

An Investigation into the Effects and Outcomes of a
School Voucher System in Pakistan: Multiple
Voices & Perspectives

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**A thesis submitted in candidature for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
Newcastle University**

June 2019

Abstract

Education vouchers are a highly contested issue. The question is, can education vouchers, using public funds to finance privately run schools, improve outcomes for disadvantaged children as well as to provide equitable access for girls and boys? Several countries have implemented such a scheme, producing positive to mixed results. At the heart of education vouchers lies serious issues such as equality and social justice. Education is a universal right, which defines a person's life prospects. Inequalities in education and the lack of schooling for many children, shows the uneven distribution of wealth and lack of justice defining the lives of many of the worlds most disadvantaged children. Various voucher programmes have been adopted in different countries, each country devising their own scheme as an important provider for education. These models are often formulated on the basis of a liberal market approach or social policy reforms. Advocates of voucher programmes argue that they improve quality in public schools and private schools, opponents believe that quality does not improve and voucher programmes still do not ensure equitable access to education.

Using data I collected in Pakistan, I examine the effect of education vouchers in low-cost private schools using multiple perspectives and voices. Questionnaires, IQ, maths and English tests were carried out with students to consider the impact of the programme on student outcomes. Interviews were conducted with school managers, parents, teachers and officials from the program, to investigate the overall effects of vouchers on a school community using multiple voices and perspectives. The main findings of this research shows that:

- Girls empowerment and access to schooling can be facilitated through a voucher design that focuses on gender equality;
- It is important to listen to multiple voices in the community when a policy is introduced and implemented;
- Test scores and student outcomes are not the only measure of success for voucher programmes that are implemented in the Global South;
- Education programmes can create stability within the schooling system not only to households but also to teachers and school owners.

Acknowledgments

I dedicate this body of work to my beloved mother. Whose passing taught me my first, and above all, my most valuable life lesson; the passing of any human life is a pain to all of humanity, but to ignore grave truths that render some lives to greater worth is an injustice.

I am extremely grateful to a number of people who have supported this PhD. Firstly, to my supervisor, Professor Pauline Dixon, for her unwavering support and mentorship. Thank you for shaping this 'idea' into a PhD. Special thanks to all the teaching staff at Newcastle University.

I would like to thank all those at The Punjab Education Foundation. If it were not for them, general access to the schools would not have taken place. Thank you also for allowing me to conduct my research freely. To all those who participated in the study - formally and informally, a debt of gratitude for all the time invested and candour offered to me in interviews.

I would also like to thank my friends and PhD colleagues who shared this four-year journey with me. Together we share a lifetime of memories.

I am grateful to my family who continuously motivated and encouraged me. Thank you for your emotional and financial support.

To my baby, who has been with me for the last seven months of this journey. One day you will be big enough, tall enough, strong enough and brave enough to take on the world.

Lastly, to my husband and best friend, thank you for your support, love, for continuously making me laugh and how stressful times pass by so easily with you by my side. I know you have done a lot for me and I hope you will continue to do so, with all your love and strength. Thank you.

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Glossary of Terms

| | |
|--------|--|
| ANCOVA | Analysis of Covariance |
| ANOVA | Analysis of Variance |
| DFID | Department for International Development |
| EFA | Education for All |
| EVS | Education Voucher Scheme |
| FAS | Foundation Assisted Schools |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| LEAPS | Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools |
| PACES | Programa de Ampliacion de Cobertura de la Educacion Secundaria |
| PEF | Pakistan Education Foundation |
| PPP | Public Private Partnership |
| SAHE | Society for the Advancement of Education |
| QATs | Quality Assurance Tests |

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the role of vouchers in low-cost private schools in the province of Punjab, Pakistan. This introductory chapter traces the education system in Pakistan and the rise of private schooling. It will consider some of the historical factors that have shaped the education system as well as the budget dedicated to it. Five questions are raised setting out the focus of this research. Each of the questions are explored under separate headings and are:

1. Why look at education vouchers?
2. What is Pakistan's education budget?
3. Why look at Pakistan and Punjab province?
4. Why look at the Punjab Education Foundation?
5. Why a case study approach?

When each of these questions has been discussed, I will have established why and how this research is being undertaken and what this research contributes to the literature around vouchers in developing country contexts. This research is a continuation of my Masters dissertation and some of the literature review was also carried out for that Degree at Newcastle University.

1.2 Why Look at Education Vouchers?

This thesis investigates the impact of education vouchers in the province of Punjab. Education vouchers are a highly contested issue. The question many ask is can education vouchers using public funds to finance privately run schools improve outcomes for disadvantaged children? Several countries have implemented such schemes. Research shows positive to mixed results concerning the outcomes of voucher programmes around the world. Education is a universal right defining lifes prospects. Inequalities in education and the lack of schooling for many children shows the uneven distribution of wealth and the lack of justice defining the lives of some of the worlds most disadvantaged children. These inequalities have led many to look for 'justice' through educational opportunities that can be gained through education vouchers.

Voucher programmes have been adopted in countries around the world including America, England, Sweden, India, Pakistan, Chile and Columbia. Different voucher models have different objectives, each country having devised their own voucher scheme allowing families more choice for their children's schooling. These models are often formulated on the basis of liberal market approaches or social policy reforms. A liberal market approach and social reforms include education vouchers aimed at improving school efficacy and consumer choice which in turn increases competition, within the education market, and increasing the quality of private and public schools, thereby attracting more students and resources. Voucher programmes involve a payment made by a government or an aid agency to a school chosen by parents. The voucher often covers the majority of fees.

There are many arguments in favour of education vouchers including that they may improve quality in both private and public schools (Arenas, 2004; and Holla, 2009). Vouchers increase equity because they provide poor families with choice and access to private education (Patrinos, 2005). Additionally, vouchers may limit segregation within communities and between socio-economic groups (Wolf, 2013).

Opponents of voucher schemes argue that they do not stimulate quality education and many school owners in private schools are only interested in maximising profit (Arenas, 2004). Increased school choice may also lead to 'cream skimming' where private schools select the most academically advantaged students (Lara et al., 2010). Additionally, a voucher may not cover the full cost of the tuition fees thus restricting uptake to families who are able to 'top-up' the voucher. In some cases vouchers may not create equity and improve educational outcome for all children and create a larger gap between rich and poor.

1.3 Pakistan's Education Budget

Pakistan spends less than 3% of its GDP on education despite a target of 4%. In the 2015-2016 budget the combined federal and provincial government allocation for education was almost Rs. 734 billion (£4.6 billion) this constitutes just 2.68% of GDP. This figure is double the size of the 2010 fiscal budget - Rs. 304 billion (£1.9 billion).¹ Most

¹ Budget numbers for fiscal years 2010 to 2015 are derived from budget charts in I-SAPS Public Financing of Education in Pakistan: Analysis Of Federal, Provincial, And District Budgets, 2010-11 To 2015-16, pages 77-81

provinces have doubled their budgets since 2010 with authority over education and other sectors decentralised from the federal government to the provincial governments in 2010.

Table 1 Education budget ²

| Province | 2013-2014 | | 2014-2015 | | 2015-2016 | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|
| | Allocation (PK rupees in billion) | % GDP | Allocation (PK rupees in billion) | % GDP | Allocation (PK rupees in billion) | % GDP |
| Federal | 80.398 | 2.59% | 86.4 | 2.62% | 97.88 | 2.68% |
| Khyber Pakhtunkhwa | 96.407 | | 111.3 | | 119.72 | |
| Punjab | 232.566 | | 273 | | 310.2 | |
| Sindh | 135.546 | | 145.02 | | 157.517 | |
| Balochistan | 34.898 | | 40.674 | | 48.524 | |
| Total | 579.815 | | 656.394 | | 733.841 | |

In the past three years there has been a slight increase in GDP from 2.59% to 2.62% to 2.68%. For comparison, Pakistan sets aside almost as much for its military budget as it does for education. The military budget for the fiscal year 2016 is Rs. 860 billion (£5.4 billion, 2.9% GDP) which is close to the Rs 790 billion (£4.9 billion, 2.7% GDP as of 2017) set aside for the total education budget. Table 1 provides the figures for the education budget across provinces from 2013-2016. If we compare Pakistan's education budget to other South Asian and African countries it is much smaller. Table 2 shows the percentage of GDP provided to education in other South Asian and African countries. Pakistan falls behind the international minimum of 4%. Pakistan is lagging behind other south Asian and African countries with regards to education spend.

Table 2 Countries GDP

| Country | % of GDP spent on education | Date |
|--------------|-----------------------------|------|
| Afghanistan | 4.6 | 2013 |
| Brazil | 6.3 | 2013 |
| Iran | 3.7 | 2013 |
| India | 3.9 | 2013 |
| Rwanda | 5.0 | 2013 |
| South Africa | 6.0 | 2013 |

Pakistan's goal of 4% GDP is much lower and harder to attain given that tax revenue only reaches around 9% of GDP, one of the lowest tax/GDP ratios in the world. (Rose and Malik, 2015). Resource allocation targets can only be achieved through tax system

² See: Alif Ailaan, Government Allocations For Education In Pakistan: The Road To Getting To 4% Of GDP (Islamabad: Alif Ailaan, 2015), http://www.alifailaan.pk/budget_allocation_2015

reforms, and prioritising the countries social-development goals. According to the 2013/14 Education For All (EFA) Global Monitoring Report if the Pakistan government increases its tax revenue to 14% of GDP and allocates one-fifth of this to education it could raise sufficient funds to allow all children to attend schools. The EFA Global Monitoring report estimates Pakistan will need to double its spending on education to reach its goals by 2030 and triple the proportion of GDP allocation to basic education (EFA, 2014).

In terms of foreign aid, a very tiny proportion of what Pakistan spends comes from foreign donors. DFID's budget for education in Pakistan is £107 million that is equivalent to just 2% of Pakistan education budget.³ The World Bank estimates that 17% of Punjab's provincial budget over the past three years, has come from the World Bank and other countries and donors. Punjab's salary budget has gone up 74 percent since 2010 but there has been a 7 percent increase in test scores.⁴

The GDP figure relates only to government expenditure and the 60% of students who go to government schools. It is estimated, that parents in Pakistan spend another \$8 billion on private education⁵, which is more than State spending. If private schooling is accounted for then the national expenditure on the education budget doubles to \$15 making this more than 4% GDP. With the aim of fixing Pakistan's educational crisis it is relevant to find out how the budget is spent.

1.3.1 Absent Teachers

Seventy to eighty percent of the budget goes to teacher salaries. However research shows that many teachers and employees fail to turn up in the public system. Teacher absenteeism is high with 20 percent of teachers absent in any one day in the Punjab (LEAPS, 2008). Pakistan has had a problem with ghost schools and absent teachers. Education officials have not been able to entice teachers to attend school and teach (LEAPS, 2008).

³ According to DFID's online Development Tracker, 25 percent of DFID's £430 million aid budget for Pakistan in 2016/17 will go to education

⁴ See Punjab Examination Commission and Sindh's SAT reports. This comparison was shared by I-SAPS in a presentation on Public Financing of Education in Pakistan

⁵ I-SAPS estimates that 398 billion rupees are spent on private sector schooling and 431 billion rupees are spent on the "shadow" sector, referring to after-school "tuitions" (tutoring) or any unregistered and unregulated educational service that operates after 2 pm. These figures are in a presentation: I-SAPS, Technical Session -1: Resourcing Public Education, August 6, 2015

Table 3 Salary Expenditure as percentage of total Education Expenditure: 2010 vs 2014

| Provinces | FY 2010 | FY 2014 |
|--------------------|---------|---------|
| Balochistan | 83% | 71% |
| Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa | 77% | 68% |
| Punjab | 82% | 82% |
| Sindh | 48% | 83% |

Typically government schoolteachers are paid five times more than private school teachers (LEAPS, 2008). Private schools pay teachers £20 to £40 a month (Alif Ailaan, 2014) and because of the direct accountability in private schools learning outcomes are perceived to be higher (ibid). A recent report by Alif Ailaan and SAHE (Society for the Advancement of Education) estimates that government teachers spend a quarter of the academic year on non-teaching activities such as helping with anti-polio and anti-dengue drives, elections, and administrating government exams (Alif Ailaan, 2016). Another reason often cited for teacher absenteeism is teacher training.⁶ Parents described government teachers in the LEAP (2008) report as “not motivated” and “not caring about children” (LEAPS, p.68). In 2011 the teacher absentee rate in the Punjab was 20 percent. This has been reducing and is now around 6 percent.⁷

Reforms are underway especially in Punjab. The first step in the reform process has been to delete ghost teachers from the payroll, ensuring teachers are in school and trying to ensure that the schools’ infrastructure is suitable. Research shows that poor quality learning is linked to low enrolment and dropouts. Improving quality will be a key indicator of the success of these reforms.

1.4 Why Look at Pakistan and the Punjab Province? Why Look at PPPs?

The education system in Pakistan has seen major changes in the last few decades. There are currently 44 percent of children between the ages of five and sixteen (approximately 22.6 million children) out of school the majority of whom are girls.⁸ In poorer and more rural areas net enrolment is much lower for both sexes. School participation is low in Pakistan when compared to countries that have similar levels of economic development (Andrabi et al., 2008). The expansion of for profit private education in recent years is

⁶ “Government school teachers expected to do a lot more than teach’ *Dawn*, November 21st 2014, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1145902>

⁷ See website homepage for Punjab Program Monitoring and Implementation Unit, http://open.punjab.gov.pk/schools/home/heat_map

⁸ (Pakistan Education Statistic 2015-16 launched by the National Education Management Information System NEMIS).

seen as an important development with 35% of all primary enrolled children attending private schools (Andrabi et al., 2008). The high level of private school enrolment is a recent phenomenon becoming widely accessible to families from low socio-economic backgrounds. The expansion of low-cost private schools is due to the demand by parents for what they believe is a better quality education than is offered in the state system.

Alif Ailaan's District Education Rankings report (2017) looked at the long-standing trends in primary education and focused on three main issues:

- The disproportionate provision of primary education compared with middle and high school;
- The high level of drop outs between primary and middle school;
- The uneven number of schools for girls at primary, middle and high schools.

Table 4 shows the rankings for each district from the Alif Ailaan report. The report illustrates rankings for each province the capital Islamabad ranking number one in terms of overall education. The government of Pakistan has introduced several reforms and policies for improving education standards. Since 2003 the province has undertaken major reforms. Private providers deliver a substantial proportion of primary education. Punjab has the highest number of private schools and private school enrolment with 14,115 schools at the primary level. The table below shows the number of government and private schools in each district of Punjab. In Layyah 34% of children attend private schools whereas in Lahore less than 35% attend government schools. This indicates the difference in delivery and supply across the province.

Table 4 District Rankings

| District | Government schools | Private schools* ⁹ | Total of government and private enrolment | Percentage of students attending private schools |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|---|--|
| Lahore | 625,760 | 1,305,687 | 1,931,447 | 67.60 |
| Gujranwala | 414,725 | 730,206 | 1,144,931 | 63.78 |
| Multan | 364,277 | 557,525 | 921,802 | 60.48 |
| Rawalpindi | 367,583 | 540,541 | 908,124 | 59.52 |
| Muzaffargarh | 368,571 | 510,491 | 879,062 | 58.07 |
| Sialkot | 407,432 | 517,691 | 925,123 | 55.96 |
| Bahawalpur | 300,135 | 355,390 | 655,525 | 54.21 |
| Lodhran | 159,892 | 181,578 | 341,470 | 53.18 |
| D.G. Khan | 286,577 | 297,447 | 584,024 | 50.93 |
| Narowal | 249,699 | 258,537 | 508,236 | 50.87 |
| Sheikhupura | 322,301 | 332,869 | 655,170 | 50.81 |
| Rajapur | 160,958 | 154,078 | 315,036 | 48.91 |
| Kasur | 398,136 | 380,011 | 778,147 | 48.84 |
| Mandi Bahauddin | 211,436 | 187,519 | 398,955 | 47.00 |
| Chakwal | 183,974 | 160,704 | 344,678 | 46.62 |
| Gujrat | 332,555 | 279,443 | 611,998 | 45.66 |
| Nankana Sahib | 175,645 | 146,700 | 322,345 | 45.51 |
| Vehari | 331,865 | 275,555 | 607,420 | 45.36 |
| Hafizabad | 147,011 | 121,780 | 268,791 | 45.31 |
| Okara | 382,121 | 302,613 | 684,734 | 44.19 |
| Sargodha | 438,726 | 338,217 | 776,943 | 43.53 |
| Jhang | 336,643 | 258,230 | 594,873 | 43.41 |
| Khushab | 153,428 | 111,265 | 264,693 | 42.04 |
| Pakpattan | 212,346 | 151,389 | 363,735 | 41.62 |
| Jhelum | 157,947 | 110,212 | 268,159 | 41.10 |
| Bahawalnagar | 379,587 | 264,810 | 644,397 | 41.09 |
| Mianwali | 204,749 | 137,551 | 342,300 | 40.18 |
| Attock | 227,505 | 150,329 | 377,834 | 39.79 |
| Bhakkar | 216,162 | 135,992 | 352,154 | 38.62 |
| Faisalabad | 820,005 | 505,960 | 1,325,965 | 38.16 |
| Khanewal | 385,556 | 227,524 | 613,080 | 37.11 |
| Toba Tek Singh | 325,910 | 184,760 | 510,670 | 36.18 |
| Chiniot | 166,618 | 90,964 | 257,582 | 35.31 |
| Sahiwal | 320,291 | 170,277 | 490,568 | 34.71 |
| Rahimyar Khan | 497,531 | 263,743 | 761,274 | 34.64 |
| Layyah | 258,080 | 136,579 | 394,659 | 34.61 |

⁹ *includes Non-SED (Non-School Education Department) schools and excluding "other" schools such as Madrassas

Table 5 Enrolment in private and government schools in Punjab

| Rank | | Province/Region | Education Score | Enrolment Score | Learning Score | Retention Score | Gender parity score |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 2016 | 2015 | 2016 | | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | ICT | 85.74 | 89.52 | 71.13 | 87.50 | 94.82 |
| 2 | 2 | AJK | 81.68 | 73.42 | 66.60 | 92.00 | 94.70 |
| 3 | 3 | Punjab | 73.56 | 70.33 | 62.73 | 66.00 | 95.18 |
| 4 | 4 | GB | 73.21 | 58.55 | 60.30 | 87.00 | 86.99 |
| 5 | 5 | KP | 65.32 | 70.85 | 49.48 | 65.00 | 75.96 |
| 6 | 6 | Sindh | 60.44 | 60.87 | 41.25 | 50.00 | 89.65 |
| 7 | 8 | FATA | 54.05 | 62.10 | 50.80 | 31.00 | 72.30 |
| 8 | 7 | Balochistan | 51.04 | 55.56 | 42.68 | 28.00 | 77.93 |

Under the new reform program led by Sir Michael Barber and Shahbaz Sharif there are now tangible goals in place to reform Punjab’s education sector. Under the reform programme monitors visit 94 percent of schools each month to assess whether the teacher is present, how many children are in class, and the condition of the school and infrastructure. These reforms are driven by data. This six-year programme is being carried out in collaboration with DFID and The World Bank. The money is put directly into Punjab’s education budget and donors do not track how the Punjab government spend their money (Naviwala, 2017). Despite these reforms the programme has faced criticism:

“despite over a decade of focused support to large scale education programmes and what some have termed ‘cutting edge’ reforms, educational outcomes, including enrolment rates and learning outcomes [...] Punjab are only marginally better than those in the rest of the country. Gains made over the last decade have stagnated, despite increased sector financing by the [government of] Punjab and support to the sector by the World Bank and other development partners” (Latif, 2016, p.10).¹⁰

DFID shows that there has been a six percent increase in student achievement since 2011. The World Bank concludes that there was a one percent increase since 2007-08 and that

¹⁰ Latif, 2016. Appraisal Project Information Document-Integrated Safeguards Data Sheet – Pakistan: Third Punjab Education Sector Project – P154524, Washington DC: World Bank Group

there was a major increase in enrolment from 2003 before any involvement from international partners. The main reforms in the province are largely based on enrolment rates. Another criticism is the pressure for results. This pressure on district education officials has encouraged them to invent numbers. According to Nadia Naviwala (2017) it was found between October 2015 and November 2015 an average of 4 percent improvement in student's average test scores across subjects. The data also show that two of the three lowest performing districts in Punjab in April and May 2015 Rajanpur and Rawalpindi became the highest performers in maths within four months (Naviwala, 2017, p.18). There are concerns around the validity of data used for policy analysis as there could be a high incentive to forge numbers and progress due to monthly reviews and the need to show positive results.

1.5 Why Look at The Punjab Education Foundation?

The Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) was established in 1991 and restructured in 2004. It is an autonomous body of the provincial government. Through a number of initiatives the Foundation channels public financing to private schools with the aim of promoting high quality education for the poor through the private sector. The World Bank has been supporting PEF since its inception. The PEF has been active in promoting low-cost private schools through private-public partnerships (PPP). The largest programmes are the Foundation Assisted schools where 1.8 million students are registered at private schools and the Education Voucher Scheme (EVS) which supports 400,000 students (PEF Annual Report, 2016). These initiatives have supported the provision of education at a lower cost. Public Private Partnerships (PPP) in education that combine public finance to provide free or subsidized access to privately delivered education are expanding in many developing countries either to increase access where governments are limited or to improve learning outcomes.

1.6 Why a Case Study?

A case study method has been chosen for this research as it was deemed the most appropriate and the case study framework set out by Yin (2003) has been followed. Yin (2003) states that case studies are the preferred method when answering the how or why questions as:

“it allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as individual life cycles, organisational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, and international relations” (2003, p.2).

The term case study is usually described as research that has a particular location or is within a community or an organisation. Bryman (2008) writes that most case studies are linked with qualitative research and it is qualitative methods that are helpful in creating a detailed qualitative case (p.53). Different social science methods with different needs “arise out of a desire to study a complex and social phenomena” (2003, p.2). Case studies are the best approach where questionnaires can be designed to obtain direct answers from the participants. However to understand an individual’s behaviour or the work of an organisation we must understand the way they perceive a situation. We cannot understand or observe the effects of the situation unless we consider them from the others point of view. The purpose of a case study is that it must be answered through what is being studied. If the case study is explanative then the research needs to identify patterns in the observations, which may be either casual or relational (if no causality). If the case study is evaluative then the researcher makes judgements and evaluations from their research. The explorative case study tries to examine what is happening in certain situations and asks questions to assess the occurrences in a new way.

1.7 My Contribution

There has been a debate now for around twenty years concerning whether the poor and the marginalised are served by low cost private school (Heyneman and Stern, 2013; Day Ashley et al, 2014). This debate really began with Professor James Tooley’s seminal work around ‘low cost’ private schools through his work with the World Bank, CfBT and the Sir John Templeton Foundation (Tooley 2009). Other academics have replicated Tooley’s studies such as Professor Pauline Rose, Dr Joanna Härmä and Dr Laura Day Ashley. However, coming from different perspectives philosophically and with their own particular hypothesis the existence of low cost private schools grown from the grassroots level by the marginalised themselves have caused contention and fierce debate (Rose and Malik, 2015; Härmä, 2010, 2011, 2012; Day Ashley, 2014). However, the majority of the literature has found that low-cost private schools are an option for poorer families even in the context of post conflict (Tooley, 2009; Tooley and Dixon, 2006; 2007; Tooley

and Longfield, 2013). In some developing countries educational initiatives such as education vouchers have also been embraced in order to make private schooling an option for the most marginalised as would possibly be argued by Rose, Day Ashley, and Härmä as a way forward if the most marginalised weren't already being served by low cost private schools. This thesis aims to investigate the education voucher scheme in Punjab, Pakistan. Although research has been carried out regarding education vouchers, research fails to explore the difference between voucher and non-voucher students who are studying within the same low cost private schools. This thesis also provided alongside the quantitative data the voices and perspectives of those living within the communities themselves. This makes for a rich contribution getting into the thoughts and voices of those that have lived the experience of the voucher programme in Pakistan.

