the primary data analysis. It is worth mentioning that none of the private schools in this study state that they are Islamic religious private schools or that they have an Islamic background. However, one private school has been determined to have what could be termed an “Islamic orientation” and thus it has been treated in this particular analysis as an Islamic RBPS, with a sample of only six participants.

After conducting the analysis, it has been discovered that there are no dramatic changes in the order of the domains. The language of instruction domain as always comes in the first place; however, the mean score of values and beliefs

domain has come very close to the mean scores of the other domains. This means that the values and beliefs domain becomes more important for Muslim parents when choosing private schools, but still it occupies the 5th rank, as demonstrated in Table (23) below. This finding, regardless of the small sample size of this analysis, contradicts the primary and the other two secondary data analyses, where values and beliefs appeared to have hardly any influence on the parents' school choices.

Table 23: Muslim Parents with a RBPS

No.	School Choice Domains	Muslim Parents in RBPS		All Sample	
		Means	Std. Deviation	Means	Std. Deviation
1.	Academic Quality	3.41	0.65	2.96	0.57
2.	Language of Instruction	3.67	0.38	3.52	0.49
3.	Physical Resources	3.42	3.38	2.44	0.90
4.	School Environment	3.46	0.40	3.01	0.77
5.	Values & Believes	3.37	0.41	2.06	0.74
6.	Logistic	2.58	1.02	1.81	0.83

5.3 Additional Private School Choice Factors

The questionnaire also includes an open question for the participants in the survey to express any additional reasons that might have influenced their decisions regarding choosing private schools, which were not among the 23 factors that have been listed in the questionnaire. It was thought that some parents might have some specific reasons for choosing a private school over a public one. Knowing any additional reasons for choosing private schools would add more depth to the results of this study and provide more understanding of the process of private school choice in the KRI. The following are some of the additional factors that have been extracted from the open question in the questionnaire:

- a. School Timing: Among the 223 participants in the questionnaire, 12 parents focused on the importance of the school schedule. In general, students spend about 4 to 5 hours in the public schools, while they spend up

to 8 hours in some private schools. This is very important, especially for working parents who have children in the first years of schooling. It is a big problem for many working parents when their children finish schooling while they are still at work. In such cases, private schools are the best solution for parents.

- b. **Students with Disabilities:** One of the parents has explained that his son has a stammer and that sending him to a private school was a good decision, as he argued that in a private school, the other children would not make fun of his son or mistreat him. The father thought that this would be different if he had sent his son to a public school. He also noted that teachers in the private schools deal with such disabilities more professionally than their peers in public schools. It is worth mentioning that this father's argument was not based on evidence, as he did not have any real experience with public schools. It might have been based either on preconceived notions and intuition, or perhaps on his own past experiences as a student in a public school.
- c. **Summer Activities:** The school summer holidays in the KRI last about three months and a half. One of the parents mentioned that the private school he chose for his child offers many activities during the summer holidays for the students, such as sport, art, and academic training courses. This mother explained that spending time doing such activities is better for her child than doing nothing during the long summer holiday.
- d. **Medical Services:** Another parent values the medical services that the private school offers for the students, as the school has a nurse to provide first aid in case of any medical emergencies. He also was happy that the school recorded the medical history of the students to make the school staff aware of any special medical conditions.
- e. **School Cleaning:** A lot of the schools in the public sector face problems with cleanliness. Many public schools do not have adequate cleaning services and in some cases, the students have to clean their classrooms themselves. This problem has never been dealt with properly and it continues to be one of the issues that parents always criticise in the public sector. On the contrary, one participant in the survey believes that the private schools should be clean and that they never face such problems, as the providers are paid well by parents.

- f. Hygiene of the School Cafeteria: it is very important for the school cafeteria to be clean and to offer clean, healthy food. One parent mentioned this as an additional reason in favouring a private school over a public school.

5.4 Some Direct Observations on Private Schools

One of the findings of this study is that not all the private schools provide the quality of education that they promise. Private schools have been observed to be different in certain aspects. The following points highlight some of the different conditions of private schools in the KRI:

- a. School Infrastructure: From the researcher's direct observation when visiting private schools, it appears that the infrastructure of some of them is not as advertised by the private education providers. Some private schools' infrastructure is not constructed safely or solidly, and has been found to lack many basic facilities that the schools promise in their promotional material. This raises the question of whether private schools are allowed to not follow up on what they have promised. In general, one can argue that in terms of infrastructure, not every private school is better than public schools.
- b. Private Schools' Cost: After the economic and financial problems the KRI faced between 2014-2018 during the war with ISIS, many parents have reported that the private schools' fees have become unaffordable. There were some reports of parents moving their children from private school into public schools. Thus, it is difficult to determine whether private schools in the KRI should be considered low- or high-cost. In another case, one of the private schools has raised the tuition fees because they began providing new international standards certificates for the graduates. This increase in tuition fees has made many parents angry, leading to them withdrawing their children from the school.
- c. Class Size: Private schools are usually distinguished from public schools by small class sizes, which is believed to help improve the learning-teaching process, as the teachers can interact with students more frequently. Many parents have stated that the class size is a crucial factor for favouring private schools, as public schools are known for having large classes. Yet, in some cases, private schools have been found to have classes just as big as they are at private schools.
- d. Highly Qualified Teachers: It has been discussed that having high-quality teachers is one of the characteristics that private schools promise to offer.

Parents are found to rely on this factor when choosing private schools. However, it has been observed that some of the private schools have recruited teachers who have just received their university graduate certificates. Those teachers started teaching in private schools without any pre-training courses or real teaching experience. This finding goes against the common claim that private schools have more qualified teachers than public schools.

Chapter 6

Discussion, Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter discusses the findings of this study regarding the five research questions. It gives a broad understanding of the development of private schools in the KRI, as each research question is clearly explained and interpreted. As shown in chapter three, the study has adapted a mixed methods, since the collection and analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data were considered necessary to answer the research questions. The analyses of both data types are used to answer the fifth research question of this study. Descriptive statistics is used for analysing quantitative data, while document analysis is used for analysing the qualitative data. For the mixed methods part, convergent parallel mixed methods design is used.

The chapter first attempts to give a summary of the private schools in the KRI, by shedding lights on both mapping the private schools across the region and private school profiles. Then, the factors which affect parents' decisions when choosing private schools are interpreted. The functions of private schools in the KRI are discussed based on the findings of the current study. The qualitative research is used to determine the profiles of private school providers. For example, which education do private schools implement and which objectives do they want to achieve? As mentioned, both quantitative and qualitative results are going to be combined to answer the fifth research question, which discusses what functions private schools in the KRI fulfil for the Kurdish society. In this chapter framework, it is hoped that the research questions are discussed thoroughly and give as much understanding as possible about the development of private schools in the KRI.

6.1 Summary of Private Schools in KRI

This section attempts to interpret the findings of this study related to mapping the private school landscape in the KRI and describing the profiles of private schools, including aspects of different types of private schools, their education models, their diversity and some common, specific and hidden goals that define the purposes of private schools in the KRI.

6.1.1 Mapping the private schools

This study has found that the private schools in the KRI are increasing and the share of students enrolled at basic and secondary private schools in the academic year of 2015-2016 was 1.56%. Although the share of enrolments in private schools might look small compared to public enrolments, it nearly doubled in

the following year, from 23.699 in 2015-2016 to 44.465 in 2016-2017. However, because of the lack of data about public school enrolment from 2017, it is not possible to give accurate percentage of private schools enrolments in this year. Additionally, new private schools were being established all over the KRI while this study was conducted.

6.1.2 Private school profiles

The study of private school profiles in the KRI revealed that there are different types of private education providers in the region, with different education models, diverse education systems, and different purposes. These are summarised below.

Different types of private schools

Based on ownership, private schools are divided into three types: international, national, and religious. Based on financial involvement, private schools are divided into two types: private schools for-profit and PPP schools.

International private schools are owned and operated by foreign enterprises. They usually advertise this openly, as their names often include the word “international”. However, some local private schools also incorporate this into their names. The education model and the curricula of international private schools are different from public schools. In general, international private schools, or those that call themselves international, use English as the language of instruction. On the other hand, national private schools are owned by either private companies or by individuals from the KRI.

Most private schools in the KRI are run on a for-profit basis. Although religious private schools do exist in the region, it is difficult to justify calling some of them truly “religious”, as they charge high tuition fees (around 2.000 US dollars) and take as many students they can, without reference to their religious background. Therefore, they can be considered private schools for-profit as well. The exception are PPP schools, which do not charge tuition fees at the time of this study (in the past, they used to charge low fees). It can be argued that a school can be considered a for-profit school if it charges more than the overall money spent by the state for schooling and consistently makes a profit on their services. So not charging tuition is the argument, however, its level of load. Based on this assumption, most of the private schools in the KRI are considered for-profit, as the average fees are 2.498 US dollars, with an average of 312 students per school. Some private education providers even have a higher number of enrolment, as they operate more than one school (see tables 10,11,12,13,14,15

and 16 in chapter four). Table (24) below illustrates the types of private schools in the KRI.

Table 24: Types of Private Schools in KRI

		School relations	
		National	International
Relation to values and religion	Religious school doing religion	Mar Quardakh	-
	Schools with a religious background not doing religion	CSM Hezel	Fezalar
	Secular schools	Rast Chihan Knowledge	SABIS IDEF MLF

Education models of private schools in the KRI

Many private schools follow an education model that is different from the one designed by the MOE of KRI. All public schools must implement the education model designed by the MOE, while in the private sector, schools are free to choose whichever education model they prefer. However, the Ministry of Education must give approval to any different education model before it is implemented in the private sector. This freedom of choice gives each private education provider the ground to claim that it has the best education model in which supposedly achieve best high quality of education. Each private education provider has its own, specific education model that reflects its teaching philosophy. Only one private school tackled in this study implements the same education model as the public schools.

For instance, the Fezalar schools claim to implement a project-based education model. Students have to achieve assigned activities in small groups or individually; this is supposed to teach them how to overcome problems and challenges. Students are encouraged to participate in national and international scientific competitions. English language teaching methods are based on the Oxford Quality Program, which is provided by the Oxford University Press. Fezalar states that it is the only education provider which offers Oxford Quality Programs for teaching the English language. The school relies on this claim (providing the best English teaching quality in the region) to attract parents, as

high quality education in English is a key factor for parents when choosing a private school.

The organizational structure of Fezalar schools differs from other private schools in the KRI. Fezalar schools separate boys and girls from the age of 12 (secondary school). Accordingly, boys and girls study at two different schools. This is likely linked to their Islamic orientation (even though the organization denies such claims). This kind of differentiation between boys and girls at the age of 12 is considered normal in the public school system. However, it is unusual in the private sector, setting Fezalar schools apart from the rest of the private education providers.

SABIS, the second largest private education provider in the KRI, distinguish themselves through their 131 years of experience in the field of education. SABIS claims to follow a comprehensive education model, which enables students to master academic subjects, achieve self-development and be prepared for future life. In general, it can be summarized that the SABIS education model is based on the concept of equipping all students with high academic skills needed to pursue higher education in the future. This means that the SABIS education model puts particular emphasis on teaching academic skills.