1.8 The Thesis

This thesis carries out research to answer questions pertaining to an education voucher programme that has been implemented in Pakistan. The aim is to investigate whether the scheme serves poor sections of society and if vouchers assist in the progression of education for all in Pakistan. Although much research has been carried out in developing countries around the impact of education vouchers more research is needed to understand the impact of voucher programmes in developing country contexts. This study will address the following three research questions in the context of comparing children who receive vouchers who attend private schools with those who are already in private schools but paying fees:

1. Does participating in a voucher programme improve student outcomes and experience of recipients compared to those already in private schools but paying fees?
2. Has the introduction of vouchers in Pakistan impacted on the school community and stakeholders?
3. Does participating in a voucher programme diminish gender inequalities, comparing those with vouchers and those in the private schools whose parents pay fees?

Based on the research questions and the results from the analysis the significance of the study will be of interest to the Pakistan government and international agencies including DFID and The World Bank. Given the global movement that is working towards the goal of education for all and the Sustainable Development Goal 4 this

research will be of particular interest to those working towards these goals. Additionally, the research questions are designed to explore the relationship between voucher and non-voucher students studying in the same private school and class. The research will be carried out in three cities in the province of Punjab across six-different low-cost private schools.

This thesis is presented in the following way. Chapter two looks at the literature that surrounds the education voucher debate. Chapter three presents the methods used for this research. Chapter four analyses the data collected for this research using a mixed methods approach. These results are then discussed in Chapter five, where the implications for policy and practice are situated into the broader literature. Lastly Chapter six brings together the main findings and details their importance for future work.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature review considers the impact of education vouchers in Pakistan. The review will consider the effectiveness and incentives surrounding education vouchers schemes. Education vouchers aim to expand parental school choice (Gauri & Vawda, 2003; Oosterbeek & Patrinos 2008; Patrinos, 2007), which advocates believe can increase competition and may improve quality in both public and private schools which compete to attract students (Arenas 2004; Kremer & Holla, 2008). Opponents of vouchers argue low-cost private schools do not provide high quality education but maximize on profit and merely financially exploit the poor (Arenas, 2004). The impact of school vouchers is systematically reviewed below.

This review considers the theoretical and practical research that has been undertaken in order to understand education voucher programmes and their outcomes. This chapter begins by exploring the school management types that exist in Pakistan and the different types of education programmes that can be implemented by governments and private foundations alike.

2.2 School Type

There are three different types of schools in Pakistan:

(i) government schools in which no tuition fee is charged and admission is not dependent on academic ability or parental background. These institutions are run and funded by the State or Central Governments (Srivastava and Walford, 2007; EFA Global Monitoring Report 2009, 2013);

(ii) private schools (both low and high fee) which charge tuition fees, and are often run by individuals, non-government and voluntary organisations. The admission criteria vary but it is primarily dependent on the parent's ability to pay. In some instances admission may be dependent upon a school admission tests;

(iii) Madrasahs are categorised as private schools, however no student fees are required. Religious education in madrasahs typically prevails over the national curriculum (Bano, 2007; Andrabi et al., 2009).

The growing role of the private sector in the provision of education in the developing world is one that causes much debate (Day Ashley et al., 2015; Tooley and Longfield, 2015). For some the rise of private schools is seen as a positive step towards achieving quality education and education for all. Advocates of the private sector highlight evidence of higher quality education in private schools than government schools (Tooley and Dixon, 2007; Desai et al, 2008; French and Kingdon, 2010). Pakistan has seen a growth in the number of low-cost private schools in recent years. Private schooling in Pakistan is widespread and is rapidly increasing including in rural areas. Driven by the rise of low-cost private schools the share of enrolment in low and middle-income countries has increased from 10% in 1990 to almost 25% in 2015 (Baum et al., 2014). According to Carneiro et al., (2016) 39% of children were enrolment in private schools in Pakistan in 2015. Children who attend low-cost private schools are from both the middle classes and poorer families (Andrabi et al., 2006). However, comparing private and public schools in developing countries can be problematic as a large number of private schools are unregistered and therefore missing from government reports and lists (Tooley et al., 2011). According to ASER learning levels of children in rural areas remains low and it is sometimes suggested that the private school effect is often related to low achievement levels in state schools (ASER Pakistan, 2014).

2.3 Education Vouchers

Education vouchers aim to expand parental school choice for the marginalised (Gauri & Vawda, 2003; Oosterbeek & Patrinos 2008; Patrinos, 2007), which advocates believe can increase competition or may improve quality in both public and private schools, which compete to attract students (Arenas 2004; Kremer & Holla, 2008). Various voucher scheme models have been adopted in countries including America (Carnoy, 1997; Levin, 2018; Wolf et al., 2018), England (Alexiadou et al., 2016), Sweden (Shafiq et al., 2014), India (Muralidharan, 2006; CMS Social, 2009; Woodhead M., et al 2013), Pakistan (Salman, 2010; Kim et al., 1999), Chile (Behrman et al., 2016; Contreras, 2010; Hsieh and Urquiola, 2003), and Columbia (Bettinger et al., 2010; Angrist et al., 2004). Different voucher models have different objectives. Each country has devised their own voucher

programmes that suit their education needs. Some vouchers opponents state that if vouchers are provided to children to attend poor quality low-cost private schools that are run by entrepreneurs who wish to maximize profit then such programmes drain public resources (Arenas, 2004).

Milton Friedman is the key pioneer for education vouchers in America and for school choice. In his essay '*The Role of Government in Education*' (1955) Friedman introduced the idea of education vouchers and believed that the promotion of vouchers would benefit society as a whole and stated that "the gain from the education of a child accrues not only to the child or to his parents but to other members of the society" (Friedman, 1955, p.86).

Friedman believed government intervention is justified on two grounds, first on the basis of a natural monopoly and second owing to the "neighbourhood effect". The grounds for government intervention are different in these two types and justify different types of actions. The neighbourhood effect requires the child receives a minimum amount of education of a specific kind that is imposed upon by parents and not the government. Friedman was an advocate for family support rather than government intervention. He believed that governments should only intervene if parents cannot financially meet the requirements for their child. Friedman states that:

"the advantage of imposing the costs on the parents is that it would tend to equalize the social and private cost of having children and so promote a better distribution of families by size" (Friedman, 1955, p.3).

The social gain from education has a "neighbouring effect" therefore government financing education can be justified in these terms:

"it is a form of investment in human capital [...] its function is to raise the economic productivity of the human being. If it does so, the individual is rewarded in a free enterprise society by receiving a higher return for their services than he would otherwise be able to command" (Friedman, 1955, p.10).

The investment in human capital is far greater to society thus Friedman believed that such investment will create incentives for the individual to work harder and the rate of return on investment is greater. What Friedman tries to distinguish is the separation of government in education from finance and administration and its failure to distinguish between the two. Friedman did not believe in the role of government in education but that governments should only finance and administrate it. This view leads to Friedman's focus on education vouchers. The parent would be free to spend the voucher at a school of their choice. The schools could include private schools (for profit and non-profit), religious schools and government schools, thus creating competition among schools. The result of this would be less government involvement in education.

Fifty years after his voucher proposal, Friedman believed that education vouchers had been shown to be successful and that families receiving them had benefited. Not only had individual students benefitted from receiving the voucher but owing to competition all types of schooling had improved:

“the educational performance of these voucher schools has been better than that of government schools from which the voucher students came. And the education performance of these government schools has improved” (Friedman, 2006, p.156).

Friedman states that the implementation of voucher programmes has been disappointing. This is largely due to “centralization, bureaucratization, and unionization, which have enabled teacher unions and educational administrators to gain effective control of government elementary and secondary schools.” Furthermore, “union leaders and educational administrators regard extended parental choice through voucher and tax paid scholarships as a major threat to their monopolistic control” (Friedman, 2006, p.157).

As Friedman himself believes vouchers have not had the opportunity to flourish due to vested interest groups who at every turn campaign against choice programmes. School choice programmes for some are threatening their status quo. Government regulation and monopoly stifles innovation and competition in the Global North.

2.3.1 Targeted Vouchers

There are two types of education vouchers, targeted and universal. Targeted vouchers are targeted at a certain population who meet a set criterion to be eligible to receive one. Universal vouchers are available to all where eligibility is not required.

The Colombia targeted voucher programme is regarded as one of the most successful. The PACES (Programa de Ampliacion de Cobertura de la Educacion Secundaria) programme sought to take advantage of the private sector by issuing private school vouchers to the poorest in the population renewable annually conditional on grade advancement. Angrist et al., (2002) carried out 3000 surveys between 1998 and 1999, the results showed that after three years voucher lottery winners scored 0.2 standard deviation higher on standardised test. Voucher children were 15 percentage points more likely to attend private school and were 5 percentage points less likely to repeat a year of schooling. Voucher winners had completed 0.1 more years of schooling. The overall enrolment rate did not increase, but spaces became available in public schools. The voucher provided only partial school funding and this was determined to incentivise students to work harder in order to continue their voucher offer.

Lamarche (2011) found that the incentives brought about by the voucher increased weak student's performances by 0.1 standard deviations, roughly the score associated with half a year of school learning. Similarly, Bettinger et al., (2010) found that lottery winners had better educational achievements than non-lottery recipients. King et al., (1997) examined the results of criteria based assessments in maths and Spanish for 7th and 9th graders for three types of schools - public, voucher private and voucher non-private. The study found no statistically significant difference in results for public and private schools. King used data from 1992 and 1993, the first year the programme was initiated. The limited time period may not have shown any advantages around student outcomes for lottery winners and losers. Later studies have shown statistically significant positive gains in terms of student achievement (Angrist et al., 2002¹¹; Lamarche, 2011; Bettinger et al., 2010). The Colombian government offered a limited number of vouchers to poor students and as a result few new schools opened. By comparison it was estimated that over 1,000 private

¹¹ Lottery winners scored 0.2 standard deviation higher than non-lottery winners, with girls scoring higher than boys. (Angrist et al, 2002)

schools opened in Chile owing to the introduction of its voucher programme (McEwan, 2001).

The voucher model has become increasingly common among Latin American countries with Colombia seen as one of the pioneering and more extensive programmes. There are a number of reasons behind the success of Colombia's voucher programme. First, the lottery design provided all applicants with an opportunity to win the lottery. Second, in terms of financing, when the voucher was first introduced the majority of fees were covered. The voucher now only covers half of the tuition and the remaining fee is covered by the child's family. Unlike the Chilean system, there was no large shift of students from public schools to private schools. Firstly, because of public schools in Colombia were highly regarded and enjoyed a good reputation. Secondly, the Ministry has limited the number of vouchers offered, thus creating a competitive market place.

2.3.2 Universal Vouchers

Chile has implemented the most well-known voucher scheme in the developing world and has been in place since the 1980s and researched extensively. The programme is publically funded and allows parents to choose from public and private schools. The voucher scheme decentralised the municipal school system thus the government began financing both private and public schools through their voucher programme (McEwan et al., 2000). According to Carnoy (1998) the Chilean voucher programme:

- 1.) Increased school choice that would increase the welfare of families who sent children to school;
- 2.) Social costs, from increasing choices from privatisation public education, would be minimal;
- 3.) Privately managed education cost would be inherently more effective;
- 4.) Public schools competing for pupils among themselves and with private education would become more effective;
- 5.) A privatised and competitive education system would be more likely to improve social mobility for children of low-income families.

Three types of schooling make up the education sector in Chile - municipal, private subsidised, and private non-subsidised. Municipal and privatised subsidised schools are normally funded by the state and parents can choose to send their children to a school of

their choice. Households can choose to send their child to any school type. This system produced a mass shift from public schools to private voucher schools and increased public school attendance almost 35 percent in the first 15 years of the programme (Arenas, 2004).

Chile's universal scheme gives the opportunity to all students to attend private schools of their choice that are subsidised by the government with a per-student voucher. Chile's military government decentralised public schools in the 1980s and began financing most public and private schools with vouchers. The financing through vouchers saw an increase in private school enrolment with the transfer of responsibility from public school management to local municipalities. Payments to public schools and private schools were in direct proportion to student enrolment. McEwan and Carnoy (2000) assess the effectiveness of public and private school through academic achievements and controlling for family and school inputs. Their results showed that private school enrolment is marginally less effective in producing test scores of maths and Spanish in the fourth grade. Furthermore, the results showed that non-religious private voucher schools were less effective than public schools outside of the capital however the vouchers cost less than the average public school costs. Achievement results for non-religious private voucher schools are marginally less as a result of resource restraints. Additionally religious private schools were seen as more effective than public schools by one standard deviation over the years. The conclusion of the study seems to suggest that non-religious private voucher schools are more effective than public schools.

Some of the research carried out is mixed; some find a positive impact whilst other research finds no impact on test scores or enrolment (Gallego, 2006; Sapelli, 2005; Hsieh and Urquiola, 2006; Mizala and Romaguera, 2000). However, what is agreed upon is that there was an expansion of secondary schooling resulting from the increase in private school participation with fewer dropouts (Petrosino and Fronius, 2013). Private school enrolment increased from 15 percent to 33 percent between 1981 (when the voucher scheme was introduced) to 1996 (McEwan and Carnoy, 2000). Many new private schools have opened as a result of the voucher programme (Lara et al., 2010). Some believe that private schooling is limited to urban areas (Thapa and Mahendra, 2010) and in rural areas

81 percent of schools are public. In some areas of Chile private school enrolment is zero (Tokman-Ramos, 2002; McEwan et al., 2008).¹²

2.3.3. Voucher design and Environment

As well as voucher programmes taking the form of Universal or Targeted there are different forms and characteristics that their design can take. Voucher program design is influenced by the setting in which they are introduced and the design in turn will influence incentives for parents, school owners, teachers and students. The design of the voucher will have an influence over mechanisms such as whether the voucher increases parental accountability or provides an incentive for girls to be sent to school or remain there for longer. Incentives for competition between public and private schools as well as between schools will only be forthcoming when the design of the voucher allows this through student mobility and transferability. The threat of closure through the market mechanism and the benefits of competition will only be borne out if the voucher design allows this to happen (Epple, et al., 2017; Chakrabarti, 2008b). As stated by Chakrabarti (2008b, p.1) ‘all voucher programmes are not created equal’. Interestingly Chakrabarti (2008b) considers voucher programmes that are either ‘voucher shock’ programmes or ‘threat of voucher’ programmes. Voucher shock are those where poor students become eligible for vouchers and threat of voucher programmes are those where poor performing public school pupils are offered vouchers allowing them to leave their failing school. This was the case in the 1999 Florida “F” programme (Chakrabarti, 2008b). The voucher design will allow for different responses from the schooling community as a whole and therefore affect incentives for different actors. The literature generally show that vouchers can have statistically significant positive effects for subgroups of students and parents as well as for some outcomes, but what is really important is not that the voucher is universal or targeted, but the actual design of the voucher and the environment in which it is introduced are crucial (Epple, et al., 2017).

So it is the design that can be crucial to how parents, students, school owners and public schools react to it. An example can be given of a small scale private voucher programme that was started in 2008 by the Azim Premji Foundation in 180 villages within Andhra Pradesh, India. Within the design, the village needed to have at least one recognised

¹² See table of literature in Appendix

private school operating (environment). The voucher covered all fees and materials, however transportation was not included. The voucher was paid to the school and the school then distributed the materials. Joining the voucher scheme was optional for the private schools and a number of voucher winners would be allocated to each participating school. The design therefore will have a specific influence on incentives, for the schools as well as the families involved. With this voucher came the imposition of a character of regulations on the private school accepting the voucher. Participating schools in this programme received a voucher amount for 90% of the fees charged within the 180 villages. Therefore participating schools were not allowed to charge their 'normal' fee and were not allowed to charge additional tuition or top up fees (De Ashley, 2014; Epple et al., 2017). The environment into which the voucher programme is introduced is also of great importance regarding incentives. The ease of entry into the market for new voucher supported schools, the population density, public school provision that already provides families with choice provide examples of three environmental conditions that would affect the implementation of a voucher programme on incentives. Therefore when carrying out research around voucher impact, design and environment must be looked at carefully. Evidence to improve voucher design requires research to refine and investigate long and short term impacts and better understand why some effects emerge and others fail to emerge.

2.3.4 Student Achievement

Typically the effectiveness of education programmes is measured by looking at student achievement and outcomes. Student outcomes are regarded as the most appropriate and effective way to measure the success of the programme (Wolf et al., 2011; Warren, 2011; Benfield, 2006). A large number of quantitative studies have investigated the relationship between student achievement and school type. Education attainment is measured using standardised tests and in doing so researchers are establishing a way to evaluate the success of certain reforms (Anand et al., 2006).

A number of studies have found little evidence of differences in test scores for those on vouchers and those not on vouchers (Mizala and Romaguera, 2000, Bravo, et al., 2010; McEwan, 2011), whilst others have found a positive impact (Contreras and Santos, 2009; Sapelli and Vial, 2002). However, the results may be context and design dependent

(Rutkowski, 2008). The heterogeneity of private schools and research methods used to examine student attainment across school type is difficult to interpret and whether the achievement difference can be fully attributed to private schools and vouchers. Both Desai et al., (2008) and French and Kingdon (2010) compare the differences in achievement levels of two or more children from the same household and attend private and public schools adjusting for each child's gender and grade. They control for observable and unobservable factors. Both find a positive private school achievement advantage based on test scores. The findings regarding private school management types are supported in other statistical analysis from India. Goyal (2009) finds a small but statistically significant private school percentage advantage. Kingdon (2008) similarly finds raw achievement advantage of private school students. Differences between learning outcomes varies across schools as it is hard to compare as studies use different statistical research methods.

Benfield (2006) examines the effects of academic achievements and the results show that the voucher scheme does not show any substantial gains for students to other comparison groups. The administration, operational structures and policies, will more often guide the development of schemes, which has an impact on the outcome. Efforts to study vouchers can be problematic with each voucher programme having its own set of rules governing the eligibility for families, school requirement, funding process, etc. Different characteristics can therefore affect the outcome of the research and whether a study that produced one result can be replicated elsewhere.

Wolf et al., (2010) evaluation compares the outcome of 2,300 applicants randomly assigned to receive a voucher (treatment group including students who received a voucher but did not use it) or those who did not receive an offer (control group) through the D.C Scholarship Scheme. When examining the effects of student achievement math and reading scores were not significant. On average, the treatment group scored 3.90 points higher in reading, and 0.70 points higher in maths than the control group but “these results were not significantly different” after four years (Wolf et al., 2010, p.34). Although some sub-groups appear to have higher scores (female and high-achieving students) in reading levels there are limitations to the study as not all original applicants participated in the study each year and therefore the precision of the outcomes is reduced. The report by

Wolf et al., (2010) shows how one scheme may work for a particular city however it may produce different results in another.

Muralidharan and Sundararaman (2015) looked at the impact of school choice through the provision of student vouchers in Andhra Pradesh, India. The study design featured a two-stage lottery based allocation of vouchers. The study found that voucher lottery winners had slightly lower test scores in Telegu and math. At the end of the two and four year school choice programmes evidence shows there was no difference between test scores of lottery winners and non-lottery winners in two main subjects Telegu and maths. Test scores across four subject areas (Hindi, English, math and Telegu) for students who won a voucher had average test scores that were 0.13 higher and the average student attending private schooling using a voucher scored a statistically significant difference of 0.26 higher. Students who win a lottery to attend private schools have slightly better test scores even though private schools spend less per student. According to Muralidharan and Sundararaman “these gains in test scores for voucher winner students do not come at the expensive of other students who may have been indirectly effected by the voucher programme” (Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2015, p.1015).

The main findings from the study suggest that children receiving a voucher in private schools attain similar results as those in public schools but at a third of the cost. It can however be argued that the study has treated the control and treatment group differently by using two different tests for mathematics and EVS that is one was in English and one in Telugu. This can lead one to question the main findings as half of the private schools (‘English mediums’) used non-language tests with English instructions whereas the remaining private and public schools were given instructions in Telugu. Thus, a comparison cannot be extrapolated between public and private schools in non-language subjects. However, within the research there are findings that suggest that when families are offered vouchers they perform better compared with public school children and at a fraction of the cost. The evidence seems to suggest that student attainment in private schools is higher than in state schools. However, the size of this advantage is important to note as it is relatively small when variables are controlled. While many studies can show correlation between school types and student attainment they cannot explain the causal underlying observed correlations (Tooley, 2016).

2.3.5 Graduation

Large studies have also been carried out to determine the impact of education vouchers on high school graduation rates and college enrolment (Warren, 2011; Forster, 2008; Bettinger et al., 2010). Bravo et al., (2010) studied the long-term effects of school vouchers looking at household survey data focusing on schooling attainment, employability, and earnings. The findings show that earning returns to municipal and private subsidized schools increased in the post-voucher period, “which is consistent in improvements in quality of primary schooling” (Bravo et al., 2010, p.24). In terms of school attainment after being exposed to voucher reforms it increased primary school graduation rates at 0.6 percentage points, high school graduation rates at 3.6 percentage points, and college attendance rates at 3.1 points. The study also noted the impact of vouchers is similar in magnitude for individuals from both poor and non-poor backgrounds.

Kremer et al., (2005) looked at the long-term effects of the PACES programme by examining the impact of winning a lottery on outcomes of the seven-year programme, using high school graduation rates and test scores. One of the main reasons Colombia’s voucher scheme was successful was largely due to the incentives provided by the programme; for students to work harder and school choice. Overall Kremer’s analysis shows that voucher winners have higher graduation rates and that “there is a substantial economic return to high school graduation in Colombia” (Kremer et al., 2005, p. 16). The results suggest a substantial gain in high school graduation rates and achievement as a result of vouchers. Colombia’s successful implementation is down to a number of factors. To receive a voucher through the PACES programme students had to attend primary public school and to be selected into a participating private secondary school. The programme facilitated the access of lowest-income student’s public school students to lower-tier private schools serving low-income populations. Additionally, the voucher did not cover the full tuition cost in some participating private secondary schools, which meant participants had to supplement the rest with household funds.

2.3.6 School Choice

School choice is one of the most debated education policy. More and more schools have adopted school choice programmes, advocated by school ministers, such as the voucher programme, which allows students to attend either private or public schools of their

choice using public funds. Some think of school choice as a route to educational improvements. A number of studies surrounding school choice have been carried out (Akaguri, 2014; Härmä, 2011; Rolleston & Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). Advocates of the voucher programme believe that it will spur competition, thus leading to educational reforms (Wolf, et al., 2010). Critics of voucher programmes believe that government support of vouchers will initially prevent the implementation of vouchers as “governments vested interests within the state and its supporters are likely to thwart any action that attempts to undermine these interests, as vouchers inevitably must do” (Tooley, 2014, pp.204-5). Critics believe that government intervention disrupts the progression of vouchers (Tooley, 2014). The current rhetoric of voucher supporters is that “choice based reforms should be embraced as an opportunity for educators to create more focused and more effective schools and for reforms to solve problems in smarter ways” (Usher and Kober, 2011, p.4).

Parents were interviewed in Nigeria to investigate their perceptions of schooling and differences between private and public schooling. Parents rated quality as a main preference (64% Kwara State and 77% Lagos). Government schools were not rated as highly as private schools (21% Kwara State and 44% Lagos). Another important factor for parents when making a decision around school choice is affordability. Parents in Ghana and Nigeria were shown to prefer private to government schools due to the quality and attention students were receiving from teachers (Rolleston and Adefeso-Olateju, 2014). Dixon and Humble (2017) found that there is a large statistically significant preference for community and faith based schools where parents choose schools because they are safe and close to home. Government schools are favoured over other types of schools by parents who state affordability as the main preference. Additionally the more children in a household and the older the child, the likelihood of attending a government school increases.

2.3.7 Competition

A number of studies have examined the effect of competition between public and private schools (Chakrabarti, 2008, 2010; Figlio and Rouse, 2005; Hoxby, 2003; Gallego, 2006; Greene and Marsh, 2009; Greene and Winters 2003). It is suggested that public school performance increases due to higher achievement in private schools. Hoxby (2003) looked at the school choice and school competition. The focus was whether school choice

increases public school productivity, whether students in choice schools perform better than students from public schools, and whether choice schools ‘skim’ the best students from public schools. Hoxby’s method was grouping public schools in Milwaukee into “more treated”, “somewhat treated” and “less treated” groups, depending on how much competition they faced from vouchers. The main findings of the study suggest that overall “public schools can have a strong, positive productivity response to competition from vouchers” (Hoxby, 2003, p.55). This may be due to voucher students valuing their selection. Hart (2011) studies the possible mechanisms for reform in public schools that increase competition. The results show that schools that were faced with greater competition were increasingly likely to adopt certain reforms. “Schools under competitive threat were likely to adopt new forms of scheduling systems, particularly block schedules, and the use of subject specialised teachers” (Hart, 2011, p. 20). Other studies show that school choice programmes increase competition (Andrabi et al., 2009; Pal, 2010).

Another adverse effect of vouchers or school choice programmes is known as “skimming” or “creaming”. Metcalf et al., (2007) looked at if Cleveland voucher had “creamed” the best from public schools. The aim was to see if differences existed in school entry and exist among three groups: those who received a voucher and attended private school, those who received a voucher and stayed in public schools, and those who applied for a voucher but did not receive it. There was no difference between application recipients and non-recipients for the first two academic years. However, the last two years saw a slight change (Forster, 2008; Greene, 2003; Figlio and Hart, 2014).

Olivares (2012) studied the impact of vouchers on municipalities in Chile and how vouchers respond to market pressure. The main findings suggest that there is unfair competition between private and public school throughout Chile. This is largely due to unfair competition between public school districts explain differences in school attainment and enrolment within the public sector. Findings suggest that there is a large increase in private school enrolment between 2000-2009 private schools expanded from 46.6% to 58.5%. This increase in private voucher schools was encouraged by a number of factors. Firstly the expansion of private schools was affected by state regulation private schools having more discretionary powers whereas public schools are regulated to state management. Secondly, the parents’ attitudes towards to public schools was positive.

According to interviews parents viewed private schools to be of “high quality” (Olivares, 2012, p.186). The majority of private voucher schools select their students and charge additional fees to parents. In comparison public-municipal schools are not allowed to select students and invest less in the infrastructure of buildings. This difference implies that private schools are of better ‘quality’ and have a better status than public schools within the voucher system.

Härmä and Rose (2012) refute the assumption that private schools increase competition. Their findings in remote rural India identified unintended consequences of market competition between private and public schools. The study found no positive effect of private schools on the quality of government schools. The study found that the students leaving government schools were those who could afford to pay fees in the private sector and the poorest households were left attending low quality government schools.

2.3.8 Administration of Vouchers

The administration of a voucher programme is vital for its success. The initial design of the programme can affect both private and public school performances. A study conducted by Witte (2000) looks at the Milwaukee voucher programme. The results indicated that policies for eligibility, selection, and use of vouchers that match programme goals would be fundamental to the effectiveness of any voucher scheme. Other studies by Howell and Peterson (2002) and Metcalf et al., (2002) suggest the same that is that the structure of vouchers and administration affect the direct impact on the students and achievement.

Universal and targeted vouchers can have different effects. When universal vouchers are introduced McMillan (2004) found that some schools reduce their cost effectiveness. As a result the quality of schooling drops dramatically “when vouchers are means-targeted, we do not expect the perverse results of diminished effects in the face of a voucher” (McMillan, 2004, p.86). Secondly, if more academically able students shift from public schools to private “this could lead to a reduced-ability clientele remaining in the public schools” (Epple and Romano, 1998, p.145). One way to reduce these effects would be to extend the voucher to low-ability or struggling students. Thirdly, critics argue that funding schooling through voucher programmes may affect the financial resources available to public schools. However research shows that between 1990 and 2006

America's school choice programmes saved \$422 million for local school districts and \$22 million for state budgets (Aud, 2007). Switching from a public school to a private school saves the state money thus when students leave public schools money is saved in public schools for its students that choose to remain there.

2.4 Public Private Partnerships

According to some research low-cost private schools typically serve specific social groups and at times exclude the most deprived and marginalised in society (Härmä, 2011; Lewin 2007; Jaesung Choi and Jisoo Hwang, 2017). The dissatisfaction with public schools and the exclusion of poor families from low-cost private schools has seen a growth in Public-Private Partnership (PPP). PPP schools are typically categorised as public schools managed by the private sector or the private sector receiving some kind of support from the state. The schools differ from other low-cost private schools, as not all students are required to pay fees. Some students are provided with education vouchers funded either through philanthropy or government. The advantage for the government is that the cost per student place is substantially lower than in public schools. The most well known schemes in Pakistan are those run by the Punjab, Sindh and Balochistan governments.

Ali Ansari (2012) evaluated the Education Voucher Scheme (EVS) in Lahore, Punjab by using the four-tier criteria plan outlined by Levin (2002) that is:

- Freedom of choice
- Equity
- Productive efficiency
- Social cohesion

The Punjab Education Foundation conducted surveys in poor areas of Lahore to establish the educational needs of the community (school type, infrastructure, etc.). The profile of the area showed that 48 percent of the heads of the household are illiterate (Ali Ansari, 2012, p.4). In order to receive a voucher, families need to reside in a poor area and where a family refuses to send a girl to school then boys are no longer eligible to receive a voucher. PEF established vouchers on the basis that it would increase educational opportunities for the poor. The government does not recognise *katchi abadis* (slums) as official residential areas and therefore does not provide public schools in these areas.

Therefore, a voucher scheme, it was proposed, would give people living in informal settlements opportunity and choice:

“Prior to the voucher scheme, there were a few schooling options for families who did not have the financial resources to transport their children to school” (Ali Ansari, 2012, p. 8).

In terms of equity the EVS requires that schools are located within a half a kilometre radius of the target area. According to Ali Ansari (2002) the EVS has brought 20-25 percent of out of school children back to school (Ali Ansari, 2012, p. 10). PEF stresses the importance of girls attending. The EVS encourages households to enrol girls into school. Ansari (2012) notes that parents are concerned about the safety of girls thus choosing a school that is in close proximity to the girl’s home is preferred. Moreover, Andrabi et al., (2006) note that in areas without private schools girls are 16 percent less likely to enrol in school. Therefore the likelihood of sending a girl to school increases when schools are within the community or within walking distance. The EVS enacted by PEF encourages parents to send their children especially girls to schools by providing opportunity through voucher provision. Ansari (2012) conducted student achievement tests by comparing voucher students against non-voucher students. The PEF administrated Quality Assurance Tests (QATs) to a sample size of 896 students, although the study is limited, it found that EVS students are doing no worse than non EVS students but it did show private schools in the area out-performing government schools. Salman (2010) also looked at the achievement of children participating and not participating in the voucher programme. Testing children was through ‘Quality Assurance Tests’ (QATs) that were conducted periodically at partner schools to assess the difference between EVS and non-EVS. Salman also conducts interviews with project officials, school administrators and other stakeholders. Out of 896 students 548 (61%) students were EVS while the remaining 348 (39%) were non-EVS students. The scores compare non-EVS students against EVS students and the findings show that:

“the EVS students which come from lower income groups and poor educational backgrounds tend to exhibit the same levels of academic achievement, if not better, as shown by students who come from middle income groups and better education backgrounds” (Salman, 2010, p.27).

The results indicated that the socio-economic background of a child did not determine the overall outcome of results as EVS students came from disadvantage backgrounds and non-EVS had greater financial assistance. However, these results are not statistically significant. The study also shows that the voucher programme did not affected the enrolment at government schools in the area and that enrolment in the area increased as it brought 20-25% of out-of-school children back into school (Ansari, 2012, p.32). To conclude, the results clearly show that EVS students performed well, compared to non-EVS students, that is there was no statistically significant difference in test scores. Also one of the biggest fears for opponents of vouchers is that government schools will become ghettos as children leave for the private sector. According to Ansari (2012) this has not been the case with the Pakistan voucher programme and states that ‘government schools remain unaffected’ (p. 32).

One of the most important aspects of an education voucher is that schools are accountable to parents and not the government. Parents live in the vicinity of the schools, which means they can approach school administrators and teachers.

The Foundation Assisted Schools (FAS) programme is also run by The Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) in Pakistan, an evaluation of both programmes states that:

“The PEF programs, based on a PPP model, seek to promote affordable quality education and better access to education in Punjab on a sustainable basis, making it possible for poor students to perform better and stay in school longer. Projections for these programs are encouraging. The PEF has demonstrated that its programs are cost-effective—economical and efficient in terms of service delivery mechanism. It has won wide approval from private schools; international donor agencies; and federal, provincial, and district governments. The synergy of the PPPs has started to pay dividends. Students at private institutions participating in PEF programs have shown remarkable progress, as measured by their scores in the QATs” (Mailk, 2010, p. 27).

And,

“The PEF’s flagship initiative, the FAS program, has shown that better and affordable quality education can be had at a lesser cost through PPPs. Participating private schools are now providing quality education in underprivileged urban, suburban, and remote rural areas. At the private schools selected by the FAS program, the students have on average scored higher in the QATs every year, with the proportion of students scoring over 90%—rising from about 1% to almost 18% in only 4 years. More startling, the dropout rate at FAS partner schools is now zero, an exemplary accomplishment considering that the overall dropout rate in Pakistan schools is 40% by Grade 4 and 77% by Grade 10” (ibid).

Not everyone is in favour of PPP models. Bano (2008) argues that public private partnerships in Pakistan have limitations with “very flawed incentives” (Bano, 2008, p. 23). Bano is critical of the involvement from international development institutions including the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and other international aid agencies. Bano (2008) argues that Governments, such as Pakistan, went along with such schemes in search of funding rather than genuine educational partnerships:

“Most PPP programmes remain ad hoc; have little systemic impact in addressing the fundamental challenges of access, quality or equity, and because of often being reliant on NGOs or donor funds rather than the state resources face problems of financial sustainability. In an atmosphere where state officials have high distrust of the NGOs and the private sector and incentives for engaging in partnership are flawed, the PPPs have limited ability to address the fundamental challenges of meeting EFA goals rather ad hoc efforts can contribute to greater fragmentation of education planning and enhance regional disparities” (Bano, 2008, p.1).

Pakistan’s decision to collaborate with international agencies was partly due to financial reasons. The Pakistan Government decided to rely international agencies because they did not have the resources “to accomplish the gigantic task of providing quality education and meeting the targets of the Millennium Development Goals alone” (Malik, 2010, p.13).

Due to the sharp rise in the numbers of students enrolled into PEF programmes and schools the issues can be challenged as there was an increase in the number of students enrolled into schools due to such schemes and the assistance given by international aid agencies.

Other Foundations in Pakistan have aimed to increase schooling enrolment as well as quality in schools. An example is that of the Balochistan Education Foundation that initiated the Quetta Urban Fellowship programme in Pakistan in 1995. Subsidies of around Rs. 100 (roughly \$3) per month were directed at parents to support school fees. Research carried out to look at the programme's impact found that the fellowship increased enrolment for both boys and girls (Kim et al., 1999). One draw back was that the logistics of the scheme were very complex and that few households had bank accounts in which to deposit the subsidy (Orazem, 1999; King et al., 1999). There were concerns and scepticism surrounding the implementation of the scheme and eventually payments were directed to the schools and not households. However, if the aim of the scheme was to focus on 'education for all' and to bring more children into school, then the outcome of the programme was successful however complicated the logistics.

2.5 Public and Private Schooling

Over many years, there has been evidence, which suggests private schools generally outperform public schools (Jimenez et al, 1991; Kingdon, 1996; Tooley and Dixon, 2003, 2006; French and Kingdon, 2010; Amjad and MacLeod, 2014). Tooley and Dixon's (2006) research conducted in Ghana, Kenya, India and Nigeria collecting a variety of data, is significant in explaining student achievement, through household income, wealth indicators, years of parental education, religion, and intelligence test using Raven's Standard Progressive Matrices. Student achievement was assessed by carrying out Maths and English tests and used it as a measure of student learning in all countries and compared the performances of private and public school students. Achievement scores were higher in private schools (recognised and unrecognised) than public schools.

The private sector has emerged as a key provider of education in Pakistan. Private school enrolment is also significant to public enrolment accounting for 35 percent (Andrabi et al., 2002, p.8). Due to the expansion of low-cost private schools across Pakistan, some 25%-33% of school age children now attend private schools (Amjad and MacLeod,

2014). Amjad and MacLeod's study draws on the findings from Pakistan's Annual Status of Education Report (ASER, 2012). The study carried out by ASER in 84 rural and three urban areas focused on households for the collection of their data. They visited 49,793 households and collected test data for 126,224 children aged 5-16 in Urdu, Sindhi, English and numeracy. A survey of private (23,094 children) and government (72,304 children) schools was also carried out. Results show that private schools and public private partner (PPP) schools outperform government ones. A child that attends a private school is more likely to outperform a child that attends a government school. Private school children were found to be 43% more likely to read in Urdu, 38% more likely to succeed in arithmetic tasks and 80% more likely than a government student to read a sentence in English (Amjad and MacLeod, 2014, p.26). Similarly children attending public private partnership schools also outperformed those attending government schools in all three-subject areas. However, the number of students tested in PPPs was relatively small in comparison with government schools, 159 compared to 26,059 students. When controlling socio-economic status and school choice private school children still outperform those attending government schools. Private school children are 21% more likely to succeed in Urdu, 50% more likely to succeed in arithmetic, and 86% more likely to succeed in English. All of which are significant at the 0.05 level ($p < 0.05$). The study also looked at whether paying higher fees correlated to academic achievement. Data revealed that when controlling for variables even "the lowest fee paying private schools outperform government schools" (Amjad and MacLeod, 2014, p.26).

The ASER project began in 2010 and has been collecting data in Pakistan on the state of education every year. In 2011 data were collected from a national sample of households and schools; 84 rural and three urban districts were surveyed, yielding 50,000 households, 150,000 children and more than 3500 government and private schools. The 2012 report analyses private and public schools. Amjad (2012) noted that the raw differences in achievement between the public and private sectors is reduced when account is taken of differences among groups that attend private and public schools. Amjad suggests that children's achievement, in being able to read or write a sentence in Urdu (or Sindhi) is affected by levels of parental education, household wealth, and paid private tuition. Three quarters of the differential between private and public students is defined by factors other than type of school, although attending a private school has an advantage. Furthermore the ASER report 2016 highlights that "the poorest quartile has the highest level of

children enrolled in government schools (77%) whereas the remaining 19% of the children are enrolled in private sector schools” (ASER, 2016, p. 7).

Similarly, Project LEAPS in Pakistan (Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools) is a survey-based study, which is often mentioned as evidence on private school effectiveness (Andrabi et al., 2007; Carneiro et al., 2016). The LEAPS sample characteristics shows that compared with private schools, government schools have a higher proportion of disadvantaged children in terms of family income, parental education and father’s job status. In addition, further statistics from the ASER report shows inequality between the richest and poorest quartiles and gender disparities. That is that the:

“poorest quartile has the lowest learning levels (19% Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 17% English, and 16% Math) and richest quartile has the highest learning levels (44% Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 43% English, and 39% Math). 14% of females from the poorest quartile can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto as compared to 22% of males from the same income group. 11% of females from the poorest quartile can do two-digit division sums and 12% can read sentences in English, whereas 20% of their male counterparts can read sentences in English and 19% can do two-digit division sums” (ASER, 2016, P.7).

Siddiqui and Gorard (2017) also carry out research to compare government and private schooling in Pakistan. The paper presents the findings of the citizen-led household survey run by the Annual Statistics of Education Report (ASER) in 2014. The main analysis involves a sub group of 26,070 children reported to be 8-years-old at the time of the study. The survey included data from children attending government, private and religious schools, as well as those not attending school at all. The sample includes 30 villages from each of the 143 districts in Pakistan. Each village is divided into four parts and every fifth household is selected for the survey. Each year ten old villages are removed and ten new ones selected. This rotation of old and new villages provides an estimate of change. Additionally from each village one government and one private school is selected. ASER collects three main sets of information: household survey, child assessments in reading, English and maths and a school survey. The reliability of the ASER data can be

questioned as information provided by participants cannot always be verified, and volunteers base their decision on bespoke information rather than presenting certificates. The analysis on the data carried out by Siddiqui and Gorard (2017) suggests that for 8-year-old children of equivalent backgrounds there is no statistically significant difference between those attending different school management types. Children who are out of school are typically girls.

The LEAPS (2008) report highlights how government schools underperform, whilst children in private schools score significantly higher than those in government schools. The LEAPS team conducted a knowledge test to test the difference between children in private and government schools. The knowledge scores of children are between 76 (Urdu) and 149 (English) units higher than those in government schools (LEAPS, 2008, p.30). According to the LEAPS study, children who attend public schools would take 1.5 to 2.5 years to catch up to private school children in grade 3. The study also compared students who switched from government to private schools. Children who switched to a government school learned less in a year of the switch compared to students who remained in private schools. The multi-observational data in part explains this result. Government teachers receiving higher salaries and using twice the resources to operate schools compared to private schools and learning levels appeared to be much higher in private schools than public schools. The study highlights the important factors that contribute to the success and rise of private schools. The strengths of private schools are that they are locally available and easily accessible and provide quality education that parents are seeking.

Das et al., (2006) reports on an independent survey of primary schools in rural areas, focusing on student enrolment and achievement measured through test scores. The paper examines the level of learning children acquire in regards to knowledge. The second half of the paper examines the association between children's learning levels and their attributes. In order to achieve this, overall test scores from individual test questions were conducted. Using this method allowed the researchers to identify gaps across households' i.e. parental wealth and education. In regards to the relationship between private and public schools, the data reveals there is a large and significant difference between private and public schools in both adjusted and unadjusted gaps for all subjects (Das et al., 2006,

p.17). The gaps are the largest in English where private schools outperform public schools by 150 knowledge points, with results in Urdu and Maths similar.

Some studies indicate poverty as the residing factor for parents not able to send their children to private schools (Härmä, 2010; Woodhead et al., 2012; Fennell, 2013; Singh and Sarkar, 2012). Parent's inability to pay can often increase household poverty (Akaguri, 2013). There is evidence that suggests families are cutting back on other expenditures to enrol children in private schools. Härmä (2009) found that in India 64% of private school parents made savings on healthcare, clothing and livelihood, in order to pay private school fees. High quality education is often cited as the main reason for parents wanting to send their children to private schools (Akaguri, 2011, 2013). Low-cost private schools are generally regarded as 'high-quality'. Oketch et al., (2010) find the perception around teachers (quality and attendance) and school performance were the central reasons why parents were moving from public to private schools. Private schools are generally perceived as 'better', providing 'quality' education due to a number of reasons. While quality is generally viewed as the reason for private school enrolment there is also evidence in some countries that parents want their children to learn English. Private schools in India typically teach in English medium, that is all subjects are taught in English. However government schools teach English as a subject. Therefore parents believe that enrolling their child in a low cost private school rather than a government one will improve their proficiency in English (Suchharita, 2013). However, affordability is the key constraint on access for parents between school choice and enrolment. Singh and Sarkar (2012) find parents with children in government schools expressed helplessness and dissatisfaction in not being able to afford to send their children to private schools and those who access private schools are from richer households (Härmä, 2011). Similarly, Fennell (2013) finds parents report poverty as an obstacle from sending children to low cost private schools.

2.5.1 Enrolment

The Learning and Educational Achievement in Punjab schools project (LEAPS, 2008) carried out a survey on all private and public schools offering primary education in 112 villages in Punjab province. The survey covered 812 government and private schools, 12,000 students, 5,000 teachers and 2,000 households. The Learning and Education Achievement in Punjab School (LEAPs) project is critical as it assesses the educational

needs of families, and looks at the outcomes in villages within private and government schools. The report presents facts about education performance and the state of education in Pakistan and was conducted from 2003-2007. The report also looks at aspects of the educational market place. The LEAPS project added a new analysis to the education debate in Pakistan. Firstly, the report looks at whether children are learning. The report shows that children are performing significantly below the standard required by the curriculum. Although students are enrolled in schools the learning levels are below curriculum standards. Children are unable to read sentences in Urdu and in mathematics they are not able to carry out addition or subtraction by Grade 3. The two main enrolment patterns show the gender gap with girls' enrolment much lower than boys, "the two main enrolment patterns show the dramatic gender-gap in enrolment and the positive effects of higher village literacy and wealth" (Andrabi et al, 2008, p.26).

Andrabi et al., (2008) employs four primary method sources, LEAPS, 1998 population census, the Punjab management Information System, and the census of private education institutes in Pakistan. The data were linked so that the study could examine school level attributes in level with village level data such as population and village infrastructure. Data consists of covering three different districts; the sample consists of 4,880 teachers interviewed in 800 public and private schools across 112 villages. When observing the rise of private schools it can be seen that the enrolment share for private schools increased in both urban and rural areas for both poor and rich households (Andrabi et al., 2008, p.336), "the use of private schools by the poor has much to do with their availability as with their cost and location" (ibid, p.338).

Alderman et al., (2001) looked at school quality and school choice for low-income parents living in Pakistan. A thousand households and 273 different schools were surveyed. The data show that parents respond to school quality. School quality was to have a mixed effect on student achievement. Evidence also suggests that there is a strong demand for better quality and learning opportunities offered by private schools. The paper highlights and emphasises that private schools are no longer an elite phenomenon but poor households use low-cost private schools too. Low cost private schools in Pakistan are easily accessible both in terms of low fees and community based. Parents believe that low cost private schools offer a better quality alternative to government schools where teachers are more likely to turn up and teach when they are supposed to be in school.

Khan and Shaikh (2012) find that the learning gap in English and Urdu (but not mathematics) between private and government schools can be attributed to private school children taking private tuition, “thus, it is these extra classes (private tuition) that positively affect academic performance, rather than quality differences between private and public schools” (Khan and Shaikh, 2012, p.16). Private tuition seems to play a major role in student attainment rather than school type. Of all the child and household characteristics assessed by Amjad and MacLeod (2014), private tuition was seen as the best single predictor of achievement. Those who take tuition are on average 86% more likely to attain better results than those not taking tuition. When exploring school type and tuition fees, 52% of students attending PPP schools and 66% of private school children take private tuition compared to only 11% of government schoolchildren (Amjad and MacLeod, 2014, p. 29). The results show that private tuition can be seen as the sole variable contributing to student attainment across school types. However, Amjad and MacLeod (2014) analysis of ASER show continuing significant results for private schools over public schools in English, maths and Urdu, even after accounting for child and household characteristics, including tuition.