Another different educational model implemented in the private education sector of the KRI is the classical education model, followed by the Medes schools. The curriculum is designed with the help of a team of educators connected with the SGI group from the USA. According to this model, learning is achieved better by advancing language skills (combining both written and spoken skills). The adaptation of this education model by CSM may be considered somewhat odd compared to the other education providers, who claim to use more innovative educational models.

The American educational model is also implemented by some schools in the KRI. KS states that its education model matches the American style of education, with learning accomplished through students' commitment to completing school assignments on time, thus mastering the art of time management and learning the value of hard work. The school encourages cooperation between teachers and parents to make sure students avoid failure later in life. In order to support the claim of following an American style of education, KS arranges scientific trips to the USA. These trips include visits to locations such as NASA, Washington State University, Disney World etc. Some public schools also provide scientific trips for students, but they are limited to local places of interest, located within the school district.

The MLF education provider is related directly to the French Ministry of Education and they follow the French education model. The French Ministry of Education approves the certificates given to the students. Many of the teaching

staff of MLF schools are French teachers and the language of instruction is French. The education process is based on secular, free, and critical thinking.

The British education model is adopted by RE schools. For example, students join RE schools at the age of five, while they join public schools at the age of sixth. RE advertises that its education program offers high academic standards, giving students self-confidence and academic skills. This could be due to the fact that the British Council supports RE schools with English curriculum from both Cambridge and Oxford international curricula.

The IDEF education model follows the IB (PYP) and (MYP) programs (check page 25). These two education programs focus on developing the whole child through emphasising curiosity and asking questions, both inside and outside the classroom, and on making connections between what they study in class and the real world

The Mar Qardakh private school provides a comprehensive Christian religious education program, while also providing the International Baccalaureate by the IB foundation. The school also has connections with some international schools in Canada, Australia and the USA, which allows them to receive support and organize exchange programmes.

The Hezel private school is the only private school included in this study that implements the education model offered by the KRI Ministry of Education. However, its education program is distinguished from the public schools through using English as the language of instruction, instead of Kurdish.

Cihan Schools, one of the education providers that has been discussed earlier in this chapter does not give any information about the education model it implements in its schools. This case is related to Cihan Schools. CS just mentions that English is the language of instruction and that the staff members include American and British teachers. To summarise the above interpretations, the following table (25) visualizes the education models adapted by each private education provider.

Table 25: Education Models Implemented in Private Sector

No.	Schools	Education Model	Process	Supported
1.	Fezalar	Project based centered	Project competitions	Oxford quality for teaching English
2.	SABIS	Comprehensive	High academic skills by doing homework	131 years of education experience
3.	CSM	Classical Education	Learning through spoken and written	SGI from USA
4.	KS	American Education	Completion of school assignment	Scientific trips to USA
5.	MLF	French Education	Secular free & critical thinking	French Ministry of Education
6.	RE	British Education	Academic skill & self confidence	British Council
7.	IDEF	IB (PYP) & (MYP) programs	Asking questions and connections knowledge to real life	IB Foundation
8.	Hezel	MOE of KRI	English Curriculum	Hezel Organization
9.	Archdiocese of Erbil	Religious Education	Principles of Christian religious used as guidance	International schools from abroad
10.	CS	NA	NA	NA

From the above discussion about the education models implemented by private education providers, the following can be concluded:

1. Different education models are implemented by the private sector.
2. Most of the private education providers state that they offer the best education models.
3. The private education sector might be supported by foreign education foundations, such as the British Council, SGI (USA-based), the French Ministry of Education, Oxford University Press etc.
4. The language of instruction in most private schools is English, but other foreign languages might also be taught.

5. The private sector claims to offer more extracurricular activities than public schools.
6. A private education provider such as SABIS may have more experience as an educational body than the MOE of the KRI.
7. A private education provider may implement a classical educational model (e.g., CSM), but most competitors advertise offering more modern education systems.
8. Nation-based terms, such as “British”, “American”, or “French”, are used by private sector education providers when describing their educational models.
9. Students can join school at the age of five based on the education model of some private schools, such as the RE schools; this is one year earlier than their peers in public schools.
10. Some private schools offer more focus on spiritual life for students and teach them about the values of a specific religion (even if sometimes this is not explicit in their teaching programs).
11. Private schools may have connections with other international schools around the world for exchanging expertise and sharing academic support.
12. A private school may implement the same education model designed by the MOE for public schools.

Diversity of education systems of private schools

The diversity of the implementation of different education models in the private sector could influence the education process in the KRI in several ways. Having many education systems in one region can have both advantages and disadvantages to the wider society. Below, some of possible advantages of having a variety of education models offered by the private sector in one region are summarised.

1. Qualified individuals: It could lead the society to have more individuals with high academic skills, especially when the public system struggles to provide this. Thus, the private sector can help boost the KRI’s needs for highly qualified, skilful individuals, who can then become leaders in various sectors.

2. Multi-lingual individuals: The diversity of multi education systems increases the chances for having more students with multilingual skills. This could open opportunities for the Kurdish society to develop more connections with the rest of the world, as there will be many people who can speak internationally important languages, such as English, French, German, and Turkish.
3. Staying in education: The private sector may encourage students more to complete their academic life and make them pursue after good colleges in the future. One of the problems in the public education sector is that many students attempt to leave school early, especially in later stages (secondary/high school). Some private schools claim to have developed specific programs aimed at dealing with this problem, through showing students what they could achieve if they complete their education. What might help private schools to achieve this goal is to arrange visits to a university that belongs to the same private education provider. For example, students at Cihan schools visit Cihan University, getting a taste of college life and information on options for future academic careers. Thus, the students feel excited to complete their schooling.
4. Extracurricular activities: The private sector education models focus on providing a wide range of extracurricular activities and relevant facilities, especially when compared to the public sector. Swimming, drama and music lessons, for example, could only be found in some private schools and not in public schools. These kinds of lessons can help develop the children's talents, as well as potentially contribute to a wider societal change, where arts and sports are more appreciated. . The diversity of education programs offered by private schools would help parents to look at which private school focuses more on the activity they want for their children.
5. Import experiences: The diversity of the education models offered by the private sector might bring more education experience to the Kurdish society and hopefully transfer the positive experiences and success to the public sector in order to develop the learning and teaching process. Many private schools hire foreign teachers and even administrative staff, especially from the USA and the UK. In general, private schools claim those teachers are equipped with high quality teaching skills. Even if this claim cannot be evaluated due to the lack of research-based evidence, those foreign teachers can share their experiences in the teaching process with the local teachers in order to develop the education process in the KRI as a whole.

6. Personal development: Private schools concentrate on students' personal development, making this topic more relevant to the wider society than it traditionally has been. For instance, respect for rules and commitment to work (such as homework) are highly valued in private schools. Schools and parents work together to raise responsible people, who then can become valuable members of society.
7. Maintaining minorities: Some education models could help in maintaining a religious, ethnic, or cultural minorities in the region. This is the case for the Mar Qardakh School, which aims at providing religious education for Christian families.

Some of the benefits of having many education models are discussed above. However, there are some concerns that are related to having many different education systems in one region that also need to be discussed and highlighted. These are described below.

1. Culture transformation: Students who attend a school with an American education model might be affected not just academically but also be influenced by the American culture. The same could be said about the students who attend schools with British, French or German education models. Also, some private schools belong to Turkish education companies that may try to promote Turkish culture. Even local private schools may advertise a global culture in one way or another in their teaching programs. While not necessarily a bad thing in itself, this may lead to a decreasing appreciation for Kurdish culture, which can have a negative impact on the cultural, social, and political life of the region.
2. University access: Students from private schools may have preferential access to private universities if they graduate from a school that belongs to the same company which owns the university they apply for. Also, those students may benefit from discounts on admission fees, while graduates of the public sector often struggle to find a place at any university.
3. Social justice and equality: If it is true that private schools offer better quality education and accordingly students do better academically in private schools, rich students may gain an unfair advantage over their less well-off peers to attend best colleges in the regions. This might only give chances to students with more money to attend best colleges in the region. The Graduates of private schools supposedly find it easier to access the best professional jobs in the future. A recent study from 2016, for example, shows that most of the top professions in the UK are occupied by those who are

privately educated; this includes sectors such as the law, politics, medicine, and journalism. This is despite the fact that only 7% of pupils attend private schools (Kirby, 2016). This can lead to serious societal problems, especially in a region such as the KRI, where unemployment is high and there is a general dearth of skilled jobs.

4. Lower social mobility: Related to the above, private schools can benefit rich students not just through high-quality education but also by providing a platform for making useful societal connections. This is especially the case where the student body comprises children who share a similar family background, such as rich families, powerful politicians, highly educated parents etc.
5. One mindset: Private schools can hire those teachers who share the school's ideology and students can be affected by their teachers' values, personalities, and attitudes. Although not necessarily a bad thing in itself, this can reduce the students' exposure to a variety of viewpoints, backgrounds, and ideologies. Students could probably grow up academically with one certain mindset, if they spend their entire education life in one type of school from basic education to high school and then even complete their study in a university that belongs to the same private education company that owns the same private school. This reality could have influences on the personality of the students who complete the academic life in one private school. Being a student in a private school, surrounded by colleagues from the same social background, can result in having less experience with other parts of society, as the students do in public schools.
6. Kurdish language: Most private schools offer education in English (indeed, this is a very important reason for many parents who choose private schools). However, teaching most of the academic subjects in English could affect the status of the Kurdish language, especially in science subjects. Kurdish language was suppressed for a long time in all Kurdish territories and was just used in some literary works. After the establishment of the KRI, Kurdish became the language of academic instruction and all the academic books were printed in it. This created a base for developing the Kurdish language, especially in scientific topics. Now, shifting the language of instruction in private schools and a few public schools to English could jeopardise the opportunity for developing the Kurdish language, especially in the scientific domain.

Goals of private school providers in the KRI

This study has identified certain goals that private school providers claim to strive towards for the Kurdish society. Some private schools have common goals, while others have specific and unique ones. Some possible hidden goals of private schools have also been discussed. The following summarises the common, specific, and hidden goals of the private schools in the KRI. For more details, see section (4.4) in chapter four.

Common goals

It has been discussed that private schools are generally known to provide a good quality of education, especially in developing countries. This statement can be seen in the advertisement of many private school providers in the KRI. They link the quality of education to better school infrastructure, better teaching methods, international curricula, using English as the language of instruction, and providing extracurricular activities that contribute to a child's development, such as sport and music. Personality development is something most private schools claim to focus on, with emphasis on critical and independent thinking – skills which one could argue are to some extent ignored in public schools. Four private school providers state that they prepare students for the national exams (which are necessary to enter university) better than public schools. Another four private schools state that they have better learning environments for preparing the students for the international exams by providing students with international certificates that enable them to pursue higher education abroad. Three private school providers claim to foster open-mindedness, although it should be noted that this term has been found to have different meanings from one school to another. For one school, it is about integrating students with the rest of the world, while for another, it means learning how to be creative, competent, and responsible within the community and the world. Five private schools make serving the community one of their goals. However, while private school providers define this claim as bringing high-quality education, knowledge, and skills to the region, it is also argued that they could cause creating inequality if only they serve who could pay for the school. One private school indicates that it serves the Christian community by providing an education based on Christian values. Two of the private schools advertise that they provide the children of foreigners who work in the KRI an international education that is familiar for them. Although most of the private schools provide an education in English, three of them put much emphasis on raising multi-lingual students who are supposed to study English, Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish or French. These private schools claim that the more languages the students know, the

more Kurdish people will be connected with the rest of the world. Finally, three private schools focus on providing educational services for free, usually under specific conditions. CSM, for example, established a school located in Duhok city for the children of displaced families during the war with ISIS in Iraq. Hezel also helped in renovating many schools in villages that were destroyed during the war. SABIS is considered the most significant contributor to providing low-fee private education in cooperation with the KRG. Finally, as more students graduate from secondary schools, the need for regional universities grows. Therefore, some private school providers plan to build universities and make that one of their goals to achieve in the region.

Specific goals

The specific goals are the ones that only a single private school provider in the set has committed to. Learning by research is referred to by one of the private school providers. In general, learning by research is not emphasized by public schools, thus making the claim of focusing on research potentially appealing to some parents. Fezalar schools focus more on strengthening faith values than the other providers discussed. SABIS encourages students to be long life learners. SABIS depends on its experience in the education field to achieve this goal for the students. The CG provider advertises providing scholarships for students as one of their goals. This is considered a very rare commitment that is never mentioned by other private schools. However, it should be noted that CG do not describe the amount, selection criteria, or the allocation process of their scholarships. Failure in school is very common in public schools, and KS is the only private school who try to directly address this problem. KS reassure parents that they eradicate this problem by implementing an American style of education (presumably considered superior). As a French institute, the MLF aims at spreading French culture and language in the Kurdish society, including through their schools. One of the private schools also referred to the parents' involvement in the process of education, emphasising collaboration, rather than an authoritarian, top-down approach. Although public schools generally are safe, internal issues such as bullying or fighting are not uncommon. In private schools, such behaviour is generally not tolerated to the same extent, and this is advertised by one private school.

Notably, none of the private schools mention that the tuition fees they demand are low or affordable except CG. CG schools claim to work on providing affordable quality education by asking for (2,000) US dollars for one year. However, this is just a little below the average fee, 2.300 US dollars that the other private schools demand. The Hezel organization mentions that it helps the community by giving financial support and through building houses, churches

and health centres in villages that are in need of such facilities. This is considered a very generous contribution to serve the community. In the same way, The Archdiocese of Erbil has specified a unique goal, which is maintaining the Christian community in the region by providing high-quality education through a private school. The idea is to encourage displaced Christian families to stay in the KRI and to facilitate this by offering their children good quality education based on Christian values.

These common and specific goals are discussed thoroughly in chapter four (see section 4.4). Tables 18 and 19 demonstrate them in relation to each private school provider.

Hidden goals

Most of the private school providers express their willingness to bring high-quality education to the KRI. They claim to have several clear goals to achieve through their educational programs, in addition to some unique goals set by a few providers. However, there could be some other goals that are not expressed by private school providers explicitly, which they seek to achieve in the Kurdish society but do not necessarily advertise. Soft power, religious influence, making profit, and social classification are some observations that could be linked to some private school providers.

1. Soft power: Soft power might be used through educational channels in order to attract Kurdish people to other cultures. The ways of using soft power could be different from one private school to another. A school with an American model may arrange trips to the USA. A school with a British model may hire British teachers to run the school and teach. French schools use French as the language of instruction and are monitored directly by the French Ministry of Education; this gives them the ability to study in France if they want to and contributes to the development of an appreciation for French culture. Many private schools are affiliated with Turkish educational institutions, again contributing to a positive view of Turkish culture and society in the KRI. In general, it can be said that the international private schools seem to bring the soft power of globalization and link the Kurdish society to the international world which people in the KRI do not trust to be linked with by a Kurdish education.
2. Religious influence: Some parents might want their children to learn about their religion and to develop spiritually (and not just academically). In this regard, private schools are the best option for those parents who feel that teaching religion is not a priority any longer in public schools. However, private schools should not be left without observation and monitoring by

the Ministry of Education to make sure that they do not become missionary centres or try to impose some religious ideologies that are not appropriate for the diverse, tolerant, and pluralistic Kurdish society (for instance, intolerant or narrow ideologies).

3. Making profits: This should not be a problem at first glance, as private schools are known to operate on a for-profit basis and to demand relatively high fees. However, issues arise when some private schools determine to make profit as one of their goals and do little about the rest of the goals that they advertise for the public. During the field work, some private schools were observed to provide fewer facilities than what they actually promise in their advertisement. For example, sport and scientific laboratories were missing from some schools.
4. Social classification: It could be one of the aims of a private school to create a kind of social stratification when recruiting students. They can consciously seek students from a specific social, educational, economic, or even religious background. These criteria might not be in the application form or on the requirement list, but they might be applied by schools secretly when making admissions decisions. Such social stratification can exacerbate inequality in the society.

6.2 Summary of Private Schools Choice in the KRI

This part discusses the results that have been obtained from the primary and secondary analyses performed on the data collected through the survey to find out the factors of choosing private schools in the KRI. The procedures used in analysing both primary and secondary data have been described in detail in the previous chapter.

The primary analysis of the questionnaire data aims at finding out the factors influencing parents' choices of private schools, based on the parents' points of view using Likert-scale measurement. The primary analysis has been performed on the whole sample, which consists of 223 participants. Based on the primary analysis, it has been observed that the importance of the six private school choice domains for the parents can be graded from more to less important. It is worth mentioning that the factors that parents consider in choosing private schools are based on the information they received from different channels, such as media, private schools' advertisements, and the parents' social networks and neighbourhoods. The following findings are concluded from the primary analysis:

- a. The language of instruction domain is the most important, occupying the first rank among all the other domains. This means that English as the medium of instruction in private schools is the leading factor and the most important one for parents in the KRI who choose private schools. This has been observed in other contexts as well. For example, Tooley et al. (2007) and Rangaraju et al. (2012) have found that parents choose private schools in India because of them using English as the language of instruction. Likewise in Ghana, Rolleston and Adefeso-Olateju (2014) conclude that parents prefer private schools because teaching speaking English is superior in private schools.

For Kurdish people, the language of instruction in schools has been a contentious issue since the establishment of the Republic of Iraq until the creation of the KRI in 1992. The language of instruction in schools had changed from Arabic to Kurdish and back to Arabic, eventually with some schools adopting Kurdish, while others remained using Arabic. These shifts of the language of instruction in Kurdish territories were not derived from educational changes, but rather influenced by political disputes between the Iraqi government and Kurdish leaders. The language of instruction shifts stopped after the establishment of the KRG in 1992, with Kurdish officially established as the language of instruction in education across the KRI. The shift from Arabic to Kurdish started from first class in primary schools and expanded gradually into secondary education. However, education policymakers soon faced another problem regarding the choice of which Kurdish dialect to be used as the language of instruction in schools. The dialect problem has caused the language of instruction to shift again between Sorani and Bahdini dialects in Duhok city, where the Bahdini dialect is spoken. This issue has been a real problem for students, especially in Bahdini-speaking parts of the KRI, which is where the survey of this study has been conducted. In addition to this problem, many Kurds realise that Kurdish language is lacking in scientific terminology and application. As Kurdish was not used in education in the 20th century and it is very difficult for students to find academic sources written in the language. Therefore, many university courses in the KRI are taught fully or partially in English. It is very difficult to find much information on academic topics by searching on the internet in Kurdish. On the other hand, finding English sources is easy and convenient. This has made the English language more appealing as the language of instruction in schools for many people in the KRI.

Caddell (2007) has found that parents consider private schools to give children better chances for pursuing higher education. It has been found that English is important as the language of school instruction for parents in the KRI, where mastering the English language is a must, especially if one wants to study scientific subjects. Furthermore, more students are pursuing postgraduate degrees abroad, again, overwhelmingly in English. Many jobs that require mastering the English language have become available, such as working in Telecommunications companies, the export and import business, humanitarian organizations, etc. Even working with the USA army as a translator was an attractive job for many people. These types of jobs have made the English language more important for people in the KRI. As the KRI is becoming more recognized by the international community, more people who can speak English language fluently are needed to work for the KRG in different diplomatic sections. This is due to the fact that English has become the language of communication globally. Above all, for many people in the KRI, mastering the English language brings social prestige.

Recently, the KRG had plans to make English the language of instruction in all public schools. It even started testing this policy in some of public schools in the academic year 2016-2017. However, just after the KRG formed a new ministry cabinet with a new minister of education, suddenly all of the plans for making English as the language of instruction in public schools have been abandoned. Incidentally, such dramatic changes in education policies in public schools are also seen as a strong reason why parents prefer private schools, which are believed to be more stable in their education policies with a determined language of instruction for each private school from the beginning that does not change dramatically.

It is true that making English the language of instruction in public schools in the KRI is against the identity of being a Kurd for many Kurdish people. However, one can argue that the deficiencies of the Kurdish language as a scientific and academic language make English an attractive alternative in the education sector. This is especially the case in areas where the problem of dialect diversity in certain regions is considered.

- b. The logistics domain is the least important for parents in the KRI when choosing private schools, as it occupies the last position based on its MS value (see figure 7). Although some previous research, such as the work of Ahmed and Sheikh (2014), has shown that school location distance from home is important for parents when choosing private schools (especially

for girls), the data in this study show that the school location characteristic is not important for the majority of parents, as public schools are available in almost every urban area of the KRI. Thus, this characteristic is considered the least important one. In fact, most students who attend private schools whose parents comprise this study's sample live far from the location of their (private) schools. Regarding tuition fees, it is observed that even though most of the private schools in the KRI charge relatively high tuition fees (see chapter 4), some parents consider school fees low, while others see them as high. This seems to depend on the parents' economic status. Nevertheless, parents seem to be convinced about the benefits of choosing private schools over public schools and do not see this characteristic as an obstacle or an important factor influencing their choices. This is not the case with some other developing societies, when parents choose private schools for their children mainly because they collect low fees (see Day Ashley et al. (2014)).

- c. The values and beliefs domain is the second least important domain for the parents in the KRI. This finding goes against the results of many studies in other countries and societies. It has been noted that parents' educational choices are affected by social, ethic and values (Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). In Malaysia, for instance, religious values are the most important characteristics that parents are concerned about in choosing private schools for their children (Yaacob et al., 2015). However, it appears that religious values characteristic do not play an important role in the schooling choice process made by parents in the KRI. Parents might send their children to a private school that has a religious background but still not be interested in them receiving a religious education for their children. Two private schools state that they are based on Christian values, yet most of their students are from the Muslim community. Muslim parents might have chosen those Christian-based private schools because they found that these schools have some other characteristics that are appealing for them, such as high quality of education.
- d. The academic quality domain comes in third place and is thus clearly important to parents in choosing private schools. However, the education quality reputation of the private schools is based on the parents' points of views rather than on facts, as at the time of conducting this study, there was not a single study or report to confirm how private schools are better than public schools in terms of offering better education quality. Yet, it is worth mentioning that better quality education at private schools has been pertained to private education in many countries (Jamil et al., 2012; Day

Ashley et al., 2014). Furthermore, claiming that graduating from private schools could secure a better job in the future is based more on parents' expectations than on real life examples in the Kurdish society. This is due to the fact that there were not many graduate students from private schools at the time of conducting this study (as private schooling is a relatively recent phenomenon), making it impossible to derive such conclusions from. However, the discourse has argued that private schools provide better job opportunities for students in the future (Caddell, 2007; Subedi et al., 2014).