The literature examines the rise of low-cost private schools and the role of government schools. The recent growth of private schools can be explained as a direct result of the poor performance of government schools and its failure to address the issues.

Large scale studies have looked at whether students from private schools outperform students from government schools. The literature attempts to find out why parents choose private schools as provider for education and why government schooling remains ineffective despite the government of Pakistan boosting its education budget and teacher salary to try to improve educational quality. The evidence on whether poor families can afford to pay for private schooling is unclear. The studies find ambiguous results. Financial factors are the main limitation for poor families not accessing low cost private schools. Where poor parents are sending their children to fee paying schools the household cuts back on other areas of expenditure in order to allow their children to gain what the parents believe to be a ‘quality education’.

2.6 Family and School Background

Although a number of studies indicate that student performance is correlated with school type (Jimenez et al, 1991; Kingdon, 1996; Tooley and Dixon, 2003, 2006; French and Kingdon, 2010; Amjad and MacLeod, 2014), other studies find it is socio-economic background of the families that has a greater influence (Härmä, 2010, 2011; Thapa, 2012). Aslam (2007) found that primary school students with higher scores on standardised tests had a better educational environment, came from wealthier households with parents that were educated and employed. Therefore, the poorest of the poor do not have the resources to gain access to education. Other studies indicate the same, that although private schools are emerging in the market place, they are still inaccessible to the poorest households (Aslam and Kingdon, 2008; Muzaffar, 2010; Härmä, 2011; Alcott and Rose, 2016). Siddiqui and Gorard (2017) argue that major differences between schools that explains the differences in outcomes is the nature of student intake. However, the social and economic stratification between those attending and those not attending schools is greater than that between those attending private and public schools. A binary logistic regression was used to help assess the relationship between attending different types of schools and children's attainment. Once the differences between attending different types of schools was taken into account the differences between private and government schools in terms of test outcomes also "disappeared".

According to some research differences in learning gaps between public and private schools can be attributed to family background. Household characteristics are associated with achievement. That is that children from richer and more educated families perform better (Das et al., 2006). However for Das it is not only household characteristics that influence student outcomes but the fact that there are huge differences between schools concerning quality in both the private and government sectors. In English the difference between children in private and government schools is 12 times as large as the difference between children from poor and non-poor households after controlling for observed differences between the children. In terms of learning achievements, the data show less than 20% can comprehend a paragraph in Urdu. By grade 3 very few students have mastered the mathematic curriculum for Grade 1. Overall, the learning achievements are low and there are large gaps across schools. Some research has shown that children from poorer backgrounds are disadvantaged in relation to development and learning abilities (Zorn and Noga, 2004; Kamper and Mampururu, 2007). There are three factors that suggest

children are likely to achieve success if they come from a certain type of family. Firstly, poor parents have limited amounts of time to spend due to the lack of finance (Murphy, 1986; Ramey and Ramey, 2004; Sampson, 2002). Secondly, poverty impacts negatively on children's motivation levels and that personal beliefs and capabilities impacts motivation and learning (Gwirayi and Shumba, 2007). Poverty nurtures inequalities, with high proportion of poor children believing they are unable to succeed. Thirdly, the attitudes of learning communities and schools towards children who live in poverty are dismissive, believing that first generation learners are incapable of learning (Chireshe and Shumba, 2011; Humble, 2015; Iyer and Nayak, 2009).

2.6.1 Parent's Education Level

Some research suggests that low levels of maternal education are associated with poor education outcomes for girls (Monazza and Kingdon, 2012). The ASER report (2016) suggests that wealth matters and that the children at the bottom of the poorest quartile are more likely to remain out of school and are more disadvantaged. Achievement is dependent on family background, environment and time parents spend with their children (Bradley et al., 1987, Coleman, 1969; Murphy, 1986; Rosenbaum et al., 1987). A mother's education and income has a direct link with student outcomes. Cabus and Aries (2017) findings suggest that academic achievement is rooted in a school supportive home environment and often created by the mother. Similarly, different initiatives have looked at parental support interventions which improve parent-child interaction. Many have had positive impacts on childhood cognitive outcomes (Attanasio et al., 2014; Walker et al., 2005; Banerji et al., 2014). All of these studies have demonstrated the importance of parental support practices.

2.7 Teachers

A growing body of evidence shows that teacher quality is a key determinant of student learning (Behrman, et al., 2008; Chetty et al., 2014; Hanushek, 2011). There is strong evidence to suggest that by raising teacher effort improvements in learning are observed, especially in areas with low student achievement and high teacher absenteeism (Banerjee and Duflo, 2006). There is strong evidence to show that providing teachers with financial incentives linked to attendance or student performance can lead to substantial gains in student achievement (Duflo, Hanna, and Ryan 2012; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2011). Hanushek and Rivkin (2010) review 10 studies in the United States and show that

a one standard deviation rise in teacher effectiveness raises students reading a mathematic scores by 0.13 to 0.17 of a standard deviation. However, Aslam and Kingdon (2011) look at data from 65 schools in the district of Lahore, Pakistan. They found no evidence that observable teacher characteristics affect student achievement. Andrabi et al., (2011) looked at the poor quality of learning in schools in Pakistan and accredited that to teachers.

One of the explanations frequently given is teaching in private schools tends to be better and accounts for the better educational outcomes than in public schools. Goyal and Padney's (2009) study of two states in India finds that teacher activity and attendance were similar for private and government schools in the same district. But levels of activity and approaches to teaching are considered to be of better quality in private schools. Aslam and Kingdon (2011) looked at how teachers spend their time in class. Teachers had a more significant effect on learning outcomes than the more observable teacher characteristics of certification and experience. 'Good' private schools often hire 'good' teachers who adopt a teaching methodology that encourages pupil testing alongside interactive lessons. The findings are supported by studies in rural and urban India. Singh and Sarkar (2012) found primary school teachers regularly set and checked homework and for parents this is seen as a significant role in learning. An important caveat to consider, although a large number of studies, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods often favour the quality of private school teaching, there is little consistency in terms of what researchers consider to be high quality teaching and how it is assessed.

Some quantitative studies (Andrabi et al., 2008; Tooley et al., 2011) show large variations in the rates of teacher absenteeism in government versus private schools. The argument suggests that teachers in private schools are more likely to be present in schools than government schools. Kingdon and Banerji's (2009) find that government teachers in India have higher absence rates (24 percent) compare to private school teachers (17 percent). Similarly, Muralidharan and Sundaraaman (2015) when looking at 3600 schools from 20 states in India found that within the same village the private school teachers' absence rate was 8 percentage points lower than the government schoolteachers' absence rate. Desai et al., (2008) in India found that government school teachers were 2 percentage points more likely to be absent than private school teachers.

The work of Andrabi et al., (2006) provides background into the growth of private schools. At the time of the report, more than one-third of the primary population were enrolled in private schools. Private schools are seen as affordable as they largely consist of teacher whose pay is below the average wage. The economic return to teachers varies significantly, the average wage of a public school teacher was Rs. 5620 and that of a private school teacher Rs.1084 (around one fifth). This can partly be attributed to teacher training, as public sector salaries are influenced by the amount of training received. In the public sector, a teacher with a Primary Teaching Certificate (PTC) earned 75% more than those without a certificate. In the private sector, PTC teachers earned 3% more than those without a PTC. Andrabi et al., (2006) also looked at teacher absenteeism. Plotting for absenteeism, the data reveal that private school teachers are less absent than government schoolteachers. Government schoolteachers are absent more than twice as many days (2006, p.352). According to Andrabi et al., (2006) private schools have shown a way forward, mobilising women as teachers and relying on teacher accountability. Andrabi also suggest that government schools and private schools “complement each other in a dynamic context. Private schools have arisen not because of government failures but, in part, because of government’s success in educating girls” (2006, p.331). It is the low-cost of female teachers that allows for the growth of private schools in urban areas. As girl’s education is affected by the distance to schools, private schools increase female enrolment and this is in part owing to the teacher workforce in private schools being predominantly made up of women (ibid, p.331).

Talancé (2016) suggest that certain observable teacher characteristics are associated with student achievement: contract teachers perform better than permanent teachers and higher wages may motive teachers and improve the quality of schooling. However, the study shows that experience and education have little impact on students’ achievement.

2.8 Gender

Patriarchy is well rooted in south Asian countries where men are seen as the breadwinners and women are subordinate to men, often taking on the roles of housewives and mothers. There are severe gender inequalities in many Asian countries (Agarwal, 1994; Khan and Hussain, 2008; Dube, 2001), therefore, education can play an important role in mitigating these gender inequalities. Pakistan has taken a range of measures to promote gender

equality including the waiving the cost of school textbooks and providing compensation when adolescent girls attend school.

In Pakistan, between 1998-2015 gender disparities have been reduced (Umar and Asghar, 2017). However, gender parity in enrolment in primary and secondary education remains elusive. Furthermore, boys outperform girls in most subjects however, these gaps are wider in children from poorer households (Independent Evaluation Group, 2011). ASER's 2016 report highlighted the gender disparity in Pakistan between the rich and the poor,

“Males and females falling in the richest income group are better able to perform the language and numeracy tasks than children falling in low income groups. However, the learning levels of the females are lower when compared to the learning levels of males across all quartiles in both language and arithmetic competencies. Fifteen percent of the poorest females can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto as compared to 21% poorest males. Similarly, 12% poorest females can do two-digit division sums and 13% can read sentences in English whereas 19% of the poorest males can read sentences in English and do two-digit division sums” (ASER, 2016, p. 18).

And

“43% females from the richest quartile can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 42% can read sentences in English and 38% can do two-digit division sums, whereas 44% of the males from the richest quartile can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 44% can read sentences in English and 40% can do two-digit sums” (ibid).

The gender gap seems to affect the poorest in society, who are the most vulnerable. ASER's (2016) report enabled the researcher to delve into the relationship between the rise of low cost private schooling and gender equitable education. The gender gap in educational outcomes has frequently been highlighted and the socio-economic background of children is found to influence gender inequality. Both male and female children belonging to the poorest quartile are at a disadvantage as seen in the 2016 report, but it is largely girls who are at a major disadvantage.

A number of studies indicate that boys and girls do not equally access private schools (Pal and Kingdon, 2010; Härmä, 2011). Some studies also highlight greater gender disparities in private schools than public ones. Maitra et al., (2011) find the gender gap in India at private schools is twice as large as public schools and increases in rural areas. Maitra et al (2011) also finds girls whose mothers are educated or from wealthier households faced less disadvantages. Some research suggests that when poor families cannot afford to send their children to private schools and they have to choose between sending their son or daughter it is typically the son that takes the private school place. However this was not found to be the case by Tooley (2009) who when asking parents about which child they send to school found that parents typically chose the child who showed the most interest and aptitude to attend the low cost private school. Also school owners in the developing world work together with communities and households to try to allow all children from homes to access their schools. One school owner informed Tooley that there is a 'buy one get one free' policy. Where there is more than one child in the home, parents pay less for the siblings whether they are boys or girls. Andrabi et al, (2002) also looked at how private schools cater for both male and female students. In terms of equity, the study found that private schools cater to all demographics. Although enrolment levels are higher for boys than girls, recent figures suggest that, "boys and girls figures are roughly equal in Punjab and Sindh" (2002, p.25). The figures show that in Punjab female school enrolment exceeding 90% of male enrolment in some districts. When compared with public school enrolment female enrolment in private school is higher. Aslam (2005) looks at student achievement and enrolment levels among male and female students. The analysis shows that private schools allowed for better opportunities for girls to attend school.

2.8.1 Female Teachers and Female Enrolment

Research suggests female teachers correlate positively with girl's enrolment (Durrani et al., 2017). Women make up the majority of teachers in private schools and in some regions represent 70% of the teaching staff (Andrabi et al., 2002, p.27). Correlations reveal that private schools with a higher female teacher rate attract more female students. In schools with few female teachers the girl/boy percentage stands at 22%, whereas the number increases to 52% for schools staffed with female teachers. The data suggest that female enrolment can be linked to the number of female teachers at the school. According

to Andrabi the data show that there is a difference of 20 percentage points in the province of Punjab and NWFP in overall female enrolment owing to low-cost private schools:

“comparing the gender ratios of private and public schools shows a dramatic impact of private schools in reducing the gender gap; the share of female enrolment in private schools is consistently 3-5 percentage points higher than it is in government schools, in education data from all available sources” (Andrabi et al., 2002, p. 340).

The data show how private schools increase enrolment for girls more than boys owing partly to female teacher recruitment. This is all very positive concerning the education for all agenda, as well as meeting the SDG4 target. Andrabi et al., (2013) show that private schools are more likely to emerge in villages where there are government girls' schools (GGS). In villages where there was a government girl's school there were twice as many educated women. In order to encourage girls to attend school programmes, such as vouchers have been introduced to allow households to access schooling for their girls. Another programme is that of conditional cash transfers. Conditional cash transfers (CCT) are in part poverty reduction programmes (Hanlon et al., 2010; Barrera-Osorio, 2007). These programmes provide cash transfers to low income households. Cash transfers can be unconditional or conditional (the recipient may be required to do something in order to attain it). The conditions of CCT require parents to make investments in their child's human capital, either in the form of health or education. Although CCTs are relatively new within the field of poverty reduction they have spread rapidly and there is a growing trend in gender based cash transfers (Fizbein and Schady, 2009). Cash transfers can increase enrolment for both boys and girls. Education programmes can include Conditional Cash Transfers (CCT) programs, which are targeted at poor households to reduce poverty and increase human capital. The Punjab Education Sector Reforms Program introduced a female stipend programme. Fifteen of Punjab's 34 districts were selected under the program. Under the program girls received a stipend conditioned on her being enrolled in 6th to 8th grade in a government school and conditional on her maintaining average class attendance of at least 80 percent (Kabeer et al., 2012).

The State Bank of Pakistan conducted an impact analysis using Punjab as the treated unit and the three other provinces as counterfactual. The analysis looks at the progress of net and gross enrolment indicators. They concluded that the program “contributed significantly to improving net and gross enrolments” (2006, p.5). This suggests that due to the success of the programme similar programmes could be created across Pakistan. The analysis however looked at the PESR programme as a whole and not specially focusing on the stipend programme therefore cannot assess the impact. Chaudhury and Parajuli (2006) evaluate the impact of the female stipend programme the main focus being on whether the stipend increase student enrolment estimating the net growth in female enrolment in grades 6-8. The results show that the average programme impact between 2003 and 2005 was an increase of six female students per school and an increase of 9 percent in total female enrolment. Results suggest that the stipend is increasing female enrolment in public schools. The evidence from the household survey also reveals that it is helping children from poorer households attend school. Similarly, CCTs in Turkey, Bangladesh and Columbia have contributed to the reduction in gender disparity. In Bogota, Colombia in households that are receiving a cash transfer then children are more likely to attend school, remain enrolled and matriculate to the next grade (Barrera-Osorio, 2007).

2.9 Vouchers, competition and the market mechanism

Earlier in the chapter we considered how voucher design and environment attribute to the outcomes associated with that programme. If competition and the market mechanism are stifled by the design and the environment is not conducive to entrepreneurship, profit and opportunity then the ‘beneficial’ effects of the programme may not be forthcoming.

According to Mises (1966, p.17) the market is not a place ‘it is a process, it is the way in which by selling and buying, by producing and consuming, the individuals contribute to the total working of society’. It is the ‘un-designed regularities of the market order’ that allows for meaningful choices of individuals (Boettke, 1996, p. 5). Dynamic competition requires ‘free entry’ to allow the grasping of opportunity. The market works because of entrepreneurial discovery and the free market economy permits entrepreneurial discovery to correct errors and over-pessimism. The actions of the entrepreneur need to be facilitated by the institutional framework. The entrepreneurial process needs to be facilitated by incentives and provided with the necessary information and knowledge,

allowing entrepreneurship to flourish. If a voucher programme does not provide school owners with incentives to continue their entrepreneurial spirit then incentives change and the low cost private school environment in which they originally became successful no longer becomes their incentive. Goal posts are moved, whether it is through regulation or indeed receiving vouchers where parents are not able to 'exit' or 'voice' their concerns around a decrease in quality or the benefit an school/organisation is providing too them.

Entrepreneurs explore the market for opportunities allowing them to make gains, fulfilling consumer demand, developing innovative production methods and new products. The desire for profit stimulates the entrepreneur to employ the most efficient use of resources. The entrepreneur acts as a speculator, dealing with the unknown quantity of the future. Entrepreneurs therefore control and stimulate innovation and the production of services and goods. However, to restate the analogy utilised by Mises (1966), it is the entrepreneur who steers the ship, but he obeys the captain's orders, the captain being the consumer. If those at the helm steer a different course to the captain's wishes he will be removed from his position at the helm and replaced by a successor who follows the path conveyed by the captain (pp. 269-270). In other words, if the entrepreneur does not follow the actions of the consumer conveyed to him by market prices, he will find himself out of business.

However, if the 'captain' (low cost private school owner) becomes part of a voucher programme that has a design that does not allow parents (consumers) to steer the ship (pay the fees), then the benefits of competition and the whole entrepreneurial process will be lost.

For Hirschman (1972, 1978) consumers have two responses when they are faced with a decrease in quality or benefit of a good or service. They can either exit, that is withdraw themselves from the relationship, or they can 'voice', through complaining, or setting out their grievance to propose change. With regards to education vouchers, if the design does not allow for exit, the parents are not able to take their voucher elsewhere, then this form of protest has been denied. Adam Smith's invisible hand, where buyers and sellers move freely through competitive markets with change happening constantly is associated with Hirschman's 'exit'. Voice is more informative as it provides feedback around why the consumer is disgruntled. Loyalty can also influence exit, so where options to exit are not

appealing (i.e., the option is a government school or no school at all) then the desire to exit is reduced. So where vouchers are provided to poor parents and the design does not allow the transferal of the voucher to another school then this will imply that failing schools will not lose students and not close down. They then become a comfortable retirement place for the remaining staff as long as the vouchers programme remains.

2.10 Conclusion

The literature review considered the impact of education vouchers in developing countries. The review considered the incentives surrounding education voucher programmes. The literature looked at education in Pakistan and identified key themes. A number of studies have examined the relationship between private schools and student outcomes mainly through test scores (Hoxby, 2003; Desai et al, 2008; French and Kingdon, 2010; Wolf, 2011). Most of the studies show positive results. The vast amount of literature shows the diversity of vouchers and the impact they are having on education. Education vouchers provide reforms that allow parents to choose schools creating incentives for schools to improve and compete with each other whether in the public or private sectors. The literature shows the difference in each voucher model, highlighting how one model does not fit all. The administration and design of a voucher programme is just as critical to its success.

Voucher programmes are diverse, each country having devised its own rules and regulation, which can make the voucher scheme and other educational programmes problematic and bureaucratic. More data from India needs to be examined and carried out to get a clear understanding of the benefits or indeed pitfalls. In Pakistan, there are a limited number of studies that look at the Punjab Education Voucher Scheme (EVS). Chile and Colombia's voucher schemes are diverse and this is reflected in educational outcome. The success of the Colombian voucher programme is due to a number of reasons. The lottery system allows equal opportunity for each child that is interested to apply. In terms of financing initially the voucher covered the majority of school fees and other expenses, however the voucher now only covers half of the tuition and the remaining amount is covered by the child's family. Unlike the Chilean system, there was no large shift of students from public to private schools. The design and establishment of the Chilean voucher system somewhat represents Friedman's original proposal. Chile's universal scheme is publically funded where government and private schools coexist. It

covers more than 90% of the school-age population, unlike the Colombian voucher programme the Chile voucher scheme is universally available. In regard to enrolment there was a large shift from public schools to private schools. Studies reveal mixed results when looking at student achievement and school competition (Gallego, 2004; Auguste and Valenzuela, 2003). Some studies show competition between schools is raised and in turn this raises student outcomes. Other studies (Mizala and Romaguera, 2000) show no effect from increased completion or on test scores.

The next section of this thesis considers the methodological procedures adopted for this research.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the methodological procedure that will be adopted for the research. Justifications will be stated for this research and the techniques used. Other methodological procedures will be discussed, assessing shortcomings and why the current methodological approach is being adopted. The research has been stimulated by an interest in providing quality education for disadvantaged children in developing countries. The research conducted is intended to inform policy makers. As discussed in the previous chapter, vouchers have been a long-standing way of providing education to low-income families. The literature review shows the adaption of voucher programmes across various countries. The chapter will focus on the research purpose, practice and design of this project. The ethical procedures and research techniques will also be discussed.

This research sets out to investigate the effects and outcomes of a school voucher programme in Pakistan using multiple voices and perspectives. There are three questions to answer this overarching inquiry:

1. Does participating in a voucher programme improve student outcomes and experience of recipients compared to those already in private schools but paying fees?
2. Has the introduction of vouchers in Pakistan impacted on the school community and stakeholders?
3. Does participating in a voucher programme diminish gender inequalities, comparing those with vouchers and those in the private schools whose parents pay fees?

This research evolved from an interest in the developing world and the re-evaluation of the Pakistan education system. I also carried out a project for my Master's dissertation around vouchers and low cost private schools. The voucher scheme provides an alternative solution in meeting educational needs of individual students from disadvantaged backgrounds. As the literature shows in the previous chapter, voucher programmes and scholarships have been assessed but there is yet to be a systematic review of the effectiveness of an established scheme, assessing many forms of the

voucher and perspectives. Most voucher programs discuss the need for school choice in regard to public and private schooling. This study does not aim to justify the need of private schools, nor to assess the quality of government schools, but to assess the effectiveness of education vouchers, and how they meet the needs of the poor, and their contribution to a community.

3.2 Research and Politics

Research and politics are closely intertwined. The current research will assess and evaluate the effectiveness of education vouchers as they are partially funded by the government of Pakistan. The research is intended to guide policy makers and improve quality, if needed, in the specific field. Anderson and Biddle (1991) suggest that although research and politics are closely intertwined the relationship between educational research and politics is complex because it strives to address a complicated social issue (Anderson and Biddle, 1991, p.43). Research and politics go hand in hand.

James (1993) argues:

“the power of research based evaluation to provide evidence on which rational decisions can be expected to be made is quite limited. Policy-makers will always find reasons to ignore, or be highly selective of, evaluation findings if the information does not support the particular political agenda operating at the time when decisions have to be made”

(James (1993, p.41).

Therefore research must have some specific impact on policy makers as it provides useful data. The social construction of knowledge has to consider the different power of groups to define what acceptable and valuable research is and how the research will be used. Education is one of the mechanisms that can be used to achieve social and economic goals. Any research that argues against the particular mode of education at the time can lead to complications. The research is driven by a strong belief that quality education should be available to all children; however, as an educational researcher these profound beliefs can be conflicting with the politics. Policy research will directly feed into policymaking or policy assessment. However, staying neutral in the research is essential as the researcher has to manage their own beliefs and care for the participants.