- e. The physical resources domain seems to occupy a middle position among the other domains regarding its importance to parents who choose private schools. Private schools have more flexibility than public school to offer extracurricular activities that are important for student development. This flexibility comes from having just one working/schooling "shift" for students. Public schools receive much larger numbers of students, often necessitating the implementation of a shift system, with two or even three shifts implemented at one school. Additionally, small classes also could make a lot of parents prefer private schools over public schools, as they have many advantages for students in the learning-teaching process. This was something that Heyneman and Stern (2014) confirmed in their study when they argued that parents have noticed small classes in private schools provide teachers with more time to deal with students' individual problems and to make sure no student is left behind. The infrastructure of the school also holds an important role in choosing private schools. The infrastructure of some private schools is very distinctive and appealing, clearly differentiating them from public schools, which make it holds an important role in choosing private schools . However, this is not the case at every private school, thus, it cannot be a factor influencing all parents. Nevertheless, it applies to most private schools in the KRI, which tend to have comparably good infrastructure, as is the case in many other developing countries (Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Jamil et al., 2012).
- f. The school environment is the second most important domain after the language of instruction when it comes to choosing private schools. Both characteristics which fall under this domain: student discipline and general atmosphere of the school, are important to parents. One of the explanations for rating the school environment domain in the second place is that when it comes to public schools, parents are restricted to those located in their district. Thus, if a parent is not satisfied with the general atmosphere and student discipline in their district's public school, a private school is the only alternative. For many parents, a good relationship between stu-

dents and teaching staff and parents and teaching staff is a must, especially when it comes to keeping parents updated on their children's progress. In a study in India, Rangaraju et al. (2012) has found that student discipline is the third most important factor for parents who choose private schools for their children. In this study, students' discipline, and schools' general atmosphere even come in the second place as the most important domain for choosing private schools.

Regarding the secondary analysis of the questionnaire, it should be noted that there are no actual religious private schools within the questionnaire sample, but only schools with religious backgrounds. In other words, these "religious" (in this study, Christian) schools do not teach any specific religions or proselytise, but only state that they are based on Christian values. The majority of students in these Christian-based schools are from Muslim families. Additionally, one private school has been defined as an Islamic religious-based private school, as it is linked to an Islamic organization and its emphasis on Islamic morals and values has been widely noted, despite the fact that the school itself does not claim to have an Islamic background. It is necessary to remember that the analyses conducted on the parents who sent their children to both the Christian and Islamic RBPS suffer from issues related to small sample size. Therefore, the results cannot be considered scientific evidence, but rather an extra finding that can be used to support and enrich the results obtained from the first primary data analysis.

The ranking order of the domains has remained the same after conducting the secondary analysis based on the distinction between the RBPS and NRPS. Thus, the language of instruction domain, which is English, is still the most important domain for the parents when choosing private schools throughout all the secondary analyses. The "Values and Beliefs" domain is still less important for parents who choose RBPS in the same way it was for the parents who choose NRPS. The MS value of the language of instruction domain reaches the highest value with the Christian parents in the secondary analysis, as it did in all the other analyses. The MS value of the values and beliefs domain within the Muslim sample in the secondary analysis has increased compared to all other analyses. This change might be affected by the small sample size. However, this increase does not change the fact that this domain is still not among the most important factors in choosing private schools.

It can be concluded that the findings from the secondary analyses give consistency to the results found with the whole questionnaire sample even after splitting the sample into RBPS, NRPS, Christian and Muslim parents.

6.3 Functions of Private Schools in the KRI

This section discusses the answer to the fifth research question, which is concerned with finding out the functions of private schools for the Kurdish society¹⁴. The results from the private school profiles and the primary and secondary analyses are combined by using mixed methods in order to find out the functions of private schools. This mixed methods type is called convergent parallel mixed methods which is used to get describe the functions of private schools.

The functions of private schools are discussed within the framework of the theory presented in chapter two (see section 2.2.2). It has been discussed that according to educational sociologists, schools in general have four functions: qualification, selection, social integration, and legitimation. The latter added by Max Weber to complete the other three functions of schools in the modern societies.

The aim of this section is to find out whether private schools in the KRI fulfil any of those four functions in the Kurdish society and how these functions are perceived by the society as a whole, the government, private school providers, and the parents whose children attend private schools. The results from both quantitative and qualitative methods, which have been discussed earlier in this chapter, have been used to determine the functions of private schools in the KRI. This means that the data from the questionnaire and the private school providers websites shape the discussion of the functions of the private schools in the KRI. All the four functions of schools in society that have been discussed in the discourse have been found to play a role to some extent in the Kurdish society, as it is discussed below.

6.3.1 Qualification function

It can be said that private schools in the KRI fulfil the qualification function. It has been discussed earlier Fend (2011) and Durkheim (as cited in King, 1983) refer to the qualification function as a means for maintaining the society's traditions and culture. One of the basic ways to preserve a society's traditions and culture is by gaining knowledge through the language of said society. In this regard, it is clear that most private schools in the KRI provide knowledge and skills but in a different language which is the English. Therefore, the qualification function of private schools in the KRI is different from how it is usually defined in literature for the other schools in the society.

¹⁴ Kurdish society" means all the people who live in the KRI. It does not mean exactly only Kurdish people but also it includes minorities that do not necessary consider themselves Kurds.

In general, the qualification function of private schools in the KRI is important to private school providers and parents. This can be discerned by looking at the goals of private schools, as well as at parents' answers to the questionnaire, which clearly demonstrate that they believe private schools fulfil this function in an attractive way as they see more future for their children by being connected to the globalized world than being linked to the Kurdish world. In other words, parents do not trust public schools to connect their children enough to the globalized world. This is something that the KRG has arguably struggled with for a long time. Some private schools state that they aim at creating open-minded students who are ready to be linked to what can be termed a "global" education. Based on the data of the questionnaire, parents highlight the importance of the quality of education provided by private schools and consider it an important factor when choosing private schools. Adding to the argument that the global, English language-based nature of this preference is apparent when we remember that English as the language of instruction is the most important factor affecting parents' choice of private schools.

For private school providers, offering high quality education is a priority, and almost all of the private school providers claim to do so, which distinguishes them from public schools. However, many private school providers do not necessarily maintain the traditions and culture of the Kurdish society, as they are simply categorized as foreign private schools. On the contrary, many of those foreign private school providers integrate new traditions and international cultures in their activities and curricula.

It can be argued that different private schools might help integrate diverse cultures with the Kurdish society and to connect it with the rest of the world. It is an interesting finding to see that most parents prefer private schools' education system to be in English language rather than in Kurdish language. This finding is supported by what (Haig & Mustafa, 2019) concluded as they have found that parents' attitudes towards the Kurdish language as the language of instruction is not strong. Unlike this study, their sample included parents whose children were mostly educated at public schools.

6.3.2 Selection function

In the theoretical chapter of this study, it has been discussed that qualification function of the schools equips students with knowledge and skills that improve their abilities in different domains, which helps them gain professional jobs in the future (Blackledge & Hunt, 1985). Although this process should be equal to all individuals in the society, it is believed to put some individuals on certain social positions based on the qualification programs they receive. In Kurdish society, private schools do seem to play a selection role. One of the reasons for

making such an assumption is that private schools in the KRI charge relatively high fees and thus are only accessible to high-income families. This statement could be supported by the fact that private schools are believed to be better than public schools at providing high-quality education.

In general, schools are criticized for selecting certain individuals as “better” and more capable, while defining some others as incapable of success. However, the gap between those who succeed and who fail (from the point of view of society) can be widened if those individuals who attend private schools can access more job opportunities in the future than those who attend public schools. This gap is not only due to the higher quality of education provided by private schools, but also due to the social connections students at private schools can build with others of a high social, income, and political status. Parsons (1959) states that differences in educational attainment are believed to introduce new forms of inequalities in any society. It has been already noted that jobs to a great extent are allocated by educational qualifications. If the type and quality of such qualifications are influenced by the type of schools individuals attend, then private schools to a large extent fulfil a selection function.

The data show that parents do not prefer private schools because they secure a better job in the future, but rather are attracted to the high quality of education. However, it can be argued that ultimately, high academic attainment and jobs are believed to be linked together. This means that parents might not explicitly state that they choose private schools for securing a better job in the future for their children while they do state they seek for high academic attainment for their children. Additionally, private schools are the ones that advertise to provide better opportunities for the students in the future by acquiring a high qualified certificates after attending private schools through preparing them well for national and international exams necessary to enter university. For the KRG, private schools help provide highly-qualified, skilled individuals who can contribute to the development of the KRI. Thus, by encouraging the development of private schools in the region, the KRG is indirectly involved in the process of selection of individuals in society. For the society, private schools might produce leaders for the future of the region but also they could produce inequality among members of the society.

6.3.3 Social integration function

According to Fend (2011), education institutions are foundations for social integrations and schools are considered the first establishments for reproducing norms, values, and beliefs among students. However, the results from the primary analysis show that values and beliefs are not considered important to parents when they choose private schools for their children (see figure 7). Even

when splitting the participants in the survey based on their religious backgrounds in the secondary analysis, the values and beliefs characteristics are still not important for choosing private schools by parents (see figure 8). These results could be interpreted on the assumption that choosing these schools is an implicit critique on the school policy of the state, which in the eyes of parents is obviously not competent enough to combine the narrative of Kurdish culture and the related language policy with the demands of a globalized society. This is of course a challenge for every school system and the choice of a private school tells that parents are not happy with the way the state is dealing with these values and demands. There is the impression that there is no narrative of a successful future for state school graduates, while private schools are better at giving the impression of creating a prosperous future for students.

As the KRI is a multi-religious society that includes Muslims, Christians, Yezidis and some others, teaching tolerance and the art of living together is one of morals that some of the private schools claim to teach. Other private schools specifically target minority communities. A group of private schools, for instance, state that their education system is based on Christian values and beliefs and also integrate students from Muslim backgrounds communities which is considered a perfect sign of a form of integration in a multi-religious society, serving tolerance and dialogue. For the minority communities, private schools as educational institutions address their needs for an education system that helps maintain their community by keeping their norms, values and beliefs. For instance, one of the private schools was established to serve the Christian community in the KRI through teaching Christian values and beliefs to students who are entirely from Christian families. From the point of view of the KRG, private schools are welcome to target a specific community as long as they offer an education system that complies with governmental regulations.

6.3.4 Legitimation function

Legitimation function is another function of schools in modern societies. Legitimation function performs as the organizer of the functions in the society and determines the role of the schools as educational institutions and gives authority to how individuals are assigned to different positions. The private school system, just as their public school counterpart are supposed to be legitimized by the members of the society. Private schools should be legitimate as they give individuals certain qualifications and skills to have social positions in the society.