3.3 Methodology

The current research carries out for its quantitative part a comparison between students who receive education vouchers with those who do not receive vouchers. It utilises the use of case study research to assess the effectiveness of vouchers from both a quantitative and qualitative approach. Questionnaires are used as they create a pre-set number of questions to ensure better results. In total, 352 school children were tested, each completing a maths, English, IQ test and questionnaire. Quantitative data such as questionnaires allow for pre-set closed questions which allows for a degree of comparability in the answers. According to Bryman (2008) “they can reduce spontaneity of the answers and limit replies” (2008, p.24). Another option is to allow respondents to give answers outside of the options available. An interview carried out in conjunction with a questionnaire can be beneficial as the researcher can clarify responses and ensure understanding (Bell, 2005). A statistical package (SPSS) was used to analyse the quantitative data. Interviews are used to provide an insight into the state of the school’s facilities, teaching techniques and assessing the quality of teaching, student participation and interaction. These observations were used to triangulate the information gained from the interviews carried out with the teachers, school managers, parents, and government officials.

Qualitative data were also in the form of interviews. Semi-structured interviews were carried out to allow participants to express their feelings, thoughts and experiences with the researcher. In general, the qualitative methodology provided information concerning those who run, work in and are the consumers of the low-income private schools to establish whom these private schools are targeting. The qualitative element provided data concerning the regulatory environment in which these schools operate. Qualitative data were analysed using code headings that were developed during the beginning of the research. These code headings were in relation to the research questions, otherwise known as Quality Innovation and Perception (QIP). The sub-categories were then established during the empirical data collection. The coding process differs from grounded theory. In grounded theory, theory is derived from the data and it is not given at the beginning of the research. However coding categories are constantly being discovered through the data collection process. This research also starts with an existing theory, and the codes and patterns are matched to this theory. The research findings and the existing literature helped generate the code headings concerning education vouchers. During the course of

the data collection new code headings were sought, a continuous search was made, however those codes which were all defined were codes that were constantly emerging throughout the data collection stage. Some further sub-categories were generated during the data collection stage.

The two different research techniques helped to consider different characteristics of schools in different areas. Both quantitative and qualitative research have their limitations and strengths. When utilising qualitative research, this allows the researcher to analyse the data in great depth as it is not dominated by pre-determined categories. This research uses qualitative techniques to test rather than to generate theories and both research techniques are used in the research.

The researcher avoided any bias during the collection stage by designing the interviews with the intention that no interviewee was provided with preconceived ideas or notions. The researcher in her search for the truth used different sources of information, different research techniques, triangulating the data and reporting accurately the data so that the findings of the research are accurately reflected. During the analytical phase and the reporting of findings the aim was to ensure a high level of accuracy and objectivity by constantly searching for new ideas, codes and strategies. Every strategy was regarded as a search for truth by using different source of information, triangulating the data, and reporting accurately, have been a major objective of this research, to reflect the situation found by the researcher.

There are arguments that the mixed methods approach is fundamentally positivist. It is argued that using a mixed methods approach has created a new methodological approach differing from both quantitative and qualitative research altogether. Giddings (2006) argues that it cannot be considered as new research style through its research traditions and there are strong influences on research design (Newby, 2010, p.127). Another positive form of using a mixed methods approach is the link between research questions and the way in which the research is conducted. Using a mixed method approach will reflect dimension in the research and nuances; exploring the issue, and looking at existing data as the nature of the research questions will shape the research design. Regardless of the method used, the link between questions and methods should be vigorous, that the method will generate data appropriate to the questions outlining the complexity.

Before the collection of data for the main phase of the research a pilot study was carried out. A school was selected at random from the list provided by the Punjab Education Foundation. The students completed an English and Maths test. The English test had a KR20 of 0.7 math exam had a KR20 of 0.8. This means the tests were reliable and the children who could not answer the ‘easy’ question correctly were answering the ‘hard’ question incorrectly too.

3.4 Research Design

According to Yin (2009) there are five components of a case study:

1. A study question
2. Its proportion
3. Unit of analysis
4. Criteria for interpretation data
5. The logical linking the data to the propositions

The present study uses each of these five components in order to aim for this research to be an exemplary case study. Firstly, it looks at the comparison of children receiving an education voucher with those who do not and this is the overall study question. Secondly, as stated by Yin (2009) “each proposition directs attention to something that should be examined within the scope of the study” (2009, p.22). The child, whether they receive a voucher or not, share the same common goal concerning gaining an education. The sub questions are aligned with the literature review as it helps to establish a common ground for the reason. The research is conducted in three different cities, thus it is important to note that the different schools can have a different effect on the impact of a child’s achievement levels. The third criteria is the unit of analysis,

“the component is related to the fundamental problem of defining what the ‘case’ is [...] in each situation, and individual person is the case being studies, and the individuals the primary unit of analysis” (Yin, 2009, p.22).

For this research it is a comparison of students of vouchers based on a multiple unit of analysis. Propositions are collected to gather information about each individual student, for example the influence of early childhood or family background. When undertaking a case study the researcher needs to determine whether it is a single or multiple case study.

When undertaking a multiple case study each “case” needs to be carefully selected so that it predicts similar results. The researcher has chosen to follow a single case study, looking at low-cost private schools all under the administration of the Punjab Education Foundation, for theoretical replication. This was done to achieve a clear perception of low cost private schools from different viewpoints. The fourth and fifth components look at the criteria for interpreting data and the linking of data to the propositions and this was done by linking the sub-questions to the qualitative and quantitative data.

After collecting the data it was then inputted into SPSS which allowed the researcher to look for patterns or any similarities. The findings were related to other studies, which have formed the theory behind education vouchers or education scholarships. This case study methodology is also constructed from a positivist point of view.

3.4.1 Sampling

The target sampling was aimed at children between 10-12 years of age and being taught in schools in Punjab province. Although the research is a case study it did involve sampling. Yin (2009) argues that sampling can have its limitation:

“your cases are not sampling units, and should not be chosen for this reason. Rather individual cases are not to be selected as laboratory investigators selects the topic of a new experiment. Multiple cases, in this sense, resemble multiple experiments. Under these circumstances, the mode of generalisation is analytical generalisation, in which a previous theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of a case study” (Yin, 2009, p.36).

Questions of sampling often arise out of the issue of defining the population on which the research will focus on. Sampling decisions were taken earlier on. Factors such as expense, time and accessibility were taken into account. Judgments had to be made about four key factors in sampling:

1. The sample size
2. The representativeness and parameters of the sample
3. Access to the sample
4. The sample strategy to be used (Cohen, 2000, p.92)

Researchers must obtain a sample size that will accurately represent the population being targeted, “where simple random sampling is used, the sample size needed to reflect the population value of a particular variable depends both on the size of the population and the amount of heterogeneity in the population” (Cohen, p.93). The larger the population, the larger the sample size must be drawn. In qualitative research it is more likely that the sample size will be small.

There are two main methods of sampling probability (random sample) or non-probability (purpose sample). A probability sample draws randomly from the wider population. It will be useful as Cohen (2000) states because if the researcher wishes to make generalisations because it seeks representativeness of the wider population (ibid, p.99). The researcher has taken a random sampling approach, a non-probability sample avoids representing the wider population. It seeks only to represent a particular group, a wider section of the population. Additionally, a probability sample will have less risk of bias than a non-probability sample as a non-probability sample will not represent the whole population. For the purpose of this research random sampling was undertaken. Random sampling allows for each member of the population an equal chance of being selected. Random sampling was carried out using a list of schools and names that were provided to the researcher. A table was constructed with each school and its location categorised, using the table, students were selected at random. Random sampling allows the researcher to selected participants with different characteristics but similar to the population as a whole. A disadvantage of random sampling is that a complete list of the population is needed and this is not always provided.

In conclusion, every element of the methodology has been planned and not undertaken by chance. The selection of a sampling strategy was governed by the criterion of suitability for the research. Random sampling was the chosen sampling method for this research. Time scales, methods of data, methodology of the research and the constraints of the researcher were therefore taken into consideration. The sampling chosen was appropriate as it served all the factors for validity to be examined.

3.4.2 Questionnaires

There are many ethical issues regarding questionnaires. The decision to involve and withdraw from the research is entirely down to the participants. The involvement of

participants and factors in questionnaire itself have to be considered. Issues such as the avoidance of bias and assuring validity and reliability in the research must also be adhered to. Factors can impact each stage of gathering data for the questionnaire. The purpose of a questionnaire is to turn the questionnaire into actual data that can be gathered and transferred. A questionnaire's general purpose has to be clear and easily translated into specific aims. Once the researcher has the primary objectives of the questionnaire ready, the second stage of the questionnaire involves the identification and itemising of subsidiary topics and research questions that relate to the research as a whole. Subsidiary topics include the type of research, the content of the research, the location, the timing, the design and the finance of the research. The third phase includes the identification of the subsidiary topics and formulating specific information relating to each issue. The quantitative research consists of using a closed, structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was piloted. Piloting the questionnaire helped refine the questionnaire and the final version contains a range of possible responses that can be foreseen. Piloting the questionnaire helped to check the clarity of the questions, gain feedback on the validity of the questions, helping to eliminate ambiguous questions, and to check the time it has taken to complete the questionnaire. This research has been built around other studies that have tested children and have linked school outcomes to the backgrounds of parents, family resources and socioeconomic factors (Becker, 1993). There has also been shown to be a link between teacher and school characteristics and student attainment since the Coleman report of 1966. Therefore this thesis used an empirical model that used these studies as a springboard to inform the types of variables that should be included in the data set.

3.4.3 Interviews

The use of interviews in research helps the researcher as they are moved away from seeing human subjects as data to generating knowledge between individuals. Interviews allow participants to discuss their interpretation of the world. Participants during the interview will define the situation in a particular way, which can question the validity and reliability of interviews. The purpose of conducting an interview is to assess and evaluate, to gather data and then test and develop a hypothesis. Tuckman (1972) describes the use of interviews as “providing access to what is inside a person's head [...] it makes it possible to measure what a person knows, what a person likes and dislikes and what a person thinks” (Cohen, 2000, p.268). Secondly, it can be used to validate other methods and go

deeper into meanings and motivations. Before conducting or designing the interview the researcher must outline the theoretical basis of the study and its aims, practical values and why choosing an interview was the best approach. Open-ended questions have advantages as they are flexible and allow the research to go into more depth. There are ethical issues when conducting interviews as they concern interpersonal interaction. The three main areas of ethical consideration are informed consent, confidentiality and the consequences of the interview. Informed written consent was given by participants and parents. Information provided before the study, states the reasons behind conducting this study and the benefits from it. Working with children adds another layer to the ethical issues, there was no potential harm to the students from this study and if any occurred prevention was taken. The participants were given full anonymity as participants identities were not disclosed and used for the study.

Interviews were taken with parents to understand their decision as to why they would send their child to a PEF school and also to give parents a voice. The background of the parents was important for the research as it would determine if the school voucher programme actually targets families from low-income groups. Secondly, the researcher needed to explore the reason why parents would send their child to a private school. Thirdly, the parents were then asked about the school and its facilities and the quality. The transcriptions of the interviews are set out in the appendix as well as some of the themes highlighted in Chapter Four.

Teachers were interviewed on the basis that they had a first-hand insight into the classroom and on a daily basis can track a student's progress. Questions related to their salary, pupils, and teaching qualification were asked to provide background information as well as to allow teachers to give the opinions and hence a voice.

Government officials were interviewed in order to ascertain the current voucher scheme's purpose and the benefits it has to the education community at large. Government officials were asked to comment on current failures and improvements across Pakistan and what could be done to achieve education for all.

School owners were interviewed. Interviews helped to establish a deeper understanding of education in the community. The questions reflected their thoughts on the quality of private and government schools, the competition between schools as a result of the

voucher programme and the effect and perception the vouchers are having on students and families.

3.4.4 Tests

Pupils were administered tests, which consisted of Maths, English, and Urdu along with an IQ test and a questionnaire. A questionnaire was used to establish the child's background. The information gathered from all sources was triangulated to try and establish a link between all the other sources used from parents, teachers, school managers and government officials. Tests are a powerful research method technique, seen as a way to gather data numerically and not verbally. The research consists of a 'norm-referenced' test. A norm referenced test compares student's achievements relative to other student's achievement. A disadvantage of a norm referenced test is that unlike a criterion references test the researcher does not know what a student has actually learned. A norm-reference can only provide the researcher with information on how well a student's performed in comparison with another student. When constructing a test the researcher had to consider the following:

- The purpose of the test
- The type of test
- The objectives of the test
- The content
- The validity and reliability

The purpose of the test is to assess the effectiveness of vouchers. In this sense, testing is carried out as the research consist of testing a programme and therefore is designed to measure a student's progress that may be attributed to being on the education voucher programme.

To ensure the validity in a test it is important to ensure that the objectives of the tests are fairly addressed, such objectives include the tests to be specific and be expressed with an appropriate degree of precision, represent learning outcomes, to identify the observable behaviour which will demonstrate achievement. A way to ensure these objectives are addressed in tests is achieving clarity. Ethical issues regarding test are limited as most unreliability comes from the preparation before the test are administrated. Test must be valid and reliable. The test results will not be used outside of research purposes apart from selection in professional publication, tests results are only reported in a way that cannot

be misinterpreted to ensure the participants are respected and that individuals are not harmed by the tests or the results of the study.

3.5 Case Study

A case study method was chosen for this research as it was deemed most appropriate. In order to undertake a case study Yin's methodology (2003) was followed. Yin (2003) states that case studies are the preferred method when answering the 'how or why questions,'

“it allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as individual life cycles, organisational and managerial processes, neighbourhood change, and international relations” (Yin, 2003, p.2)

A case study thus allows for a singular analysis. As Stake (1995) observes it is only concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case. The term case study is usually described as something with a location, community or an organisation. Bryman (2008) writes that most case studies are linked with qualitative research “as qualitative methods are helpful in creating a detailed qualitative case” (Bryman, 2008, p.53). However, different social science methods have different needs and the need for a case study in this research “arises out of a desire to study a complex and social phenomena” (Yin, 2003, p.2). This research falls under this category.

Case study research has often not been seen as a good research strategy. It is often regarded as an easy option and seen at being bottom of the research strategy hierarchy methodology. According to Yin (1994), this is due to the lack of rigour in some past research (Yin, 1994, p.9). Often researchers have let their prejudice and bias determine the outcome of the research before any evaluation, and more often than not, letting their judgment direct the findings and conclusion. This has led critics to question whether case studies are the best approach as questionnaire are designed to in such a way that it direct the answer of the participants and the researchers beliefs. However to understand an individual's behaviour or the work of an organisation, we must understand the way they perceive a situation. We cannot understand or observe the effects of the situation unless we consider them from the others point of view. The purpose of a case study is that it must be answered through what is being studied. If the case study is explanative then the research needs to identify patterns in the observations, which may be either casual or

relational (if no causality). If the case study is evaluative then the researcher makes judgements and evaluations from their research. The explorative case study tries to examine what is happening in certain situations and asks questions to assess the occurrences in a new way.

There are three main research methods for a case study exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory. However according to Yin (2003), a case study is not confined to the exploratory phase of investigation (2003, p.2). Bryman (2008) argues that external validity cannot represent a single case so that its findings can be applied to other cases because it has limited external validity (Bryman, 2008, p.55). However this is not the case as this research aims to explore the relationship between two components in a single case, which will later provide us with a theoretical analysis. It is important when discussing the research that an objective is met between how the researcher generates theory out of the findings. Therefore the goal of a case study is to “expand and generalise theories, and not to enumerate frequencies” (Yin, 2009, p.15). This research can be seen as a way to generalise the selection process of students who are participating in the study but no particular factors were used in this to enhance this view. This research uses an exemplifying case study as the “objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation” (Bryman, 2008, p.56). This is partly why the research uses quantitative research method to support the theory.

A key issue in case study research is the selection of information. A subject might only demonstrate a particular behaviour once, but it is important not to rule this out because it only occurred once. “Sometimes a single event might occur which sheds a hugely important insight into a person or situation, it can be used to understand a situation” (Cohen et al., 2000, p.185). Cohen et al., (2000) suggest that significance rather than frequency is a hallmark of case studies, which offers the researcher a valuable insight into the real dynamics of situation and people.

A wide use of case study research has also resulted in an equally wide range of techniques used in the collection and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data. Regardless of the approach in case study research lies a method of observation. There are two types of observations in case studies participant observation and non-participant observation. Observers engage in activities that they set out to observe. Non-participant observers are detached from group activities. Non-participant roles are the case of the researcher sitting

in the back of the classroom, observing, and coding up every verbal exchange or classroom observation to form a structured set of observational categories. Schutz (1962) suggest that the task of an educational researcher is to explain the means by which an ordinary social world is established and maintained in terms of its shared means (ibid, p.187). This leads one to question how do participant observation techniques assist the researcher in their task. Bailey (1978) suggests that some advantages in the participant observation approach:

- Observation studies are superior to experiments and surveys when data are being collected on non-verbal behaviour.
- Case studies take place over extended period of time therefore researchers can develop informative relationships with those they are observing, in natural environments and more so when surveys are conducted.
- Case study observations are less reactive than other types of data gathering methods. For example in surveys they depend largely on verbal responses to structured questions, bias can be introduced in the data that researchers are attempting to study (Bailey, 1978, p.188).

The problem with case studies lies with selection.

1. How do you get from the initial idea to the working idea?
2. What do you lose in the process?
3. What unwanted concerns do you take on board as a result?
4. How do you locate, identify, and approach key informants?
5. How do you handle social complexities?
6. How do you record evidence?
7. How much time do you give to thinking and reflecting upon what you are doing?
8. At what point do you show your subjects what you are doing?
9. At what point do you give them control over who sees what?
10. Who sees the final reports first?

There are several issues when planning a case study. Nisbet and Watt (1984) suggest three main stages in undertaking a case study. They advise against the generation of hypothesis too early in a case study and it is important to gather data openly.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

In quantitative research validity “refers to the issue of whether an indicator (or a set of indicators) that is devised to gauge a concept really measures that concept” (Bryman, 2008, p.151). Validity is an important key to undertake effective research. The purpose of validity is to ensure that the research carried out is not invalid as it can be deemed valid. In qualitative data validity can be measured through the honesty, depth, richness, and scope of the data achieved, “the participants approached the extent of triangulation and the disinterestedness or objectivity of the researcher” (Cohen, 2000, p.105). In quantitative data, validity can be improved through sampling, appropriate instrumentation and how to handle the statistical data. In quantitative research, there is a degree of error, which is innate, and has to be acknowledged within the research. In qualitative research the subjectivity of participants and their responses and opinions and perspectives accumulate to a degree of bias. Grounlunch (1981) therefore argues that validity then should be seen as a matter of agreement rather than an absolute state (ibid, p.105). It is generally argued that qualitative researchers need to be cautious to not be working with the agenda of the positivist. However, it can also be argued that this notion of positivism in qualitative research can be replaced in quantitative research with the notion of authenticity. Validity in qualitative research cannot be seen as objective as it is an interpretation of an individual’s thoughts and options. However, it is the researchers task to uncover the truth hence why other people’s perspectives are equally as valid. “Validity then attaches to accounts, not to data or methods” (Grounlunch, 1981, p.106). However, the data sample selected must represent the whole data set. Maxwell (1992) argues that there are five kinds of validity in qualitative research that explore the notion of ‘understanding’.

- Descriptive validity – factual accuracy of the account that is not made up or selective or distorted
- Interpretative validity – the ability of the research to understand the meaning and interpretations.
- Theoretical validity – the extent to which the researcher explains phenomenon
- Generalisability – the idea that the theory generated may be useful in understanding similar situations
- Evaluative validity – an evaluative framework, judgemental of which is being researched.

Both qualitative and quantitative research methods can also address the issue of internal and external validity.

Internal validity seeks to demonstrate the explanation of a particular event, which can be sustained by the data thus providing a level of accuracy which can be applied to both qualitative and quantitative research. Internal validity in qualitative research requires plausibility, credibility and clarity around the claims made from the research. External validity ensures whether a study can be generalised beyond the specific research context. It is the context of whether or how people are selected to participate in the research that creates external validity. Bryman (2008) states that “internal validity is concerned with the questions of whether a conclusion that incorporates a causal relationship between two or more variables holds weight” (2008, p.32). Bell (2005) describes reliability as the degree to which the measurement techniques will provide similar results should the research be conducted again under similar constraints. Validity can be described as the extent to which a research instrument is measured or describes the information it is intended to measure or describe (2005, p43).

Commonly there are four components used to test the validity and reliability of any research:

1. Construct validity: establishing correct operational measures for the concepts that are being studied.
2. Internal validity: establishing a causal relationship, whereby certain conditions are shown to lead other conditions, as distinguished from spurious relationships
3. External validity: establishing the domain to which a study’s findings can be generalised
4. reliability: demonstrating that the operation of a study – such as the data collection procedures – can be repeated, with the same results (Yin, 2009, p.34).

Yin (2009) notes that the first component is problematic in a case study research,

“people who have been critical of case studies often point to the fact that a case study investigator fails to develop a sufficiently operational set of measures, and that ‘subjective’ judgments are used to collect the data” (Yin, 2009, p.35).

However, there are ways to overcome this by using multiple sources of evidence and establishing a chain of evidence. The questionnaire, maths and English tests were constructed in such a way as to ensure coherent understanding on part of the participants. Where there was uncertainty with wordings of certain question or confusion regarding a specific question, support and clarification was provided by the researcher who was present during all of the quantitative and qualitative data collection process..

Internal validity allowed the researcher to conduct the study in the same routine. Each child who participated was allowed the same amount of time. The tests were carried out in small rooms where the children were separated as much as possible so that the research could be carried out uninterrupted. The same tests were carried out across each school to ensure a level of equality. This reduced threats to internal validity. The semi-constructed interviews which were carried out during the course of the research addressed the main issues of this research as it allowed all the participants to express their individual beliefs and concerns conceiving vouchers, private schools and the state of education in Pakistan.

External validity deals with the problem of knowing whether a study's findings are generalizable beyond the immediate the case study. However, Yin (2009) notes that the problem with external validity has been a "major barrier" in doing case studies (2009, p.37). The issue of generalisation can be problematic. To ensure generalisability the theory must be tested by replicating the findings and the same results should occur. As the research was conducted in different schools over various locations in Punjab, the findings will not be the same, but the results from this case study can add to the current literature.

Construct validity questions how acceptable a construct is. To establish construct validity, the researcher needs to assure that the construction of a certain issue must correlate with other constructions of the same underlying issue. Establishing construct validity not only means confirming the construction with relevant literature but also looking at relevant counter examples that might in turn falsify the research construction. In qualitative research construct validity must demonstrate that the categories the researcher has used are meaningful to the participants too. For example the way that the researcher can reflect the way in which the participants actual experience and construe the situations in the research.

Triangulation can be defined as the use of different methods of data collection to consider some aspect of human behaviour. It is a technique of physical measurement. Triangulation in the form of social sciences attempts to explain in depth the complexity of human behaviour. This is achieved through more than one research method and point of view. In order to achieve this the use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods are applied in this research. There are many advantages of using a mixed method approach in research. Many research methods or techniques selectively observe experiences in the real world and therefore there is an element of bias as the researcher is never neutral. Therefore reliance on one research method “may bias or distort the researcher’s picture of the particular slice of reality they are investigating” (Cohen, 2000, p.112). Lin (1976) argues that the data collected must not be simply artefacts from one specific method of collection. To achieve this and avoid any bias this researcher therefore used different methods of data collection to ensure the ‘truth’ came through. The idea of yielding the same results adds to the research. The more the different methods contrast with each other, the better the validity of the research and confident about the findings. Patton argues that having multiple data sources, particularly in qualitative data, does not ensure any sort of consistency nor does it ensure replication. Additionally, Fielding and Fielding (1986) argue that methodological triangulation does not ensure an increase in validity, reduce bias or bring objectivity to the research (Fielding and Fielding, 1986, p.115). To ensure the research is not invalid the following issues were considered:

- Choose an appropriate time scale;
- Ensure there are adequate resources for the research to take place;
- Select an appropriate methodology for the research;
- Use an appropriate sample;
- Ensure reliability in terms of stability.