Angus (1975, p. 1) argues that school institutions should be legitimized from the point of view of the public. Based on such an assumption, private schools in the KRI appear to be legitimized by parents who choose them as an alternative

to public schools for providing high quality of education. For the KRG, they are the educational institutions that will make leaders of the future. For some private school providers, private schools are the guarantee for preserving minority communities. The private sector is developing furthermore beyond providing just basic education, as some providers intend to construct entire educational systems from kindergarten to university. However, the diversity of the types of private schools leads to some doubts regarding to what extent some of the private schools are really legitimised to keep the society's traditions and culture despite them being authorised, even embraced, by the KRG). There is the argument that whether the people in KRI will accept on a long way "leaders of the future", which had the possibility to become leaders of the future only by the means of their parents financing them through private schooling. Every person needs to have the opportunity to learn and develop according to their needs and abilities. If the chance to receive good schooling is not given to students who are in public schools the same way it is in private schools, this might delegitimize the state and the leaders of society, leading to widespread dissatisfaction.

6.3.5 Summary of the functions of private schools in the KRI

The functions of the private schools in the KRI are summarized as follow:

- The qualification function matters the most. Although part of this function is related to maintaining the traditions and culture of a society through language, most private schools in the KRI offer education in English, which is a foreign language for most students. Thus, in the KRI, the qualification function performed by private schools differs from its classic definition provided by Fend and Durkheim (see page 9 and 11). This is considered an interesting finding, as private schools are found to perform not as an actual reproducer of the culture system and maintain the traditions of the society. In contrast, some private schools give more room to traditions from western culture, such as celebrating Halloween and fashion days, which are considered foreign to Kurdish society.
- Private schools are believed to have the function of allocation/selection for specific groups of people in the Kurdish society, as the access to private schools is almost only within the reach of the middle- and high-income families¹⁵. This, coupled with the higher quality of education at private schools, means that only those of an already somewhat privileged background can benefit from an education that sets them up for a bright future.

¹⁵ It is difficult to distinguish between middle income from high income due to the lack of data about the wealth situation of the families in KRI and the nature of the Kurdish societies.

Thus, the selection function strongly matches the way it is described by Fend. Private school providers and government officials in the KRI state clearly that one of the main purposes of the private sector is to produce individuals who will be the leaders of the future and will thus occupy many important positions to lead the society assumingly towards a better development. However, it is observed that private education narrows the selection function to a very few groups of people in society, leaving out many potentially very capable people whose families do not have the means to send them to private schools.

- The role of the socialization function is not strong from the parent's perspective. Based on the primary analysis results, the socialization function is not important for most parents. However, it is the private school providers who emphasise the importance of the social integration function for the community in their advertisements. They do state on what values the private schools are based and in some cases the belief of the school, and how they shape the educational system of the school.
- Although private schools in the KRI are considered legitimate in the view of the Kurdish society, it is difficult to assume that the education system of the private schools reproduces the existing of the Kurdish traditions and culture, which has been described as a key function of schools in literature. However, they legitimise the selection of individuals with high social status by furnishing them with skills and knowledge which are not accessible to individuals who do not attend private schools.

6.4 Conclusion

This study has investigated the development of private schools in the KRI. Five research questions have been formulated to elucidate the nature of the increase in the number of private schools in the region, the types of private schools, the profiles of private education providers, the factors affecting private school choice, and the functions of private schools for the Kurdish society. The five research questions have been formulated based on the scholarly discourse on private schooling, especially in developing countries. Quantitative, qualitative, and convergent parallel mixed methods have been used to answer the research questions. A questionnaire was adapted to find out the factors influencing parental choice of private schools. Document analysis was used to describe the profiles of private education providers, while convergent parallel mixed methods was applied to find out the functions of private schools.

This study has shown that the increase of private schools in the KRI is attributed to certain factors that are important to parents, and to the functions that

private schools fulfil in society. It is observed that the majority of private schools in the KRI offer education in English, and that the language of instruction is found to be the most important characteristic for choosing private schools in the region. This trend of preferring English as the language of instruction, despite Kurdish language being widely considered crucial to the national identity, is linked to better access to high-quality education. This is also observed in the religious-based private schools in the KRI. English as the language of instruction, safe environment, and academic qualities associated with those schools are found to be more important to parents than the religious belief itself. Yet, they are also fundamental to the religious schools. The attendance of Christians and Muslims students in Christian-based private schools is considered a sign that the quality of education of the private schools is attractive to parents from different social and religious backgrounds. The positive atmosphere of the private school is the second most important characteristic for parents when choosing private schools over the public schools.

Private schools in the KRI can be analysed into certain types based on their financial providers (ownership), into local and international schools, and based on their education systems into religious-based and non-religious based. They could be labeled as profit private schools and non-profit schools, such as PPP schools. The majority of private schools in the KRI are for-profit private schools due to the fact that they demand high tuition fees relative to the average income in the region. Large local and international education companies are expanding their share of the private school market, with some planning to provide education at all levels, from kindergarten to university. In this framework, a person could receive his/her entire education through one education model.

The education models that private schools follow are different from the public schools and among themselves. It can be said that the different education systems of the private schools determine the goals that these schools want to achieve. In general, private schools in the KRI have two types of goals: common goals and specific goals, which the schools claim to strive towards for the benefit for their students, as well as the Kurdish society more broadly. For example, some private schools claim to help students become open-minded global citizens with the rest of the world.

It has been discussed that private schools in the KRI have the function of qualification, selection, social integration and legitimation, and these functions' roles graduate from the perspectives of parents, school providers, government, and society. The type of a private school to some extent determines the function it performs in society. For instance, a religious-based private school is found to mainly serve a specific community, strengthening its values and beliefs. Although non-religious private schools may define a set of guiding beliefs and

principles, these are usually not considered particularly important by parents, at least not when compared to factors such as the quality of education.

It can be concluded that private schools have certain functions to perform in any society and the type of these functions may differ from one society to another based on the nature and characteristics of the society. In developing countries, the qualification function of the private schools is believed to play a bigger role than in the developed world and is thus a priority for parents, who choose private schools believing them to provide substantially better-quality education than public schools. On the contrary, in developed societies, the socio-cultural function of the school is seen to have more impact on the parents' choice of private schools. In the Kurdish society, private schools seem to function in a way to link Kurdish society to a wider world and to create individuals who are more like global citizens. In this regard, it is assumed that parents linking English as the language of instruction in private schools to their children's need to access the world. Since public schools, which are managed directly by the government, do not answer this need in a satisfactory way, the private sector reacts to serve this market.

The following are the current research findings that could contribute to the discourse about the development of private schools:

- Private schools are increasing in a region that is known for being unstable politically, to the point of being considered as a conflict region and a potential war zone.
- English as the language of instruction is a crucial factor in determining the type of school chosen by parents. This is interesting in a region where the native language is considered crucial to the national identity. However, at the same time, the native language is not perceived as useful or competitive in the international environment, which is mainly English.
- Religious-based private schools are found to serve students from all different religious backgrounds in the KRI, except a few which aim to maintain the existence and traditions of certain minorities in the region.
- Private schools in the KRI have a qualification function. However, English as the language of instruction makes the qualification function of the private schools different from how it is described in literature.

6.5 Implications of the Study

It is hoped that the results of this study will have implications on the international research community on one level and on the local policymakers in the KRI on another level. At the research community level, the current study can add information to the discourse about the development of private schools in a region that is described as unstable, both politically and economically. The role of English in the KRI, as the language of instruction in determining the type of the school to be chosen by parents is quite interesting. The way the qualification function of the private schools works in the KRI is believed to enrich the discourse on the private education role on the global level. The data of the current study provide a wide range of information about the growth of private schools, their types, their education models, and their goals and functions in the KRI.

At the local level, this study is the first research investigating the development of private schools in the KRI. Thus, it contributes to give important implications to education policymakers in the KRI, as well as to private school owners and to the society in general. It provides valuable information about the development of private schools and their functions in the Kurdish society. Through reading this study, education policymakers would have a chance to understand why some parents choose private schools over public schools and how the private sector is developing, including a variety of school types and education systems. They could look at the factors of choosing private schools and understand what qualification are missing with public schools in order to give high quality of education. For the private school providers, the findings of this study demonstrate which characteristics are important for parents when they choose private schools. It gives them a deep understanding of their customers' needs, based on empirical research. So, they could take actions to make private schools more corresponding to the parent's needs. Also, the findings give private school providers a broader picture of the different types of the private schools available in the market in the KRI.

The work of this study provides the Kurdish society with useful information and knowledge. It gives an overview of the functions that private schools fulfil in society. It provides parents with information about the types of private schools and the different education models that are available based on an academic research rather than relying on the media and personal contacts. The findings will hopefully help parents to decide which type of private school to choose.

6.6 Recommendations

As was the case for implications, the recommendations derived from this study can be split into two. On one hand, there are those aimed at policymakers and the government, related to educational policy and practices. On the other hand, some recommendations pertain to the academic community, specifically to how future research on the development of private schools in the KRI could develop. The following practices are recommended to ensure quality education for all.

- The KRG should not rely solely on the private sector to provide high quality of education. On the contrary, it should look at the private sector as a complementary effort towards achieving a high standard and perhaps in some cases as a model for the public school as well.
- The KRG has to take the opportunity to integrate the private education providers' experiences into the public schools. This could be done by opening communication channels between the public schools and the private schools.
- The private sector has to be regulated in regard to the maximum amount of fees they demand. This will allow more parents to be able to afford private schools. Also, the selection process would be minimized if the fees are not so high.
- More PPP schools are beneficial for low-income families. However, they should not be a substitute for a good public school system.
- The use of English in public schools as the language of instruction in scientific subjects should be reconsidered by the state. The use of English in public schools would reduce the gap between learning in a public school versus in a private school. It would also help connect students in public schools more to the global world.

The following are some recommendations for further research about private schools in the KRI. It is believed that the following research suggestions would give more information and answer more questions about the development of private schools in the KRI.

- The economy of the KRI has fallen due to the war with ISIS and the political conflicts with the central government of Iraq. Therefore, more research is needed to see how those two conflicts have affected parents' choice decisions regarding their children's education.

- A study with a larger sample that covers all of the KRI would give a more precise answer to the question of which factors affect parents' decisions when they choose private schools. This is considered necessary, especially in light of the dialect differences in the KRI (considering how important English as the language of instruction was for the participants).
- Investigating the actual performance of students in the private schools and comparing it with the students' performance in public schools.
- Investigating the attitudes of parents who send their children to public schools, specifically to see whether they would opt for private schools if money was not an issue.
- Finally, there is a need for research on the impact of the private sector on education quality in public schools. It would be interesting to see whether private schools in the KRI contribute on developing the public sector (beyond the existence of a few PPP schools) or not.

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Appendixes

Appendix (1) The Database of Private Schools in KRI 2016

No.	Private Schools	City	Year	Type	Language of Instruction	Total Basic Education Enrolments M&F	Total Basic Education Male Enrolments	Total Basic Education Female Enrolments	Total High School Enrolments M&F	Total High School Male Enrolments	Total High Schools Males and Females	Total Teachers
1	Bright Star Basic School	Duhok	2013	For-Profit	English	88	60	28				33
2	Brayan Basic School	Duhok	2015	For-Profit	English	53	43	10				10
3	Heezle Basic School	Duhok	2008	Religious	English	393	242	151				30
4	British International School Zakho	Duhok	2014	For-Profit	English	205	135	70				21
5	Mede International Basic School	Duhok	2002	Religious	English	513	300	213				37
6	Duhok World Class	Duhok	2010	For-Profit	English	513	295	218				52
7	British International School Duhok	Duhok	2015	For-Profit	English	44	32	12				17
8	Cihan	Duhok	2014	For-Profit	English	150	81	69				20
9	College Ishik Duhok (Basic School)	Duhok	2009	For-Profit	English	613	331	282				48
10	Ishik Secondary School for Boys	Duhok	2009	For-Profit	English	111	111		90	90		33
11	Ishik Secondary School for Girls	Duhok	2009	For-Profit	English	80		80	41		41	32
12	Knowledge American School Duhok	Duhok	2010	For-Profit	English	138	77	61				13
13	knowledge American School Zakho	Duhok	2015	For-Profit	English	48	25	23				6
14	Mede International Preparatory	Duhok	2014	For-Profit	English				37	17	20	12
15	Duhok International Secondary School	Duhok	2004	Charity	English	107	38	69	117	54	63	23
16	Sardam SABIS	Duhok	2009	PPP	English	628	341	287				40

17	Zakho International School SABIS	Duhok	2012	PPP	English	296	189	101				30
18	Bradost School	Sulaymaniyah	2011	For-Profit	Kurdish	344	199	145				29
19	Kurd Genius School	Sulaymaniyah	2013	For-Profit	English	450	202	248				26
20	Ashty Private Elementry School	Sulaymaniyah	2011	For-Profit	English	195	97	98				20
21	Haji Muhiddeen Rashid School	Sulaymaniyah	2013	For-Profit	English	617	326	291				46
22	British International School	Sulaymaniyah	2011	For-Profit	English	470	245	225				35
23	Sulaymaniyah Primary Private 1	Sulaymaniyah	2007	For-Profit	English	762	398	364				46
24	Ecole Francaise Danielle Mitterrand	Sulaymaniyah	2009	For-Profit	French	68	35	33				14
25	Margaret Private school	Sulaymaniyah	2013	For-Profit	English	153	79	74				13
26	Classical School of the Medes	Sulaymaniyah	2001	For-Profit	English	510	270	240				34
27	Sulaymaniyah Primary 2	Sulaymaniyah	2010	For-Profit	English	376	213	163				39
28	Cambridge International School	Sulaymaniyah	2012	For-Profit	English	127	74	53				17
29	Private Sulaimaniyah Girls College	Sulaymaniyah	1999	For-Profit	English	388		388	317		317	44
30	Salahaddin Ayyubi College Boys	Sulaymaniyah	1997	For-Profit	English	155	155		301	301		53
31	Rania Private Preparatory	Sulaymaniyah	2014	MOE	Kurdish				167	100	67	23
32	Medes Preparatory School	Sulaymaniyah	2000	For-Profit	English				79	49	30	20
33	British International Preparatory	Sulaymaniyah	2011	For-Profit	English				64	40	24	17
34	Junior Private School Preparatory	Sulaymaniyah	2015	For-Profit	English				13	12	1	15
35	Junior Private School Basic	Sulaymaniyah	2007	For-Profit	English	468	212	256				35
36	Pie Private School	Sulaymaniyah	2014	For-Profit	English	80	40	40				7
37	International School of Chouoifat	Sulaymaniyah	2009	For-Profit	English	540						
38	Kalar International School	Sulaymaniyah	2012	PPP		500						
39	Sulaymaniyah International School	Sulaymaniyah	2012	PPP		550						

40	Zhyar private basic school 1	Erbil	2011	For-Profit	Kurdish	466	466					30
41	Ishik Gulan Primary School	Erbil	2008	For-Profit	English	601	324	277				55
42	Laray Basic School	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	English	221	116	105				22
43	Canadian International School	Erbil	2014	For-Profit	English	139	81	58				36
44	Sava Private School	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	English	250	133	117				23
45	Ishik Ronaky Primary School	Erbil	2005	For-Profit	English	649	319	330				46
46	Noor Private Primary School	Erbil	2011	For-Profit	Arabic	371	195	176				26
47	Shyaw Primary School	Erbil	2009	For-Profit	English	265	174	91				25
48	Nilufer Girls Secondary School	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	English	510		510				48
49	Rona Private Basic School	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	English	347	162	185				37
50	Ishik Boys Secondary School	Erbil	2009	For-Profit	English	650	650					56
51	Ishik Brayaty Primary School	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	English	935	510	425				66
52	Hewa Basic School	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	Arabic	136	74	62				17
53	Danielle Mitterrand FrenchInternational	Erbil	2009	For-Profit	French	141	75	66				18
54	Fakhir Mergassori International School	Erbil	2008	PPP	English	480	326	154				15
55	Bala Private 2 Kurdish	Erbil	1998	For-Profit	Kurdish	276	193	83				32
56	Bryar Basic Private School	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	English	285	192	93				36
57	Classical School of the Medes	Erbil	2003	For-Profit	English	830	408	422				66
58	Zhyar private basic school 2	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	Kurdish	415	344	71				30
59	Clever Private Basic School	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	Kurdish	251	154	97				25
60	Florenteen Basic School	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	English	130	68	62				21
61	Nawa Basic Private School	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	English	247	133	114				21
62	Queen Anne International School	Erbil	2007	For-Profit	English	360	168	192				32

63	Bala Private 1 English	Erbil	1998	For-Profit	English	64	50	14	12	6	6	39
64	Fenik Private School	Erbil	2011	For-Profit	English	220	148	72	224	135	89	84
65	Lana Private School	Erbil	2008	For-Profit	K,A,E	176	120	56	243	77	166	60
66	American International School Kurdistan	Erbil	2011	For-Profit	English							26
67	Cihan College School Erbil	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	English	129	82	47	139	95	44	39
68	Rawa high School	Erbil	2011	For-Profit	Kurdish				172	128	44	46
69	Sava Private High School the	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	English							12
70	Nilufer Girls High School	Erbil	1996	For-Profit	English				472		472	6
71	Fakhir Mergassori High School	Erbil	2007	For-Profit	English				190	132	58	28
72	Jery High School	Erbil	2011	For-Profit	English				41		41	7
73	Dafe High School	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	English				109	101	8	4
74	Ishik College Boys	Erbil	1994	For-Profit	English				402	402		41
75	Zanyari Private High School	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	English +K				578	327	251	50
76	Clever Private High School	Erbil	2015	For-Profit	English +K				9	9		13
77	Zhyar Evening Private High School	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	Kurdish				22	11	11	11
78	Zhyar Private High School	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	Kurdish				1076	510	566	52
79	Zana Private High School	Erbil	2011	For-Profit					239	211	28	22
80	Bala High School Kurdish 2	Erbil	1998	For-Profit	Kurdish				153	111	42	32
81	Kurdistan Gawra High School	Erbil	2015	For-Profit	Kurdish							7
82	Bradost Basic Schoo	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	Kurdish	54	23	31				9
83	Kurd Genius Private School	Erbil	2014	For-Profit	English	24	14	10				10
84	Koya Basic Private School	Erbil	2014	For-Profit	Kurdish	51	32	19				11
85	Kamyar Basic School	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	Kurdish	83	43	40				10

86	Aga Private Basic School	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	Kurdish	199	100	99				19
87	Analinda Basic School	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	Kurdish	259	138	121				28
88	Aga Private High School	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	Kurdish				46	33	13	28
89	Soran International School	Erbil	2011	PPP	Englsh	361	220	141				64
90	Korek Private Basic School	Erbil	2014	For-Profit	Kurdish	75	49	26				12
91	Ishik Soran College Secondary School	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	English	59	48	11	42	34	8	13
92	British International School	Erbil	2011	For-Profit	English	250	120	130				16
93	Cambridge International School	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	English	205	135	70				36
94	Liza School	Erbil	2004	For-Profit	English	124	87	37				34
95	Mar Gardakh School	Erbil	2011	For-Profit	English	394	196	198				32
96	Ihsan Dogramci Bilkent	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	English	367	203	164				77
97	Deutsche Schule Erbil	Erbil	2010	For-Profit	Deutch	123	66	57				25
98	Smart School	Erbil	2013	For-Profit	Kurdish	417	250	167				37
99	Cambridge International School Hawler	Erbil	2014	For-Profit	English	307	171	136				25
100	Sarwaran International School	Erbil	2009	PPP		800						
101	Shahan City Private School	Erbil	2014	For-Profit	English							35
102	International School of Choueifat Erbil	Erbil	2006	For-Profit	English							
103	International School of Choueifat Dream City	Erbil	2012	For-Profit	English	580						

Appendix (2) The Private School Information Form

Example/ The Classical School of the Medes

Location/ Duhok

Established/ 2002

Information Form of Academic Year 2015-2016

<p>وێزارتی پەروەرە پەرزەنتەریشتی گشتی پلانێانی پەروەرەیی پەرزەنتەریشتی ئامار</p>									
<p>تاری پەرزەنتی سالی خۆیانی 2016-2015 قوتابی یان یان بەکم زانیاری دەرباری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە</p>									
1	2- نامی قوتابخانە	قوتابخانە مەدییا یا نیف دەولەتی	قوتابخانە	خۆیانیگە	1	2- نامی قوتابخانە	قوتابخانە مەدییا یا نیف دەولەتی	قوتابخانە	خۆیانیگە
3	3- پەرزەنتەریشتی گشتی پەروەرەیی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	3	4- پەرزەنتەریشتی پەروەرەیی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
5	5- نامی پەرزەنتەری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	6	6- زانیاری ئەوانی پەرزەنتەری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
7	7- ئەمێنی پەرزەنتەری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	7	7- ئەمێنی پەرزەنتەری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
8	8- پاریژا	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	8	8- پاریژا	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
9	9- پاریژا یان 1 تا 5	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	9	9- پاریژا یان 1 تا 5	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
10	10- سالی دامەزراندنی قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	2002	2002	2002	10	10- سالی دامەزراندنی قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	2002	2002	2002
11	11- ئێرێگی قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	11	11- ئێرێگی قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
13	13- گەڕانێری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	13	13- گەڕانێری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
14	14- دەوامی قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	14	14- دەوامی قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
15	15- رێگەری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	15	15- رێگەری قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
16	16- جۆری دەوامی قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	16	16- جۆری دەوامی قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
18	18- زانیاری خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	18	18- زانیاری خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی
19	19- نایا قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	19	19- نایا قوتابخانە - خۆیانیگە	دەولەتی	دەولەتی	دەولەتی

Classical School of the Medes
 Duhok
 2015-2016
 Signature

قوناقى بەدىئىي										
دەۋر زاتىي دەۋرىي بەدىئىي قوناقى - خۇبىنگە										
2001-2000										
20	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
20	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
22	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
23	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
24	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
25	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
26	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
27	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر

قوناقى بەدىئىي										
دەۋر زاتىي دەۋرىي بەدىئىي قوناقى - خۇبىنگە										
2001-2000										
28	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
29	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
30	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
31	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر
32	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر	تەكشۈر

Handwritten signature and stamp. The stamp includes the text 'QONAQI BEDIYI' and 'QONAQI BEDIYI'.