There are several ways invalidity might be present in the research at the data stage. These can be reduced by:

- Minimising reactivity effects
- Trying to avoid dropout rates amongst respondents
- Taking steps to avoid non-return of questionnaires
- Avoiding have too long or too short an interval between presents and post-tests
- Ensuring reliability

- Matching control and treatment groups fairly
- Ensure standardised procedures for gathering data or for administering tests
- Building on the motivation of the students
- Avoid subjective interpretation
- Avoid Type I or Type II errors. (pp.115-116)

Another advantage of triangulation is that it will overcome the problem of ‘method boundedness’. Boring (1953) wrote on method boundedness, “as long as a new construct has only the single operational definition that it received at birth, it is just a construct. When it gets two alternative operational definitions, it is beginning to get validated. When the defining operations, because of proven correlations, are many, then it becomes a reified” (Cohen, 2000 p.113). The use of mixed methods utilizes triangulation with either normative or interpretive techniques. Triangulation is often found in education research. Triangular techniques are suitable when a more holistic view of educational outcomes are sought and has special significance where a complex phenomenon needs clarification.

According to Cohen (2000):

“Multiple methods are suitable where a controversial aspect of education needs to be evaluated fully.” In this sense, triangulations can be a useful technique in case study research. Many critics of triangulation argue that the notion of triangulation is positivistic and that when it is exposed in data triangulation, as it is presumed that a multiple data sources is superior to a single data source. It is this assumption that a single unit of analysis can be measured more than once “violates the interactionist principle of emergence, fluidity, uniqueness and specificity” (Cohen, 2000, p115).

Equivalence reliability can be achieved through using equivalent forms of a test or data gathering information. If an equivalent form of the test yields similar results then the instrument is said to demonstrate this reliability. This type of reliability can also be seen in control and experimental groups. Reliability in this sense can be measured through t-tests, though the demonstrating of high correlation co-efficients but also through the demonstration of similar means and standard deviations between two groups. Additionally, equivalence reliability can also be achieved through inter-rater reliability.

Reliability is present in qualitative research, LeCompte and Preissle (1993) suggest that reliability is found in quantitative research but is “unworkable” in qualitative research (Cohen, 2000, p.118). Reliability is present in quantitative research as it can be replicable, if the same methods are used with the same sample then the results should be the same. However qualitative research can also possess a certain element of replication. LeCompte and Preissle (1993) suggest that this can be achieved through

- Repeating the status position of the researcher;
- The choice of respondents;
- The social situation and conditions;
- The analytical constructs and premises that are used;
- The methods of data collection and analysis.

Denzin and Lincoln (1994) suggest that reliability and replication can be addressed in qualitative research in several ways:

- Stability of observations – whether the researcher would have made the same observations and interpretation of these if they had been observed at a different time or place;
- Parallel forms – whether the researcher would have made the same observations and interpretations around what has been seen if they had not been paying attention;
- Inter-rater reliability – whether another observer with the same theoretical framework and observing the same phenomena would have interpreted them in the same way.

Studies from Cannell and Kahn (1968) in which interviews were used seemed to indicate that validity was a persistent problem where the researcher overstates or understates the true meaning or value of what is being said. One way to overcome this is to compare the interview with another measure that has already been carried. Bias usually occurs during interviews. This is usually achieved by avoiding questions that reflect the interviews opinions. Studies (Lee, 1993; Scheurich, 1995) have also shown that race, religion, gender, sexual orientation, status and social class can be a potent source of bias (Cohen, 2000, p.121). Interviews often bring their own personal experiences to the research and interview situation therefore the data will inevitable be influenced. Hitchcock and Hughes

(1989) also argue that because interviews are so interpersonal that the researcher will automatically influence the interviewee and the data (ibid, p.121). A way to ensure reliability is to have a highly structured interview. This includes having the same format of words and questions for each participants. Scheurich (1995) argues that even controlling the sequence of words there will be no guarantee that the interviewer will reflect on what is being said in search of the truth. Wording is an important factor when ensuring reliability, altering the sequence of words or changing words altogether undermines the reliability of interviews. The best way to avoid bias is to pilot the interviews and to use closed rather than open questions. The importance of close-ended questions allows participants to demonstrate their unique way of looking at the world. Reducing bias is simple, as the researcher has carefully formulated the questions so that the participants understand the meaning behind each question. The issues around reliability is not only about the preparation into conducting interviews but it is related to the way the interviews are analysed that is known as 'transcriber selectivity'. Lee (1993) and Kvale (1996) discuss the issue of transcriber selectivity, details of interviews continue to remain selective as they are interpretations of social situations, "they become decontextualized and abstracted" (1996, p.126). This then brings into question how useful interviews can be and how reliable they are.

There are a number of reasons that may undermine validity and reliability when it comes to tests. This includes when the test was taken, the time of day, the time of the school year, temperature in the test room, the degree of formality and the way the test is administrated. Therefore, the researcher must ensure all the above are considered and ensure that when conducting tests over a period of time the subjects take the test in similar or the same conditions. Wolf (1994) suggest that there are four main factors which might affect reliability the range of the group that is being tested, the group's levels proficiency, the duration of the test, and the way reliability is calculated. Feldt and Brennan (1993) suggest there are four threats to reliability the participant's motivations and other factors, situation factors, test marker factors, instrument variables, ways to overcome this and ensure validity and reliability. The procedure for ensuring reliability should therefore be transparent and leave no room for error. However the problem with ensuring 100% validity can leave the researcher and the data open to become objective. To ensure test validity, the test must be reliable and coherent.

3.7 Ethics

This research was conducted under the guidelines of the British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011):

“The association considers that educational researchers should operate within an ethic of respect for any persons involved in the research they are undertaking. Individuals should be treated fairly, respectfully, sensitively, with dignity, and within an ethic of respect and freedom from prejudice regardless of age, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, class, nationality, cultural identity, partnership status, faith, disability, political belief or any other significant difference. This ethic of respect should apply to both the researchers themselves and any individuals participating in the research either directly or indirectly. Adherence to this ethic of respect implies the following responsibilities on the part of researchers.” (BERA, 2011, p.5)

This is necessary when undertaking educational research in order to protect the person and the public from unethical procedures whilst the research is being carried out.

The research has an ethical responsibility especially in research conducted with children. It is necessary that the researcher “operates within an ethic of respect for any person involved directly or indirectly of age, sex, race, religion, political belief, and lifestyle” (BERA, 2004, p.6). To ensure this criterion is met the researcher obtained consent from the parents, students, and the school upon arrival. It was made clear to the participants before initial involvement that they were free to withdraw if they wished not to participate. Most importantly anonymity is assured when discussing the findings. Participant’s names will not be used in the findings along with their individual religious beliefs or gender. Participant’s names will not be mentioned, pseudonyms or a case number will be used instead when discussing individual cases in the findings.

A way to ensure participant involvement is to provide them with the results. During the visit the participating schools have been visited informally by the researcher and time devoted to the children through listening and taking to them and participating in extra-curricular school activities. The schools have also been provided with a copy of the results. They have been asked to comment on the findings and comments have been taken into account. Consent forms are presented in the back of the thesis. Pupils and parents were informed prior to participation. For parents who were unable to read, verbal information

was given. The participants' names are protected in the study in accordance with Newcastle University ethics code, and the data gathered is presented, recorded, and presented in the appendices.

3.8 Method of Analysis

The data were subjected to statically analysis using SPSS. In assessing the link between a child's achievement levels and various background information various statistical techniques were employed. According to Maxwell (1992), the data should commence straight after the first observation or interview has been conducted, and should continue with this process until the research has been completed. This, according to Maxwell, will allow the evolution of interviews, observations and developing conclusions (ibid, p.89) Whilst following Yin's (1994) four pattern techniques for analysis, these include, pattern-matching, explanation building, time series and programme logic models. The latter three options will not be used in the analysis process as the current study does not fit into a longitudinal time scale repeating the study over time. Therefore, this case study will use the pattern-matching technique. The qualitative data have been coded and rearranged. This was done to allow comparison between the different categories.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at quantitative and qualitative research as a methodological approach, in specific reference to case studies. Through the framework of a case study, the researcher can draw an understanding from the findings drawing together a conclusion and giving the research meaning.

The research questions designed have been approached from multiple directions. Evidence from the student questionnaires, English and maths tests, informal discussions with parents, school owners and government officials as well as general participant observation allowed for triangulation. Evidence has been provided in accordance with Yin's quality criteria. The case study was carried out in accordance with the conditions necessary to aim for validity and reliability. The next chapter looks at the findings from the research. The aim of a methodology is to help to understand the process behind the research itself. The research focuses on both qualitative and quantitative research, using a mixed method approach. This chapter has outlined the methodology for the research. The analysis has been guided by the theoretical questions using the single case to illustrate, represent, and generalise theory. Chapter four documents the findings of the

research and sets out to explore the overall and specific research questions to investigate the voucher programme in Pakistan through multiple voices and preceptions.

Chapter Four: Analysis

4.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the analysis of the data. The results explored in this study are based on an analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data collected across six different low-cost private schools in three districts of the Punjab, Pakistan. The first part of this chapter provides snapshots, in the form of vignettes, providing information about the participating schools. Each of the five research questions is then discussed in turn.

The three research questions explored in this research are:

1. Does participating in a voucher programme improve student outcomes and experience of recipients compared to those already in private schools but paying fees?
2. Has the introduction of vouchers in Pakistan impacted on the school community and stakeholders?
3. Does participating in a voucher programme diminish gender inequalities, comparing those with vouchers and those in the private schools whose parents pay fees?

The quantitative data from 352 children's test scores and questionnaires are examined in conjunction with the qualitative data from the interviews with parents, teachers and school owners in order to triangulate the findings. The transcriptions of all of the interviews can be found in the Appendices. But first what are the schools like, how long have they been operating as a private school and who runs them?

4.2 School Vignettes

These vignettes provide snapshots of each of the six low-cost private schools that have participated in this study. Each of the six participating schools is enrolled under the Education Voucher Scheme (EVS) managed by The Punjab Education Foundation (PEF). The research is carried out in three different cities across Pakistan. The low-cost private schools in the study were set up and established before any involvement from PEF. The Punjab Education Foundation encourages the promotion of quality education through a Public-Private-Partnership encouraging and supporting the efforts of the private sector through technical and financial assistance. Adhering to the rules and regulations of the Punjab Education Foundation schools must be teaching the curriculum approved by the Punjab Text Book Board. Additionally schools must also be registered with the School

Education Department. Along with individual school examinations yearly tests are conducted by PEF, known as Quality Assurance Tests (QATs), to assess the performance of the school. Sanctions are imposed on under-performing schools, and this includes a withdrawal of the subsidy. The PEF picks which schools and which children are eligible for financing. A school's location is a major determining factor, along with infrastructure requirements. The provincial government sets the price and schools are given a subsidy for each child, whereby a "top-up" fee is strictly prohibited.

School 1

The principal of School 1 has been running the school since it was first established in 2005. He has been working as a professional in the education sector for more than 20 years. The school has been participating in the scheme for 6 years. The scheme had been adopted previously but was not as effective, as the principal stated. The enrolment level remained low for voucher students and parents were not provided with adequate support or information. After a revision of the scheme it was re-established at the school. The school charges a monthly fee of between Rs. 400- 500 (£3.02 - £3.78). There are around 600 students who attend this school, majority of them receiving education vouchers. Their ages range between 4 years and 14 years old. The school has a main campus and a sub campus. The school currently employs 28 teachers. The school is located in the city of Rawalpindi, in a nearby district. The school is located in between small streets and the local bazaar. Each class consists of 30 students. Under PEF regulations, class size must not exceed 35 students. The facilities in the school are of a satisfactory standard, with each class containing chairs and desks, and providing washroom facilities, for both boys and girls.

School 2

The school has been participating in the voucher scheme since 2012, however, the school was first established in 2008. The school manager has been running the school for nearly 20 years. The school manager studied in America earning a degree in business management. The school manager has recently opened another private school in the city. The school is situated in a very poor vicinity. The school manager described the area as 'drug addicted'. Residents and students also described the area as 'poor'. The school consists of two separate buildings; a junior and middle school. School fees are divided according school levels; Rs. 550 (£3.93) for primary, Rs. 600 (£4.29) up to middle, and

R.s 700 (£5.00) for secondary. Uniform and texts books are provided by the schools, in line with PEF regulations. There are around 9 to 10 low-cost private schools in the surrounding area, and there is competition among these schools.

School 3

School 3 is a charity-based school. The Welfare Organisation was founded in July 2002. The Educational Welfare Organization works closely with non-government organizations (NGOs) and collaborates in various projects of human welfare. The schools main source of income is through raising funds. The main way in which this is done is by collecting dry waste from homes, segregating it and then selling it. The second way is to ask affluent people of the community, if they are able to support and sponsor a child. The minimum sponsor fee is Rs. 700 (£5.00) per child, in which their lunch, food, milk, books, uniform, and tuition are accommodated for. The school is part of a chain of schools run by the organisation, in total there are nine school with approximately more than 5,000 children. The money which they receive from PEF is said to be a very nominal amount, which covers up to 20% of the expenditure from that amount. The monthly intake, as a whole, from the 9 schools is 30 lakh (1lakh = Rs. 100,000; £2142.80) a month, from PEF the total fund from students which they receive is 6 lakh (£4309.91). Fess are charged at Rs.400-600 (£2.89-£4.29) per month per student.

School 4

The Education voucher scheme has been running at this school since 2009. The school first opened in 2006, and the starting fee was Rs. 50 per student (£0.36). To date, there are 494 voucher students and 132 non-voucher students. Before the school applied to enroll onto the voucher scheme, current enrolment stood at 250 students. In terms of profit, the school manager stated they are “breaking even”. There are now two buildings, (a boy’s campus and a girl’s) before there was the one building. There are to date, 30 teachers working at this school. Fees for non-voucher student’s stands at Rs. 300 (£2.14) for junior classes (nursery to class 4) and is Rs. 500 (£3.57) for middle classes (class 5 onwards). There are parents who have enrolled their children at the school and are on the waiting list to receive a voucher.

School 5

The school was founded in 2006 and enrolled on to the education voucher scheme two years later in 2008. Prior to enrolling onto the education voucher scheme, school fees stood at Rs.100 (£0.71) per student per month, with current fees starting at Rs. 550 (£3.93). There are presently 850 students enrolled into this school; 600 voucher students and 250 non voucher students. When asked about how much profit the school makes, the school entrepreneur stated there is “no loss, no profit”. However, prior to the implementation of the scheme, the profit stood 2 lakh (Rs. 200,000/ £1428.53). The school owner has recently set up a chain of college’s in the city. The school owner was reluctant to be interviewed and is critical of the voucher scheme, thus setting up colleges, as he no longer feels that the school, under the voucher scheme, is viable. The school owner spoke of children who were once learning for free at the school, having moved to schools in the surrounding areas, and are willing to pay fees up to Rs. 1000 (£7.14). Two years prior, there were 1100 voucher students enrolled at the school, now the total number voucher students is 600. This is due to children graduating and leaving but also due to parents who are no longer happy with the voucher scheme. The school is no longer accepting students and has been rejecting students for the past two years.

School 6

School 6 is run by a husband and wife team, founded over 10 years ago. The education voucher scheme has been running for more than 5 years. Starting fees stood at Rs. 100 (£0.71). The fees has now increased to Rs.250 (1.79) for kindergarten, Rs. 500 (£3.57) until class 8 and increases step wise. Before enrolling onto the scheme, there were 300 students. Based on current enrolment there are 106 non-voucher students and 484 EVS students. The school was the first school PEF selected in the city of Faisalabad. Profit before the scheme was Rs. 10,000-20,000 (£71.43-£142.85), presently stands at Rs. 80,000 (£5714.13) profit, which makes school 6 the most profitable low-cost private school in this study. There are 28 classroom in this school all furnished with desks and chairs and allocated across two buildings. The second building is under undergoing construction.

4.3 Who are the stakeholders and what do the voices say

The Punjab Education Foundation provides vouchers to low-cost private schools in the Punjab with the vouchers aimed at the most marginalised following a strict application

criterion. The vouchers are targeted at the poorest of the poor in society. That is those families who are unable to afford fees. The scheme is described as a targeted voucher scheme, however, due to the high proportion of students enrolled in to the scheme, and the minimum number of non-voucher students, in some ways it is ‘universal’. To be eligible for a voucher there is a strict criteria set out by the Punjab Education Foundation. These include parents struggling to pay fees, widowed parents, orphan children, or children who are deemed deserving. The school owners confirmed this during the interviews one stated that:

“voucher students we don’t take any money. There are free books apart from school uniform. From under the PEF voucher scheme, it is because the parents can’t afford it, they are orphans or for any other reason, so these vouchers are targeted at a certain population. So the kids who are on the streets and not getting education, we are giving them one” (School manager 1, Rawalpindi, School 1).

Quite recently voucher students have been ‘allowed’ to take their voucher to another school after one year. Again the Manager at School 1 said that this was indeed an improvement and would instil more competition between schools:

“the way to this is, there are small improvements coming. School to school transfer they can do once a year. Before it was not allowed” (School manager 1, Rawalpindi, School 1)

There are also strict rules in place that school owners need to follow. Otherwise the voucher scheme can be taken away from the school. According to one school owner this includes trying to overcrowd your school to maximise voucher payments. The school owner stated that:

“oh yes this is a problem for us because we have a main campus and a sub campus but we don’t have a third campus and we have a limit, 35 students no more per class. You can do subsection in the class but nothing more. Now what they have done, there is no limitation on vouchers, they just look at capacity size. Now there are rules, they look

at the classroom sizes, if the class looks too small for 35 students and they say it can only hold 25 students they we have to follow to their rules. So if we are overcrowding and in taking too many students then they can fine us 5% of our overall fees, but we don't do that. We have an agreement and we stick to it" (School manager 1, Rawalpindi, School 1)

When speaking with parents about the voucher scheme, it was clear to see that many parents were from a poor background and struggled financially unable to pay fees. Parent 12 said that 'if there was no voucher I think a lot of poor parents would struggle. Children would not get an education' (Parent 12, Lahore, School 3). It is evident that parents, who cannot afford to pay fees, are receiving a voucher. It is also giving parents a voice and an opportunity to choose. Many of the parents interviewed have never been to school, and when speaking to them they recognized the need and importance of education and the value of it. Parents believe that not only is the scheme beneficial to their children but to society as a whole. As many parents and teachers described the scheme as giving out-of-school children a chance of education.

When interviewing the parents it was evident that some of the children, who were now benefiting from the voucher, had been out of school with parents struggled to pay school fees. Some parents stated that:

'I have seen a lot of families in the area that are poor, the children play in the streets and the mother's work all day, so they cannot afford to send their children to school' (Parent 7, Rawalpindi, School 2).

Another commented,

'If there were no voucher system then I would have struggled, I would probably only send one of my children to school. I would struggle. Before my child was just at home for two years as I could not afford it, he is now in school learning because of the voucher' (Parent 5, Rawalpindi, School 1).

According to parents, the government, through the scheme, have secured their children's futures. Both parents and children are worrying less about how to save money and pay for fees; the voucher has lessened their burden and worries. Extrapolation from the interview data, from parents, seems to suggest that the scheme has shifted the landscape of education in Pakistan by creating a system, which will benefit the poor and give the poor better opportunities. When asked about whether the scheme should be extended throughout Pakistan, the majority of parents agreed. One parent who was receiving a voucher said:

“Education is a great thing, kids will be educated and our country will improve. Those children whose parents are poor, education is important for their children. In the beginning I was also struggling and now I think, I don't have to pay until class 10, so my worries are less. I do wish the government extends this above class 10 though.” (Voucher Parent 1, Rawalpindi, School 1)

Other parents also expressed a belief that education was important and that the voucher was enabling this opportunity for all families.

“Yes apart from the little ones, but we will enroll them onto the voucher scheme too. Those parents who cannot afford to pay fees, they should all get a voucher. It is a good thing. Education is a great thing, kids will be educated and our country will improve. Those children whose parents are poor, education is important for their children” (Parent 1, Rawalpindi, School 1)

There was an illustration from an illiterate parents who believed he could make valid judgments on the education quality delivered to his child saying, “I have no education myself but when my child comes home telling me his is happy and I can tell he is focusing on his studies, then that must mean it is a good school” (Parent 14, Lahore, School 3)

Although this scheme is only available in the province of Punjab, many parents feel this is something the government should expand upon and be available to all. Parents spoke of migrating to larger cities from small villages to obtain better opportunities.

Unfortunately, many families do not have the same opportunities. As the scheme is only available in the province of Punjab other poor families are not benefiting from such schemes. Overall, parents value the voucher scheme and the prospects it offers. Parents often spoke of the locality in which they live and the lack of opportunities available to them. Their perception is however that due to the scheme, children have now been given an opportunity to at least attend school and participate in society at a higher level.

Parents praise the schools as they are ‘doing something wonderful due to this scheme (Parent 2). Although there are a number of educational reforms, which are designed to increase enrolment across the county and to provide better learning opportunities, many of the poor are marginalized by these reforms. This is the first and largest voucher scheme in Pakistan. One of the main benefits of the scheme is that school fees are no longer a worry for parents. Many parents described being less ‘stressed’ and having ‘fewer worries about collecting fees’, but also that the children did not worry about this. One parent described how this puts a child off their studies,

“There is no stress. Parents are not worried about collecting fees, and children do not get worried also. I know some parents and some teachers who tell the children that their fee has not been paid and make them worry about things. This really puts a child off his or her study.” (Voucher Parent 2, Rawalpindi, School 1)

The voucher has taken the burden and stress of paying fees away from parents and more importantly, the children. It was often cited that children will often fall behind and unable to concentrate on their studies if they know their school fee has not been paid. Therefore, to minimize this worry, the voucher has shifted the focus, and now the sole focus is the child’s study.

The voucher has created other incentives that were beneficial for children and families. One of the many benefits from the voucher scheme is students are supplied with free books and exam fees paid. Those parents who are unable to pay school fees are now given the opportunity to send their child to a school of their choice, with extra incentives.

Not only was this corroborated from the parents, that is that the vouchers were making a great difference for the poorest, this also became very apparent when carrying out the interviews with the school owners and managers. One school manager told the story of a father who gambled with his money and how the voucher had secured schooling for his children as the father in the past had gambled the school fees away:

“right now I have a family coming; their dad was a labourer. In Pakistan we have shortcut people, shortcut meaning that they wouldn’t want to work for anything but want the full entitlement and benefits, but he would work but gamble with his money. He would always lose and his children study here and he asked for less fees so I agreed, so once he gave me nothing for over 6 months, and then after took his children out of school and enrolled somewhere else. And this affects the students how are they going to learn if they keep leaving school and enrolling into a different school each time. If the voucher scheme was not in place, the ones who could afford it, then fine for them, they can afford to educate their children. And the poor, their route to education would have been blocked, and would stay at home. But thankfully now it’s not a problem like that, a fee problem no more” (School Manager, Interview 1, Rawalpindi, School 1).

Another school owner also reminded us that culture and religion could affect parents’ decisions:

“well there are two things, one thing is being Muslim, our culture and values, when you can see the benefit in something and the rewards you will get in the afterlife, we try to do it then, secondly it was because it will have a hand in improving things in our country, so two things”.
(School manager, interview 5, Faisalabad, School 5)

4.3.1 Household Characteristics

Data collected from the children are set out in the following table. Of all the 352 students who participated in the study, ages ranged from 9 to 12. The mean was 10.37 and standard deviation (S.D) at .949. All of the children who participated completed an English, math and IQ tests. In order to investigate influences that possibly affect the significant effect

on student outcomes based on receiving a voucher or not, it is necessary to define household, parent and child demographics characteristics from the data. The variables used are set out below:

- Gender of pupil (boy = 0, girl = 1)
- Pupils age in years
- Voucher (No = 0, Yes = 1)
- Number of years on a voucher (Time 1 = 5 months-2 years; Time 2 = 3-5 years; Time 3 = 5-8 years)
- Father's level of education (0= no education; 1= primary education; 2= secondary education; 3= college; 4= university; 5= further studies)
- Mother's level of education (0= no education; 1= primary education; 2= secondary education; 3= college; 4= university; 5= further studies)
- Fathers occupation (0= unemployed, 1= unskilled, 2=skilled, 3= professional)
- Mothers occupation (0= unemployed, 1= unskilled, 2=skilled, 3= professional)

Table 6 Descriptive statistics of the data set

| | N | Min | Max | Mean | S.D | Y1 | B2 |
|-------------------------|-----|-----|------|--------|---------|--------|--------|
| English score | 352 | 14 | 37 | 29.41 | 4.349 | -.850 | .711 |
| Mathematics score | 352 | 3 | 29 | 20.96 | 5.329 | -1.154 | 1.104 |
| IQ score | 352 | 3 | 28 | 13.79 | 5.733 | .957 | -.190 |
| Age in years | 352 | 9 | 12 | 10.37 | .949 | .269 | -.822 |
| Gender | 352 | 0 | 1 | .57 | .495 | -.300 | -1.921 |
| Voucher | 352 | 0 | 1 | .72 | .452 | -.962 | -1.081 |
| No. of years on voucher | 352 | .42 | 8.00 | 3.5189 | 1.79906 | .066 | -.820 |
| No. of siblings | 352 | 0 | 10 | 3.94 | 1.714 | .583 | .666 |
| Fathers education level | 352 | 1 | 6 | 2.16 | .862 | .491 | .956 |
| Mothers education level | 352 | 1 | 3 | 1.80 | .753 | .357 | -1.156 |

Y1 = skewness B2 = Kurtosis¹³

This next part sets out the descriptive statistics to consider the information from the child's household to determine if there are any differences between voucher and non-voucher students. A family background questionnaire was developed to understand more about family environment and socio-economic background that may help understand the results.

¹³ The acceptable values for Skewness and Kurtosis are are +/- 2 (Field, 2000; Trochim and Donnelly, 2006)

Table 7 Characteristics of child's household by voucher and non-voucher

| Item | EVS | Non-EVS | Total |
|----------------------------------|------|---------|-------|
| Language spoken at home | | | |
| Urdu | 79.0 | 73.0 | 77.3 |
| Sindhi | | 3.0 | .9 |
| English | .8 | | .6 |
| Punjabi | 10.3 | 11.0 | 10.5 |
| Pashtu | 9.9 | 13.0 | 10.8 |
| Living at home with parents | 99.6 | 99.6 | 99.6 |
| Number of people in household* | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Siblings attending school | 89.7 | 83.0 | 87.8 |
| Position in family | | | |
| Eldest | 27.8 | 30.0 | 28.4 |
| Youngest | 34.1 | 41.0 | 36.1 |
| In Between | 38.1 | 29.0 | 35.5 |
| Employment status of father | | | |
| Not working | 4.0 | 4.0 | 3.7 |
| Unskilled | 72.2 | 67.0 | 70.7 |
| Skilled | 12.3 | 12.0 | 12.2 |
| Professional | 11.9 | 17.0 | 13.4 |
| Employment status of mother | | | |
| Not working | 94.4 | 94.4 | 93.2 |
| Skilled | .4 | 1.0 | .6 |
| Unskilled | 4.4 | 8.0 | 5.4 |
| Professional | .8 | | .6 |
| Father's highest education level | | | |
| None | 21.8 | 31.0 | 24.4 |
| Primary | 42.1 | 31.0 | 38.9 |
| Secondary | 34.9 | 35.0 | 34.9 |
| College | 1.2 | 2.0 | 1.4 |
| University | | 1.0 | 0.3 |
| Mother's highest education level | | | |
| None | 36.5 | 51.0 | 40.6 |
| Primary | 41.5 | 33.0 | 39.2 |
| Secondary | 21.8 | 16.0 | 20.2 |
| Bedrooms* | 3 | 5 | 5 |
| Toilet | | | |
| Outside | 19.8 | 9.0 | 17.6 |
| Inside | 80.2 | 91.0 | 83.2 |
| Type of building | | | |
| Brick or concrete | 94.8 | 97.0 | 95.5 |
| Semi-permanent | 3.6 | 1.0 | 2.8 |
| Mud | .8 | | 1.1 |
| other | .8 | 2.0 | .6 |

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| Household assets (Yes) | | | |
| Car | 18.3 | 17.0 | 17.9 |
| Scooter or motorcycle | 63.9 | 64.0 | 63.9 |
| Mobile | 97.2 | 96.0 | 96.9 |
| Radio | 36.5 | 42.0 | 38.1 |
| Electricity | 99.2 | 100.0 | 99.4 |
| TV | 84.1 | 85.0 | 83.0 |
| Gas Stove | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Cattle | 17.1 | 17.0 | 17.0 |
| Goats, sheep, and/or chickens | 18.3 | 18.0 | 18.2 |
| Taxi or rickshaw | 8.7 | 7.0 | 8.2 |
| Computer | 33.3 | 32.0 | 3.3 |
| Generator | 11.9 | 15.0 | 12.8 |
| Shop or house plot | 20.2 | 26.0 | 21.9 |

Note: *denotes results that are average; all others are percentages.

A number of characteristics show the difference and similarities between voucher and non-voucher students. 99% of students are living at home with their parents. Employment status of father differs, with fewer unskilled and professional jobs within non-voucher students (67 per cent and 17 per cent); voucher students are more likely to have a father who is unskilled 72.2 per cent. One school manager commented on the difference they had observed in the parents who now had children at their school on the voucher scheme. This school manager believed that the voucher scheme had encouraged poorer families to his school.

“I mean from good families, they can pay the fees for their kids, and they don’t want their kids to study with voucher students. They think they belong to poor families and their family atmosphere will not be good, and their compatibility will not be there, so many other things, they will talk to our kids and learn bad things from them. After joining this scheme about 300-400 students left our school, we were left high and dry, but slowly and gradually, within one year, now we have majority from very poor family and now that difference is not there. Those families are sending their children to other schools where the fees are Rs. 1000-2000, they can afford that.....After seeing these poor people and these poor people are coming here, but seeing these students who are in the streets and sitting at home now they are coming to school” (School manager, interview 2, Rawalpindi, School 2)

In terms of mother's employment status, there is very little difference between both groups, with 94.4 per cent not working and .8 per cent of voucher parents in a professional job. More fathers have not attained any level of education for non-voucher students (31%) than voucher students (21.8). Similarly, more mothers of non-voucher students (51%) have not obtained any level of education in comparison with voucher students (36.5). Regarding possessions, households are somewhat similar, with 17% owning a car, 63.9% owning a motorbike. In terms of cattle and goats, sheep and chickens, voucher households is slightly higher, 17.1% and 18.3%. There are a few family characteristics that distinguish voucher and non-voucher students. The results from the family background questionnaire show clear differences between the two sample groups. The level of education, employability, household assets, indicate disparities between groups. While this cannot be generalised to the whole population, the descriptive statistics presented, gives an understanding of the disparities between groups.

4.3.2 Teacher Characteristics

Table 8 provides descriptive statistics of teachers who participated in the study. Teacher's age varied; minimum age at 18 years and maximum 46 years. In total, there were 30 teachers who participated in the study, 28 female and two male teachers. In terms of the number of years teaching, the descriptive results showed that teachers were experienced, and had the minimal qualification needed. Teachers were asked what their highest education level was; 0= primary level, 1= vocational training; 2= secondary level; 3= college certified; 4= diploma; 5= BA or BSc; 6= MA, MSc or equivalent; 7= PhD. Majority of the teachers acquired a MA/MSc or equivalent. Teachers were also asked what type of training they had received; 0= none; 1= primary teacher certificate (PTC); 2= Certificate in education (CT); 3= government training; 4= other; 5= gradate; 6= Post-graduate diploma; 7= in Education. The minimum average salary for a teacher is Rs. 3500 (£25.11) and the maximum Rs. 14,000 (£100.46), with the average salary at Rs.6116.67 a month (£43.89). Teachers who participated in the study taught a range of classes, with an equal number of boys and girls. The questionnaire included 5 items asking the pupils to rate their class teacher's ability, class teacher's punctuality, class teacher's attendance, the state of the building and school facilities, on a four point scale ranging from 1 ('excellent') 2 ('good') 3 ('poor') to 4 ('very poor'). Majority of the students rated the five categories as 'excellent' and a few students rating it as 'good' or 'poor'.

Table 8 Teacher and school Characteristic

| Variables | N | Min | Max | Mean | S.D | Y1 ¹⁴ | B2 ¹⁵ |
|-------------------------------|-----|------|--------|---------|---------|------------------|------------------|
| Teacher Age | 30 | 18 | 46 | 26.40 | 6.851 | 1.245 | 1.593 |
| Male | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6.7* | .320 | -.793 | 8.363 |
| Female | 28 | 28 | 28 | 93.3* | .320 | -.793 | 8.363 |
| Years Teaching at this school | 30 | 1 | 7 | 3.32 | 1.949 | .239 | -1.066 |
| Number of Years Teaching | 30 | 1 | 13 | 5.41 | 3.200 | .916 | .288 |
| Level of Education | 30 | 0 | 6 | 4.50 | 1.456 | -1.543 | 2.028 |
| Teacher Training | 30 | 0 | 6 | 2.80 | 2.427 | 0.48 | -1.677 |
| Average Salary | 30 | 3500 | 14,000 | 6116.67 | 2306.67 | 1.655 | 3.386 |
| Class | 30 | 2 | 10 | 6.17 | 2.574 | -.211 | -11.299 |
| Students in Class | 30 | 8 | 36 | 26.07 | 8.610 | -.014 | .092 |
| Number of Boys in Class | 30 | 0 | 35 | 14.17 | 12.205 | .283 | -1.225 |
| Number of Girls in Class | 30 | 0 | 37 | 11.73 | 10.670 | .450 | -.738 |
| Number of VS in Class | 30 | 0 | 36 | 22.07 | 10.017 | -.125 | .312 |
| Teachers ability to teach | 352 | 1 | 2 | 1.06 | .232 | 3.845 | 12.859 |
| Teachers punctually | 352 | 1 | 3 | 1.06 | .266 | 5.121 | 28.080 |
| Teachers attendance | 352 | 1 | 2 | 1.03 | .166 | 5.701 | 30.680 |
| State of buildings | 352 | 1 | 2 | 1.06 | .242 | 3.630 | 11.243 |
| School facilities | 352 | 1 | 3 | 1.06 | .254 | 4.145 | 17.583 |

4.3.4 Data Reduction

As this dataset contained a relatively large number of variables, many of the background variables are likely to be highly correlated with each other. A data reduction technique is used to ensure that background variables are not highly correlated with each other, as this type of multicollinearity can lead to spurious results. A data reduction strategy based on rotated principal factor analysis was therefore adopted. Table 9 provides a description used in the regression analysis in the study. The pupil questionnaire asked questions around family background, possessions and their home environment; 21 items asking pupils about their family background, 17 items about family possessions and their home environment.

¹⁴ Skewness is a measure of symmetry, or more precisely, the lack of symmetry. A distribution, or data set, is symmetric if it looks the same to the left and right of the centre point

¹⁵ Kurtosis is a measure of whether the data are heavy-tailed or light-tailed relative to a normal distribution. That is, data sets with high kurtosis tend to have heavy tails, or outliers. Data sets with low kurtosis tend to have light tails, or lack of outliers.

Table 9 List of Variables

| Variable name | Label |
|-----------------|---|
| Schoolcode | School code |
| Schooltype | Is it a private school |
| Language | Language spoken at home |
| Timeatschool | How long have you been attending this school |
| Travletoschool | How long does it take to travel to school |
| Livewithparents | Do you live at home with your parents |
| Nopeoplehome | How many people live in your house |
| Siblingsch | Do any of your siblings attend school |
| Noofsiblingsch | How many of your siblings attend school |
| Noofsiblings | How many siblings do to have |
| eldereng | Can an elder member of your family read or write English |
| Broseng | Can brother or sisters that can read or write English |
| Postfam | Which position in the children do you come in your family |
| Payfees | Who pays the fees/books/uniform for your schooling |
| Fatherincome | Does your father have an income |
| Motherincome | Does your mother have an income |
| Fatherjob | What does your father do as a job |
| Motherjob | What does your mother do as a job |
| fatherEd | Highest level of education your father completed |
| MothEd | Highest level of education your mother completed |
| Attendother | Did you attend any other school prior to this school |
| Othertype | Was it government or private |
| Enjoy | Do you enjoy school? |

The questionnaire included five items asking the pupils to rate their class teacher's ability, class teacher's punctuality, class teacher's attendance, the state of the building and school facilities, on a four point scale ranging from 1 ('excellent') to 4 ('very poor').

These have been combined into a smaller set of measures using principal factor analysis, rotated using the Varimax procedure. A 3-factor solution was found to be optimal. Factor analysis was conducted with 12 different variables. As the slope of the curve levels off indicating the number of factors that should be generated by the analysis. The cut off of an eigenvalue > 1 gives 3 to 4 factors. Only three components were kept based on their interpretability and guidance provided by Cattell (1996) for factor loading and simple structuring (Thurstone, 1947). The total variance for a three factor model was, 16,4%, 11.3%, and 9.9%. The reason for running a factor analysis is to reduce the large number of variables that describe a complex concept such as socio-economic status.

Figure 1 Scree Plot

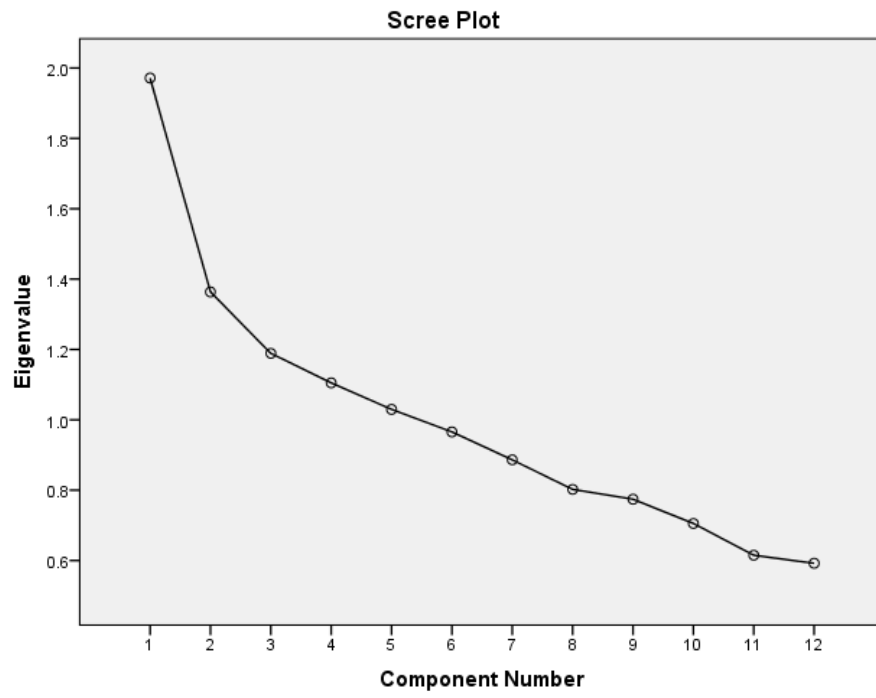


Table 10 Rotated factor for student background

| Variables | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 |
|---|----------|----------|----------|
| The family own a car | .703 | | |
| The family owns a scooter or motorcycle | | | .563 |
| The family owns a mobile | | | .534 |
| The family owns a radio | | | .324 |
| The family has electricity | | | |
| The family has a TV | | | .671 |
| The family has a gas stove | | | |
| The family has cattle | | .763 | |
| The family has goats, sheep and/or chickens | | .738 | |
| The family has a computer | .668 | | |
| The family owns a taxi or rickshaw | .350 | | |
| The family has a generator | .613 | | |
| The family owns land and/or a shop | .561 | | |
| Number of rooms in the family home | | | |
| Type of building in the home | | | |
| The toilet is inside the premises | | | |
| The toilet is outside the premises | | | |

The table above shows the rotated factor loadings for the factors on the initial variables.

The combined factors were given the following descriptions:

- Factor 1 Wealth – The quantity of material goods a family possesses
- Factor 2 Wealth – agricultural farming
- Factor 3 Wealth – The family owns electrical and other items

These three factors show the wealth distribution within the data set. Factor 1 shows the most wealth within the data set; families tend to own a car, computer, taxi or rickshaw, generator, and land or shop. Families in factor 2 tend to own cattle, goat, sheep or chicken. Factor 3 shows the family owning electrical and other items. This suggests that these variables relate meaningfully to the components as loadings are greater than or equal to 0.3 (Brown, 2006).

Next, a Pearson correlation was carried out to determine the strength and direction of a linear relationship. Looking at how children’s test scores correlate, table 11 below shows there is a positive significant correlation between all three test outcomes. This means that a child scoring highly on one test is likely to score highly on others. The Pearson shows

that there is a strong correlation between maths and English scores, but a low correlation between English and IQ as well as Maths and IQ¹⁶.

Table 11 Pearson’s correlation

| | English Total | Math Total | IQ Total |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|------------|----------|
| English Total Pearson Correlation | 1 | | |
| Math Total Pearson Correlation | .599** | 1 | |
| IQ Total Pearson Correlation | .126* | .193** | 1 |

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

4.4 Student outcomes

Linear regression is used in this part of the study to explore the first of the research questions:

Question One: Does participating in a voucher programme improve student outcomes and experience of recipients compared to those already in private schools but paying fees?

Linear modelling was applied to the three different score outcomes:

- IQ score
- Mathematics score
- English score

Linear regression sets out the relationships between a set of independent or predictor variables (e.g. child’s age, gender, parents education levels) and categorical outcome variables (elder member can speak English). Linear regression does not address causes of learning outcomes but rather relationships or correlations. Looking at pupil characteristics, there are four independent variables which have a significant effect on IQ; age, gender, receiving a voucher and if the father has an income. If the child is on a voucher they are more likely to score higher on IQ. That the older the child the higher the IQ score. A child receiving a voucher will perform better on IQ.

¹⁶ For Pearson correlation the size of the coefficient matters. So therefore a strong correlation is >0.5 a moderate correlation is between 0.3 and 0.5 and a low correlation <0.3

Table 12 Linear Regression

| Independent variable | IQ Score | | Mathematics Score | | English Score | |
|--------------------------------------|----------|--------|-------------------|--------|---------------|---------|
| | B | Sig | B | Sig | B | Sig |
| Age | 837 | .010** | | | -1.285 | .019* |
| Gender | -1.380 | .028* | -1.673 | .020* | | |
| Language at home | | | | | | |
| Voucher | 10.882 | .009** | | | | |
| Number of years on voucher | | | | | | |
| School time | | | | | 1.112 | .002** |
| Live with parents | | | | | -6.959 | .010** |
| Number of siblings | | | | | | |
| Number in house | | | | | | |
| Elder member of family speak English | | | | | 11.946 | .001*** |
| Brother or sister read English | | | 1.928 | .005** | | |
| Eldest position | | | | | | |
| Youngest position | | | | | | |
| Father has an income | -5.101 | .011* | | | | |
| Mother has an income | | | | | -16.439 | .017** |
| Fathers highest ed | | | | | | |
| Mothers highest ed | | | | | | |
| Profession of father | | | | | -4.154 | .000*** |
| Profession of mother | | | | | | |
| Wealth 1 | | | | | | |
| Wealth 2 | | | | | | |
| Wealth 3 | | | | | | |
| Number of rooms | | | | | | |
| Teacher gender | | | | | | |
| Total number of years teaching | | | | | -.653 | .005** |
| Teachers ability to teach | | | | | | |
| Teachers punctuality | | | | | 10.159 | .046* |
| Teachers attendance | | | | | | |
| State of building | | | -4.815 | .001** | 10.387 | .004** |
| School facilities | | | | | -14.427 | .000*** |

* p<0.05, ** p<0.01, ***p<0.001 Blank cells in the table are where the coefficient is not significant at the 5% level

However there are two independent variables which have a negative association with IQ these are gender and father has an income. If the child is a girl they are less likely to score high on IQ. If the father does not have an income the likelihood is that the child will have a higher IQ score. This would seem counterintuitive and is due to the small sample size.

There are three independent variables, which have a significant effect on mathematics scores, gender, brother or sister can read English and the state of school building. If the child is a girl, they are less likely to score higher on maths. If a sibling can speak English, there is a greater likelihood that the child's Maths score will be higher. The worse the state of the school building the greater the likelihood of scoring less on the math's score.

There are ten variables, which have a significant effect on English scores - age, school time, live with parents, an elder member of family can speak English, mother has an income, profession of father, total number of years teaching, teacher's punctuality, state of the building and school facilities. The longer a child has been at school, the greater the likelihood they will perform well on English, if an elder member of a child's family could speak English, it showed to have an impact on English scores, and if the teacher is punctual the greater the English score.

Six variables show a negative effect on English scores. The results also showed that the older the child the lower English score. If a child does not live at home with parents, the less likely they will score well in English. If the mother has an income, there is a greater likelihood that the child will score less well in English. Looking at school demographics, the worse the school facilities the less likely the child will score well in English. It would seem counterintuitive concerning a negative association between the father's occupation and the child's English score. The result shows that the higher the father's occupation status then there is a greater likelihood that the child obtains a lower score in English. This could be owing to a small sample size, as only around 30 fathers were working in professional occupations. Further research would need to be carried out with larger samples to consider any cultural, religious or demographic reasons if this result was replicated.

Looking at teacher and school demographics, the results show that the longer the teacher has been teaching the less likely the child will score highly on English; the more punctual the teacher the likelihood that the English score is higher; the worse the state of the building the greater the likelihood of scoring well on the English and less on the maths score, and the worse the school facilities the less likely the child will score well in English. As there are only six teachers and six schools these data could be called into question and a production of random correlations. Some of the findings concerning school buildings and teacher data are illogical and counter-intuitive.