		کۆرۈن		پۇل تۆمۈر		پۇل ھەشەم		پۇل ھەزرىم		پۇل ھەشەم		پۇل چارۋىم		پۇل سەلىم		پۇل مۇدوم		پۇل بەكم		مەمەتكان	
كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن	كۆرۈن
89	42	47																			
81	34	47																			
88	33	55																			
51	15	34																			
65	30	35																			
44	16	28																			
42	18	24																			
37	15	22																			
19	11	8																			
514	214	300	11	8	15	22	18	24	16	28	30	35	15	34	33	55	34	47	42	47	47

قۇرۇلتىيى تەشەببۇسى
چۆرىم | زامانئارى دەستۇرى قۇرۇلتىيى - خۇيىنىڭكاران ۋە قۇرۇلتىيىكان

33- ئۆزبېك قۇرۇلتىيى - خۇيىنىڭكاران ئۆزبېك قۇرۇلتىيى ۋە رەئىس
قۇرۇلتىيى - خۇيىنىڭكاران ئۆزبېك قۇرۇلتىيى ۋە رەئىس
خۇيىنىڭكاران ئۆزبېك قۇرۇلتىيى (6) سالان
خۇيىنىڭكاران ئۆزبېك قۇرۇلتىيى (7) سالان

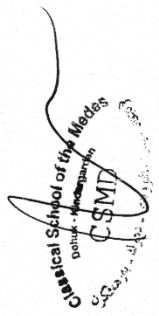
34- ئۆزبېك قۇرۇلتىيى - خۇيىنىڭكاران (ئۆزبېك قۇرۇلتىيى) ۋە رەئىس

فهرستی بندهای											
35- زبانی هویگان پان و رنگین											
زبانی	هویگان	پان به کم	پان دوم	پان سیم	پان چهارم	پان پنجم	پان ششم	پان هفتم	پان هشتم	پان نهم	کو
	گوران										
	کجان										
	نیکهلو	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	28
	کو	4	4				2	2			28

36- زبانی قویانی - خدنگارانی پرویدی هویگان به پان و رنگین											
پایگان											
زبانی	پان به کم	پان دوم	پان سیم	پان چهارم	پان پنجم	پان ششم	پان هفتم	پان هشتم	پان نهم	پان دهم	کو
قویان - خدنگارانی پرویدی	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
تابیت											
زبانی	پان به کم	پان دوم	پان سیم	پان چهارم	پان پنجم	پان ششم	پان هفتم	پان هشتم	پان نهم	پان دهم	کو
پرویدی											
گوران	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
کجان	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
نیکهلو	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
کو	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

37- زبانی ماموستانی پرویدی هویگان به پان و رنگین			
زبانی	پان به کم	پان دوم	پان سیم
ماموستانی	X	X	X
رنگین			

38- زبانی قویانی - خدنگارانی پرویدی هویگان به پان و رنگین											
جدوی بندهای											
زبانی	پان به کم	پان دوم	پان سیم	پان چهارم	پان پنجم	پان ششم	پان هفتم	پان هشتم	پان نهم	پان دهم	کو
گوران	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
کجان	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
نیکهلو	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
کو	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X



قوتايى بىلەن																			
39- زىيارى قوتايى - خۇيىنگارلى مەرجو بە يىن يول و رىگىز سال خۇيىنى 2015-2014																			
كو	كچان	يول تەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەرتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم	
		كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن
514	211	303	12	15	18	14	23	21	30	22	32	36	38	21	37	39	56	31	57
خۇيىنگارلى مەرجو - قوتايى																			
40- زىيارى قوتايى - خۇيىنگارلى مەرجو بە يىن يول و رىگىز سال خۇيىنى 2015-2014																			
كو	كچان	يول تەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەرتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم	
		كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن
13	4	9	1	x	1	1	1	x	x	x	x	2	1	1	5	x	x	x	x
خۇيىنگارلى مەرجو - قوتايى																			
41- زىيارى قوتايى - خۇيىنگارلى مەرجو بە يىن يول و رىگىز سال خۇيىنى 2015-2014																			
كو	كچان	يول تەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەرتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم		يول ەشتەم	
		كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن	كچان	كورن
x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
خۇيىنگارلى مەرجو - قوتايى																			

ҰҚСАР АҚПАРАТ ҚАЗАҚСТАН РЕСПУБЛИКАСЫНЫҢ БІЛІМ ЖӘНЕ ҒЫЛИМ МИНИСТРЛІГІ

قوتیاهی بندرچی

پنجم | زانیاری دتاری د موبوتان و شرمانباران و شرمانبارانی خدمت گزاری

42- زاری د موبوتان به یی ی پیسه و رگکر

زاری د موبوتان	پسه		باریهدور		موبوتا		زاری د موبوتان به یی ی پیسه و رگکر		باریهدور		پسه	
	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی
43- زاری د موبوتان به یی ی پروتانه و رگکر	52	37	15	1	36	13	1	1	1	1	1	1
44- زاری د موبوتان به یی ی سپور و رگکر	6	4	2									
زانی گوری	2											
زانی عدیمی	2											
زانی یونگزی	6											
سیرگی	7	4	3									
فیریا												
کیما												
زیندووزانی	7	7										
کوملایمی	4	4										
چوگرافیا	8	5	3									
مؤزو												
تاریزی												
تاملر												
پرزوده ی نوبلای												
پرزوده ی ووزلی	3	1	2									
پرزوده ی هونری	3	2	1									
درون زانی												
مدون ناس												
راستگا گشیهکان	1	1										
کوپهوتر	1	1										
موزیک	1	1										
می تر	1	2										
کزی گشلی	52	37	15									

45- زاری د موبوتان به یی ی موات و رگکر	موات		چوری		موانی		موانی		موانی		موانی		موانی		موانی		موانی		موانی		
	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	کزی	مینی	
چوری																					
موانی دیکانی	X		X																		
موانی لریخان	X		X																		
موانی خنندن	X		X																		
موانی می موجه	X		X																		
موانی هارسکاری	X		X																		
موانی گشلی	X		X																		

Chashma School of the Madaya
 2008 - 2010
 CSMD
 دتاری د موبوتان به یی ی پیسه و رگکر

قوتلایى بىدرىسى

46- ژماره قىرئەتباران و قىرئەتبارانى خىزمەت كۆزى بە ئىنى شامبىشى دوتىقى و رىگىز

ئىپتىدائىي دوتىقى	قۇرئەتباران		قۇرئەتبارانى خىزمەت كۆزى بە ئىنى شامبىشى دوتىقى و رىگىز		قۇرئەتباران		قۇرئەتبارانى خىزمەت كۆزى بە ئىنى شامبىشى دوتىقى و رىگىز		قۇرئەتباران	
	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر
21	3	18	1	9	4	4	1	4	4	2

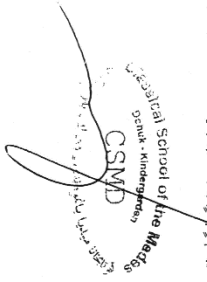
47- ژماره مامۇستىيان بە ئىنى كى سىپۇر و بوزئانە و رىگىز

بوزئانە	ئىپتىدائىي دوتىقى		قۇرئەتباران		قۇرئەتبارانى خىزمەت كۆزى بە ئىنى شامبىشى دوتىقى و رىگىز		قۇرئەتباران		قۇرئەتبارانى خىزمەت كۆزى بە ئىنى شامبىشى دوتىقى و رىگىز		قۇرئەتباران	
	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر
دەكورا												
مەشەر												
دابلومى يالا	1	2	4	7	4	3	6	1	2	4	2	
بەككۆرئۆس												
دابلوم												
كۆي گىشى												

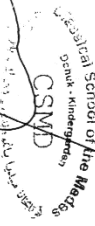
بوزئانە	ئىپتىدائىي دوتىقى		قۇرئەتباران		قۇرئەتبارانى خىزمەت كۆزى بە ئىنى شامبىشى دوتىقى و رىگىز		قۇرئەتباران		قۇرئەتبارانى خىزمەت كۆزى بە ئىنى شامبىشى دوتىقى و رىگىز		قۇرئەتباران	
	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر	مىن	نۇر
دەكورا												
مەشەر												
دابلومى يالا												
بەككۆرئۆس												
دابلوم												
كۆي گىشى	52	37	15									

Director of the Education
 Department
 Ministry of Education
 Urumqi, Xinjiang
 2014.11.15

قوناقى بىرەش			
قىشەم زاتىيىرى دىيارى پىزىرىكەنە و تاقىگە			
	ن خىزىر	بىلى	48 - كى تىل پىزىرىكەنە ھەبە لە قوناقىنە - خىزىنىگە
	ن خىزىر	بىلى	49 - كى تىل تاقىگە ھەبە لە قوناقىنە - خىزىنىگە



تار و داتىزىرى بەزىرەمورى قوناقىنە - خىزىنىگە / تىل خىشى قوناقىنە - خىزىنىگە



Commercial School of the Madras
Gonak - Madras
CSMD

تار و داتىزىرى سەبە رىشەمورى كارگورى قوناقىنە - خىزىنىگە

Appendix (3) The Statements in Literature of Private School Choice

No.	The Items	Literature	No.
1.	The school has reputation of having good quality education	Subedi et al., 2014; Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Draper & Hofmeyr, 2015; Heyneman & Stern, 2014; Rangaraju et al., 2012	5
2.	Students achieve better academic performance	Subedi et al., 2014; Yaacob et al., 2014; Day Ashley et al., 2014; Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014	4
3.	The school offers better course-subjects	Yaacob et al., 2014; Jamil et al., 2012; Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014	3
4.	The school is better in terms of teaching approaches	Day Ashley et al., 2014; Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014	3
5.	The school offers extra activities	Subedi et al., 2014	1
6.	The school has small classes	Day Ashley et al., 2014; Yaacob et al., 2014; Yaacob et al., 2015; Heyneman & Stern, 2014	4
7.	Graduating from this school gives more job opportunities in future	Day Ashlley et al., 2014; Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Caddell, 2007	3
8.	The school has good quality of teachers	Yaacob et al., 2014; Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014;	2
9.	The school has foreign teachers		
10.	The teachers' attendance is high	Day Ashley et al., 2014; Subedi et al., 2014; Heyneman & Stern, 2014	3
11..	English Language is the medium of instruction	Subedi et al., 2014; Day Ashley et al., 2014; Tooley et al., 2007; Rangaraju et al., 2012; Caddell, 2007; Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014	6
12.	The school has high quality of teaching English	Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014; Zeitlyn et al., 2015	3
13.	Students have high performance in English language	Das et al., 2012; Subedi et al., 2014; Day Ashley et al., 2014; Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014	4
14.	Studying in English gives better chance for pursuing higher education	Caddell, 2007; Subedi et al., 2014	2
15.	The students' discipline at school is high	Day Ashley et al., 2014; Subedi et al., 2014; Rangaraju et al., 2012	3
16.	The school has safe environment	Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Heyneman & Stern, 2014	2
17.	The school has a friendly atmosphere	Yaacob et al., 2014; Yaacob et al., 2015; Subedi et al., 2014	3
18.	The school shares the same values with parents	Yaacob et al., 2014; Yaacob et al., 2015	2
19.	The parents of other children at the school share the same values as I do	Elacqua et al., 2006	
20.	The school is related to a particular religious philosophy	Yaacob et al., 2014; Yaacob et al., 2015; Draper & Hofmeyr, 2015; Heyneman & Stern, 2014	4
21.	The school location is close to home	Jamil et al., 2012	1
22.	The school tuition fees are low	Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Jamil et al., 2012	2
23.	The school has good infrastructure	Ahmed & Sheikh, 2014; Jamil et al., 2012	2

Appendix (4) Domains and Items of Private Schools Choice Factors

No.	Items	Domains
1	The school has reputation of good quality education	Academic Quality
2	Students achieve high academic performance	Academic Quality
3	The school offers better course-subjects	Academic Quality
4	The school is better in terms of teaching approaches	Academic Quality
5	The school offers extra activities	Physical Resources
6	The school has small classes	Academic Quality
7	Graduating from this school gives more job opportunities in future	Academic Quality
8	The school has good quality of teachers	Academic Quality
9	The school has foreign teachers	Academic Quality
10	The teachers' presence is high	Academic Quality
11	English is the language of teaching	Language of Instruction
12	The school has high quality of teaching English	Language of Instruction
13	Students have high performance in English language	Language of Instruction
14	Studying in English gives better chance for pursuing higher education	Language of Instruction
15	The students' discipline at school is high	School Environment
16	The school has safe environment	School Environment
17	The school has a friendly atmosphere	School Environment
18	The school shares the same values as parents	Values & Believes
19	The parents of other children at the school share the same values as I do	Values & Believes
20	The school is related to a particular religious philosophy	Values & Believes
21	The school location is close to home	Logistic
22	The school tuition fees are relatively low	Logistic
23	The school has good infrastructure	Physical Resources

Appendix (5) The Questionnaire

A. Factors of school choice

Dear Parent

How important did you consider the following factors for sending your child to the private school? Please tick one answer for each of the following statements.

No.	The Items	Not Important	Slightly Important	Important	Very Important
1.	The school has reputation of good quality education				
2.	Students achieve high academic performance				
3.	The school offers better course-subjects				
4.	The school is better in terms of teaching approaches				
5.	The school offers extra activities				
6.	The school has small classes				
7.	Graduating from this school gives more job opportunities in future				
8.	The school has good quality of teachers				
9.	The school has foreign teachers				
10.	The teachers' presence is high				
11.	English is the language of teaching				
12.	The school has high quality of teaching English				
13.	Students have high performance in English language				
14.	Studying in English gives better chance for pursuing higher education				
15.	The students' discipline at school is high				
16.	The school has safe environment				
17.	The school has a friendly atmosphere				
18.	The school shares the same values as parents				
19.	The parents of other children at the school share the same values as I do				
20.	The school is related to a particular religious philosophy				
21.	The school location is close to home				
22.	The school tuition fees are relatively low				
23.	The school has good infrastructure				

Please state if there were other factors rather than what is mentioned in the above questionnaire.

.....
.....
.....

B. Parents' Background Information

1. Who is the interviewee? Father Mother

2. Age of Parents

a. How old is the father ? <input type="radio"/> 25 or under <input type="radio"/> 26-40 <input type="radio"/> 41-55 <input type="radio"/> 56 or older	b. How old is the mother? <input type="radio"/> 25 or under <input type="radio"/> 26-40 <input type="radio"/> 41-55 <input type="radio"/> 56 or older
---	--

3. Educational level of Parents

a. Education level of Father <input type="radio"/> Basic Education <input type="radio"/> Secondary School <input type="radio"/> Vocational/technical Institute (2 years) <input type="radio"/> Bachelor <input type="radio"/> Higher Education <input type="radio"/> None of the above	b. Education level of Mother <input type="radio"/> Basic Education <input type="radio"/> Secondary School <input type="radio"/> Vocational/technical Institute (2 years) <input type="radio"/> Bachelor <input type="radio"/> Higher Education <input type="radio"/> None of the above
---	---

4. Occupation of Parents

a. Father Occupation b. Mother Occupation

5. Mother Tongue of Parents

a. **Father:** Kurdish Arabic Other

b. **Mother:** Kurdish Arabic Other

6. Family Wealth Situation

The situating of my family in terms of wealth is:

- a. better than the average
- b. as the same as the average
- c. below than the average

7. How much was your family monthly income when you sent your child to the private school?

- Under 500 \$
- 500 - 999
- 1000 - 1499
- 1500 - 1999
- 2000 - 2499
- Over 2500
- Would rather not say

C. Students' Information

1. How many children do you have?

2. How many of your children go to public schools?

3. How many of your children go to private schools?

4. Gender of your child who is attending the private school. Male Female

5. Which grade is your child attending now? -----

Appendix (6) Kurdish Version of the Questionnaire

راپرسین

أ. فاکتەرین هەلبژارتنا قوتابخانی

دەیک و بابین هێژا

ئەڤ فاکتەرین ل خواری دیارکری چەند د گرنگبون ل دەڤتە بۆ فریکرنا زاروکی خوبو قوتابخانا تایبەت؟ هیقیە بەرسڤەکی بتنی بۆ هەر خالەکی هەلبژێرە.

ژ	کەرستە	نە یا گرنگە	بیچەک یا گرنگە	گرنگە	گەلەک یا گرنگە
1	قی قوتابخانی نافۆدەنگەکی باش هەیه				
2	قوتابی ئەنجامین باش ب دەست خوڤە دئین				
3	ئەڤ قوتابخانە بابەتین کورسی یین باشتر پیشکیش دکەت				
4	قوتابخانی ریکین باشتر یین وانە گوتنی یت هەین				
5	قی قوتابخانی چالاکیین زیدەتر هەنە				
6	دقی قوتابخانی کیم قوتابیین د پوڵڤه				
7	پتر دەرفەتین کاری بۆ دەرجووین قی قوتابخانی ل پاشەرۆژی هەنە				
8	قوتابخانی ماموستایین گەلەک باش هەنە				
9	قی قوتابخانی ماموستایین بیانی هەنە				
10	ماموستا هەردەم ل قوتابخانی د ئامادەنە				
11	زمانی فیکرنی زمانی ئینگلیزیە				
12	قی قوتابخانی ریکین گەلەک باش بۆ فیکرنا زمانی ئینگلیزی هەنە				
13	شیانین مەزن ل دەڤ قوتابی د زمانی ئینگلیزی هەنە				
14	خواندن ب زمانی ینگلیزی پتر دەرفەتان بو خواندنا بلند پەیدا دکەت				
15	قوتابی گەلەک پینگری ب قی قوتابخانی دکەن				
16	قی قوتابخانی ژینگە هەکا ئارام هەیه				
17	قی قوتابخانی سەقایی هەقالینی هەیه				
18	هزرۆبیرین قی قوتابخانی وەکو یین دەیک و بابانە				
19	هزرۆبیرین دەیک و بابین قوتابیین دی ل قی قوتابخانی وەکو هزرۆبیرین منن				
20	قوتابخانە یا گریدایی ب ئاینەکی تایبەتڤه				
21	قوتابخانە یا نژیکی مالە				
22	پاری دەیتە دان بۆ قوتابخانی تا رادەکی یی کیمە				
23	ئاقاهی و کەلوپەلین قی قوتابخانی دباشن				

هېڅيه ههكه هندك فاكتهرېن دى هه بن , كولسهرى ئاماژه پي نه هاتبېته دان بوم ه ديارېكه.

.....

.....

.....

ب. پېزانېنېن دهيك و بابان:

1. كى قى راپرسىنى تى دكته؟ دهيك باب

2. تى دهيك و بابان:

<p>ب. تى دهيكى چهنده</p> <p><input type="radio"/> دبن 25 دا</p> <p><input type="radio"/> 40-26</p> <p><input type="radio"/> 55-41</p> <p><input type="radio"/> 56 و پتر</p>	<p>ا. تى بابى چهنده</p> <p><input type="radio"/> دبن 25 دا</p> <p><input type="radio"/> 40-26</p> <p><input type="radio"/> 55-41</p> <p><input type="radio"/> 56 و پتر</p>
---	--

3. ئاستى خواندنا دهيك و بابان:

<p>ب. ئاستى خاندنى يى دهيكى</p> <p><input type="radio"/> خواندنا بنهرهت</p> <p><input type="radio"/> خواندنا ئامادهيى</p> <p><input type="radio"/> په پمانگه ه</p> <p><input type="radio"/> بهكه لوريوس</p> <p><input type="radio"/> خواندنا بلند</p> <p><input type="radio"/> چ ژئه قين ل سهرى نه</p>	<p>ا. ئاستى خاندنى يى بابى</p> <p><input type="radio"/> خواندنا بنهرهت</p> <p><input type="radio"/> خواندنا ئامادهيى</p> <p><input type="radio"/> په پمانگه ه</p> <p><input type="radio"/> بهكه لوريوس</p> <p><input type="radio"/> خواندنا بلند</p> <p><input type="radio"/> چ ژئه قين ل سهرى نه</p>
--	---

4. كارى دهيك و بابان:

ا. كارى بابى
ب. كارى دهيكى

5. زمانى دەيكي يى دەيك و بابان:

- أ. زمانى بايى كوردى عەرەبى زمانەكى دى
- ب. زمانى دەيكي كوردى عەرەبى زمانەكى دى

5. بارى ئابورى يى خىزانى

بارى ئابورى يى خىزانانا من

- باشتىرە ئناقنجى
- ناقنجى
- كىمتىرە ئناقنجى

6. پارى ھەيقانە يى خىزانى چەند بۇدەمى تە زاروكى خورفيكريه قوتابخانا تايبەت؟

- دىن 500 دولاراندانا
- 999 - 500
- 1499 - 1000
- 1999 - 1500
- 2499 - 2000
- 2500 پتر
- من نەقئىت بىژم

ت. پىزانىنكىن قوتايان

1. تە چەند زاروك ھەنە؟
2. چەند زاروكىن تە د چنە قەتابخاننىن حكومى؟
3. چەند زاروكىن تە د چنە قەتابخاننىن تايبەت؟
4. رەگەزى زاروكى تە ئەوى د چىتە قوتابخانا تايبەت كور كچ
5. زاروكى تە نوكة ل كىژ قوناعىيە؟



University
of Bamberg
Press

This book addresses the development and the functions of private schools in the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. A region that witnessed a huge change in the education system after its establishment in 1992 alongside with the rise of private schools numbers. Private school choice and profiles of private education providers are discussed based on empirical data. The data consist of using document analysis of 10 private education providers' websites to describe the profiles of private education providers as well as a questionnaire (n=223) conducted with parents to find out the most important factors influencing the choice of private schools.

The study shows that private schools in Kurdistan Region of Iraq connect students to the globalized world through using English as the medium of instruction which is considered the most important factor that parents consider in choosing private schools. The choice of private schools can be seen as a reflect for a globalized movement towards the privatization of education.



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