School manager (5) reports in one of the interviews the positive affects on increased space can bring to 'my children' in terms of life long opportunities to support 'fresh minds' in

their classrooms. They are also clearly implying that a good education comes from the heart and not just from bricks, concrete and land. This is what the Manager said:

“Now I have purchased a huge land and plot for the school, for 54 lakh. So where could I provide these and Labourites for children? So from this money we are getting this is helping us, with small things such as playing around and their minds are fresh. This knowledge that they gain here they should use somewhere, but they never get the opportunity. They come to school, they sit and learn and then go home. This was the big difference between government schools. But now it’s not for me. But the big properties they have no there is no education there. There is a government school near me, there is in one class 100 children and only 5 or 6 pass. My kids, they pass with more marks. This is a major difference between us. Because I see them as my children, I should educate them and they show grow further. There are people coming from government schools wanting to enrol in my school”. (School manager, interview 5, Faisalabad, School 5)

There are limitation to this study. As only six schools took part, we cannot generalise that what is found here is the case for all of the private schools participating in the EVS. In addition, there are limitations for teacher results due to the small number of teachers in the sample. Further research would be needed to take these findings further to see if generalisation were possible.

When interviewing parents and school managers, they often described the poor socio-economic background of families attending low cost private schools. This was also evident when describing families who were receiving vouchers. Parents were asked how they judged between schools and how they made decisions around where to send their children to schools. When speaking with one school manager, he described how generations of illiterate families were making good choices for their children:

“Take a look at Pakistani culture, look at our generations before us, our grandparents etc, they made good choices for us and they were illiterate. So it doesn’t matter what kind/type of parents you have, however they are, they

can never make a bad choice for their children.” (School manager 4, Faisalabad, School 4)

What the data show is that families from different socio-economic status, are attending low-cost private schools. Some of the most marginalised families are making these choices. The impact of a PPP (public private partnership) can be seen, in this sense, as having an impact on the level of enrolment and can raise attainment. Currently Pakistan does not allocate the amount of funding required to support a quality government schooling system for all. Parents are totally aware of this and this is why there has been a grassroots revolution with parents voting with their feet to support private schools that have been set up for the marginalised.

Parents believe that low cost private schools are of better quality than government schools. Because the parent is able to access the school owner and the teachers they believe that their child will perform better through achieving higher grades on tests. One parent indicated that:

“Good schools are those who are cooperative with you and your needs for your child. I sent them to this school because I liked this school and the staff. There are other private schools in the area but I was satisfied here. Sir spends a lot of time here, and is engaged in the school and I can see everyone else is, I like that they care” (Parent 28, Lahore, School 6).

Parents also believe that attainment is better in the private schools because parents show an interest in the learning that is carried out there and teachers work harder in private schools. Parent 2 said that private schools provided better quality education than government ones and that:

“There is no standard in government schools. The difference is the teachers. The teachers are getting a salary, but they are not there. The strength is less and they are not able to focus. I would still send my children to private schools. The level of education in private schools is higher. The parents who chose to send their children to private

schools also care, take and interest more about their education. Those parents who send their children to government school, they do not take an interest in their studies because it is free. It depends on the parents. If the voucher system is taken away I would really struggle and do not know what I would do” (Parent 2, Rawalpindi, School 1).

It was also suggested by school owners that there is a difference between private and government schools. This school owner stated that in private schools there is a level of accountability that is not in the state sector:

“Yeah of course there is a difference. In private schools the administration is more responsible they are going to answer to parents, they are responsible to give answers to all their questions, and if they have problem they will come to you ask you, ‘why this’, and ‘why this is not going well’, they will ask so many things, but in government school, no. If student is going, not going, absent, wherever he is, ok nobody will bother to ask what happened, where is the student. Also, one teacher a hundred students, 1 teacher 100 students. I have seen physically this one. And then they don’t bother because they will get salary, monthly salary they will get, and nobody is going to ask them why you today not here, tomorrow this class was sitting idle and such. No. They are not responsible for those things, so that’s why there is a big difference between those things, responsible or no responsible”.

(School manager, interview 2, Rawalpindi, School 2)

Other parents when discussing the quality of the schools that were issuing vouchers stated that “Yes my children are clever and performing well” (Parent 6, Rawalpindi, School 2) and “Yes, they are doing well. The teachers are teaching them well. All four of them are learning well” (Parent 7, Rawalpindi, School 2).

When they were asked to expanded on these comments it revealed the rich level of parental involvement and commitment to their child’s education. Parents typically stated that they had ‘seen a big improvement’ and that ‘the difference is the things we get in this school, even in the education sense, we are getting more benefits here, and my children

are very happy here too” (Parent 15, Lahore, School 3). Another parent also commented on how the pedagogy had improved in the school since the voucher and said “Our nursery children have learnt so much that even children in class 2 in other schools have not learnt yet” (Parent 3, Rawalpindi, School 1)

Parents show a level of reciprocal involvement with schools demonstrating that accountability has improved, as one parent acknowledged that she would “check her work every day. If there is ever a problem then I know I can tell them” (Parent 19, Faisalabad, School 5). Owing to the continued satisfaction with the learning in the schools one parent commented on how families had no need to supplement schooling with after school tuitions:

“Very good. I’ve never had to complain about anything or put my children into tuition after school. I open their books, and have a look” (Parent 26, Lahore, School 6)

Teacher qualification showed no correlation, but the number of years teaching, the greater the likelihood of performing better English scores. Teacher’s punctuality and attendance showed positive results for both math and English scores. Interestingly, the state of a schools building and its facilities correlated with both math and English scores. In the school manager’s interviews this was also thought to have an impact and they are investing in this infrastructure even though they do not have extra money for the school buildings. One school manager said that:

“we have improved so many things. Because check and balance is there. Because the teams are coming to check the environment and the furniture we are providing and other things”.

(School manager, interview 2, Rawalpindi, School 2)

4.4.1 Outcomes and voucher and non voucher students

The aim of the research is to distinguish if receiving a voucher has an effect on student outcomes. From the qualitative data parents seem to believe that the introduction of the vouchers into the private schools changed the demography, that is more girls were now attending the private schools. This was also born out by the school owners. Typical of

what they said is that of School Owner 4 ‘I think there is more girls than boys in the school. Girls are also performing better than boys’. Parents believe that the voucher schools perform just as well as non-voucher schools. When asked if their child’s attainment had changed when they moved to a voucher school Parent 25 stated that:

‘No, they were performing well at the other private school and here they are also performing well, maybe a little better. In our house, my older children, the girls they have completed their education so they help the younger ones with their studies. They are doing well’ (Parent interview 25, Faisalabad, School 4).

Independent t-tests are used in this part of the study to explore further whether receiving a voucher has an impact on student outcomes. Independent t-tests were carried out to determine whether receiving a voucher had an effect on exam results (Table 13). The English results show the mean for voucher students is 29.50 and non-voucher 29.20. Voucher recipients performed slightly better in maths 21.26 than non-voucher students 20.21. Similarly, voucher students performed slightly, better on the IQ test, 14.04 and non-voucher students at 13.14. However, the t-test showed the results were not statistically significant.

Table 13 Independent ‘t’ tests for exam results

| | Voucher | N | Mean | Std. Dev |
|---------------|---------|-----|-------|----------|
| English Total | No | 100 | 29.20 | 4.920 |
| | Yes | 252 | 29.50 | 4.108 |

t= 0.540, p>0.05

| | Voucher | N | Mean | Std. Dev |
|------------|---------|-----|-------|----------|
| Math Total | No | 100 | 20.21 | 6.212 |
| | Yes | 252 | 21.26 | 4.918 |

t= -1.510, p>0.05

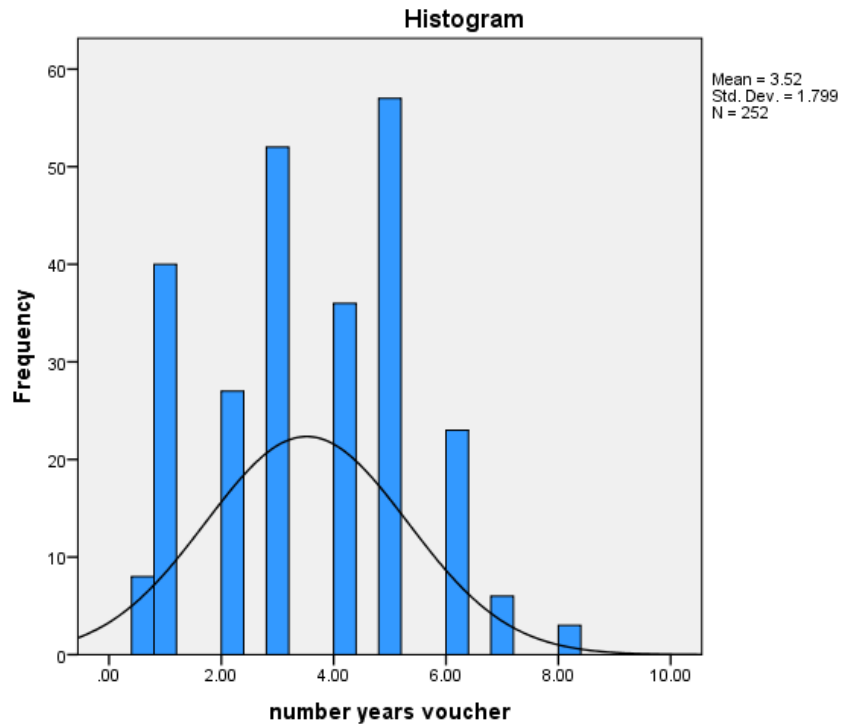
| | Voucher | N | Mean | Std. Dev |
|----------|---------|-----|-------|----------|
| IQ Total | No | 100 | 13.14 | 5.560 |
| | Yes | 252 | 14.04 | 5.791 |

t= -1.335, p>0.05

Independent t- tests were also carried out to see if the number of years receiving vouchers had an effect on test scores. The number of years receiving a voucher was broken down into 3 quartiles; 3 months-2 years, 3-5 years, and 5-8 years. The histogram (Figure 2)

shows the graphical representation of the number of years a student has been receiving a voucher. The mean number of years a child has been receiving a voucher is 3 years.

Figure 2 Number of years on voucher Histogram



Test scores were looked at according to the number of years on a voucher. The times were divided in to categories; ‘time 1’, ‘time 2’, and ‘time 2’ and independent ‘t’ tests were carried out (tables 14-15).

Table 14 Time on a voucher: English total score

| English total | | N | Mean | Std. Dev | Std. Error Mean | ‘t’ |
|---------------|-----|-----|-------|----------|-----------------|--------|
| Time 1 | No | 49 | 29.43 | 4.463 | .638 | -0.183 |
| | Yes | 204 | 29.55 | 4.044 | .283 | |
| Time 2 | No | 128 | 29.14 | 4.370 | .386 | -1.508 |
| | Yes | 125 | 29.92 | 3.824 | .342 | |
| Time 3 | No | 220 | 29.29 | 4.163 | .281 | -2.134 |
| | Yes | 32 | 30.94 | 3.426 | .606 | |

Table 15 Time on a voucher: math total score

| Maths total | | N | Mean | Std. Dev | Std. Error Mean | ‘t’ |
|-------------|-----|-----|-------|----------|-----------------|--------|
| Time 1 | No | 48 | 20.63 | 4.827 | .697 | 0.991 |
| | Yes | 204 | 21.41 | 4.939 | .346 | |
| Time 2 | No | 127 | 20.65 | 5.267 | .467 | -2.007 |
| | Yes | 125 | 21.88 | 4.471 | .400 | |
| Time 3 | No | 220 | 20.93 | 5.090 | .343 | -4.461 |
| | Yes | 32 | 23.50 | 2.615 | .462 | |

In each case the mean score for the children on the voucher was higher than those not on the voucher. Although the mean scores were not found to be statistically significant this is an interesting finding.

Interviews with parents addressed the topic of vouchers and their child's overall performance. To parents after having enrolled onto the voucher scheme and transferring schools they noticed a vast improvement in their child's performance. When asked if outcomes have improved for their child typically parents agreed:

“They work very hard here and very happy here. They prepare everything at school. The standard is high and the study level is high. You can see the voucher system and the level of education here and in other schools and you can see the difference. Our nursery children have learnt so much that even children in class 2 in other schools have not learnt yet. I teach outside of school too, and I can see the difference myself from other school children and children at this school, because the school standard here is so high. My daughter before coming to this school was not performing well, 3 years later she is top of class” (Voucher parent 6, Faisalabad, School 4)

What seems very important to parents is the child's overall progress. Parent's value seeing their child perform well at school and to a high standard. Teacher interviews also support this view around the progression of a child having significantly improved over time. They often spoke about how children, who previously attended government schools or other private schools, who are now enrolled on the scheme, have made significant improvements.

“As a teacher I have seen a lot of student perform better. Children who come to this school with little or no education and are now standing top of the class. We had students who have no education, they then come to this school and get a voucher and finish their education. Now they go study more and get job. It is because we care and parents care.” (Teacher 1, Rawalpindi, School 1)

The teacher responses also highlighting the belief that vouchers were playing a significant role in improving educational outcomes of students.

The quantitative data revealed that voucher students outperform non-voucher students especially if a child has been on the voucher for 5-8 years. Additionally, those students supported by a voucher between 3 to 8 years showed higher maths scores than other voucher students. Although this is a key finding, we are yet to determine if this is due the ‘success’ of the voucher or due to students being older. A bivariate correlation was carried out in order to consider if there were any significant correlations between ages and if number of years on the voucher shows any significance. It seems to show that children who have been receiving the voucher for the longest period were not benefiting from merely being older. That is that children who have been on the voucher for longest are not necessarily the oldest. Table 16 below shows the Pearson Correlation between age and time on the voucher.

Table 16 Correlation between time on voucher and age

| | | Age | Number of Years on the voucher |
|-----|---------------------|-----|--------------------------------|
| Age | Pearson Correlation | 1 | .092 |
| | Sig (2-tailed) | | .147 |
| | N | 352 | 252 |

| | | Age | time1 | time2 | time3 |
|-------|---------------------|------|--------|--------|-------|
| Age | Pearson Correlation | 1 | | | |
| | Sig (2-tailed) | | | | |
| time1 | Pearson Correlation | .118 | 1 | | |
| | Sig (2-tailed) | .062 | | | |
| time2 | Pearson Correlation | .021 | .481** | 1 | |
| | Sig (2-tailed) | .742 | .000 | | |
| time3 | Pearson Correlation | .054 | .185** | .384** | 1 |
| | Sig (2-tailed) | .389 | .003 | .000 | |

4.4.2 Differences Between Schools Around Student Outcomes

The next part of the study focuses on the differences between the six participating schools, and if any differences lie between the six schools. A one-way ANOVA determines whether three or more group means differ in some undisclosed way in the population. ANOVA tests were carried out in the form of a Post-Hoc tests, this was done in order to find out where the group differences specifically lie. A one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine the difference in test scores among the six participating schools. There were 352 participants in the study came from six different schools in three different cities. The boxplots illustrates the multiple comparison of schools with each test scores. We can see from the boxplot for English scores that school 4 (M= 33) is outperforming the five participating schools; for maths, school 1 (M=27); and for IQ school 1 (M=27). In each test scores, there are outliers as seen in the boxplots. The observed outliers are not considered a threat to internal validity based on the limited numbers falling outside clustered boxplots. Each boxplot shows a similar spread of data.

Figure 3 Multiple comparison of schools with English Boxplot

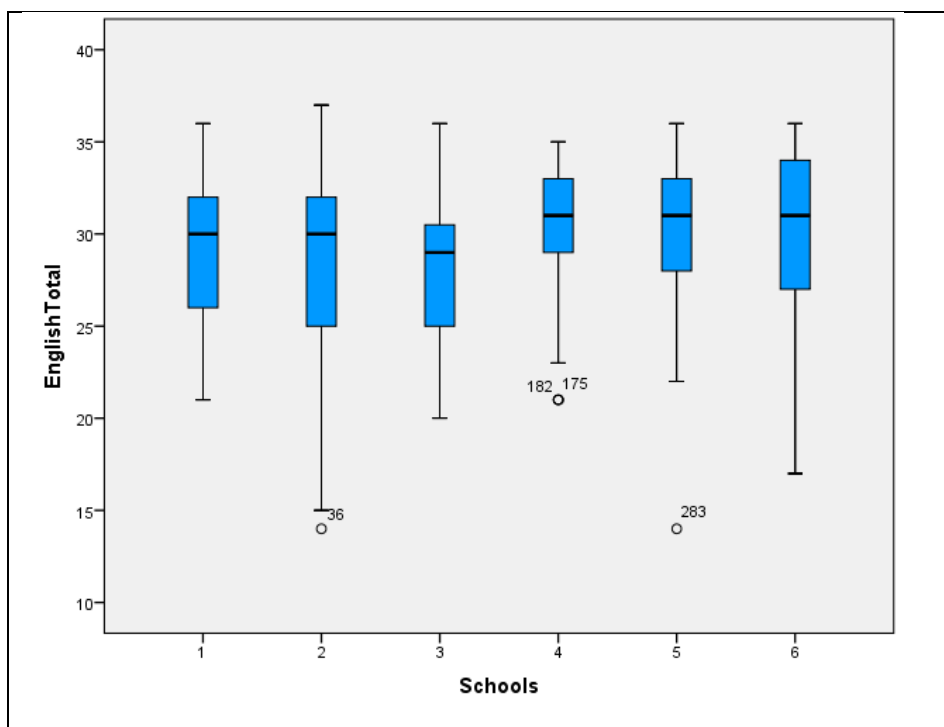


Figure 4 Multiple comparison of schools with Math boxplot

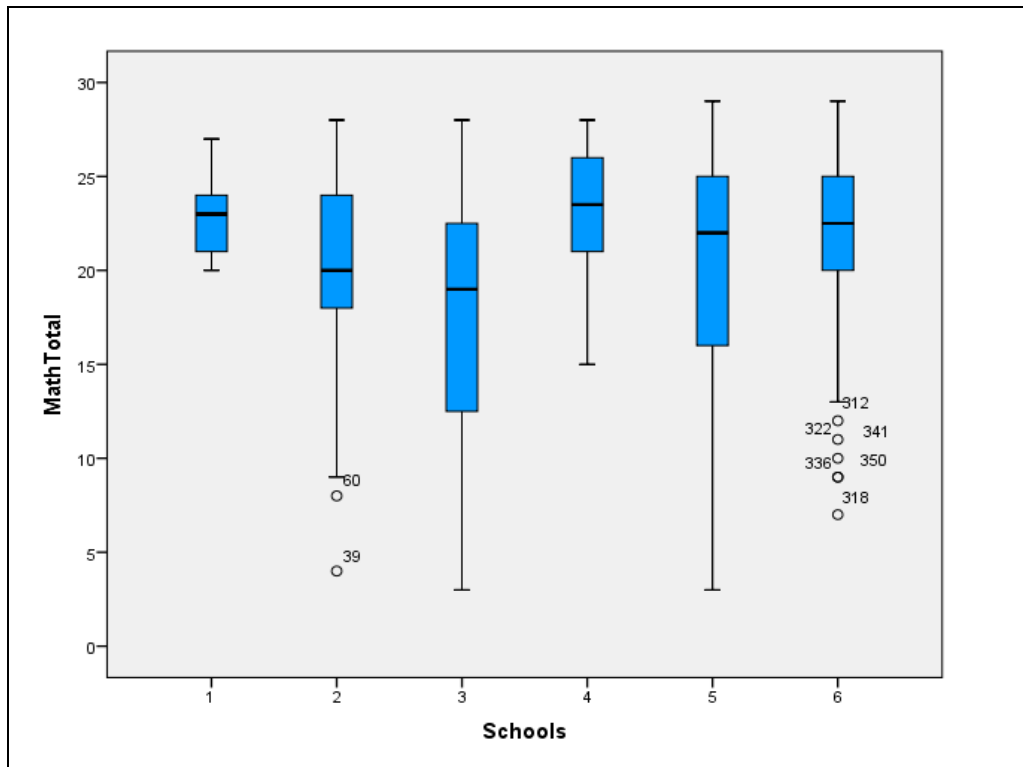
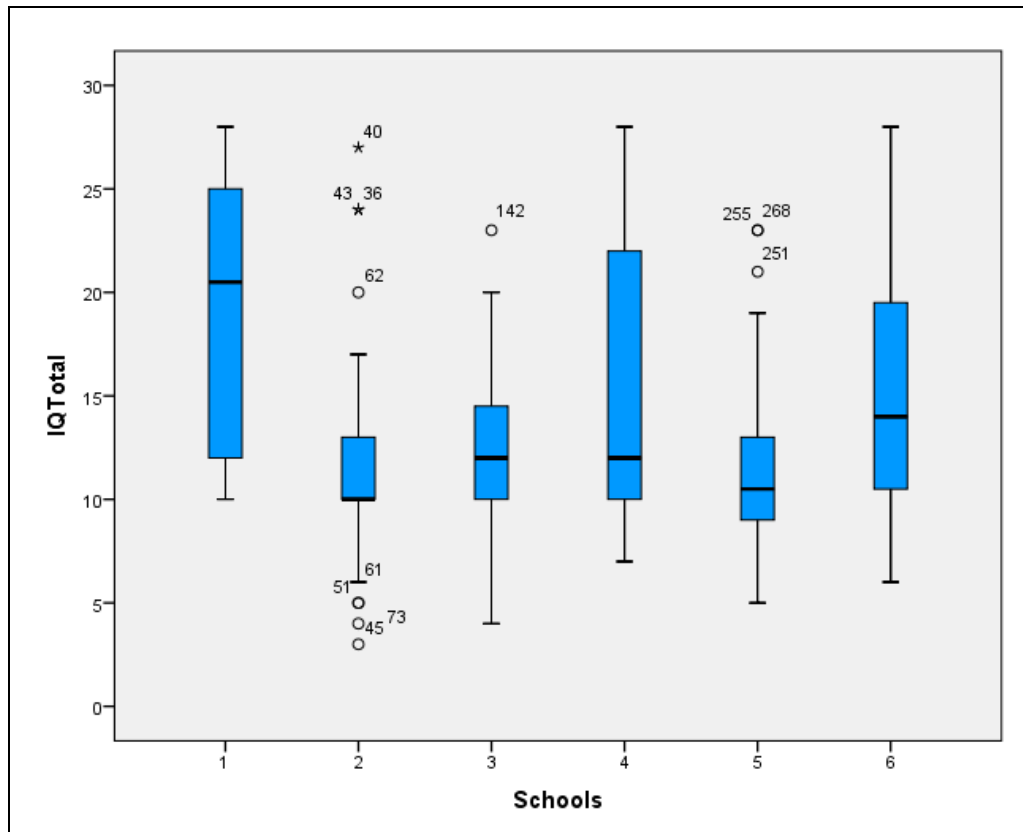


Figure 5 Multiple comparison of schools with IQ boxplot



One way ANOVA was conducted to determine if there was a difference between schools around student outcome. Participants were selected at random from six different low-cost private schools. In each test scores, there are outliers as seen in the boxplots.

Table 17 Multiple comparison (Scheffe) of schools with English Total

Dependent Variable: English Total

| School Codes | Mean Difference (I-J) | Std. Error | Sig | 95% Confidence Interval | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------|------|-------------------------|-------------|------|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | |
| 1 | 2 | 1.000 | .887 | .938 | -1.97 | 3.97 |
| | 3 | 1.524 | .928 | .746 | -1.58 | 4.63 |
| | 4 | -1.054 | .856 | .911 | -3.92 | 1.81 |
| | 5 | -.986 | .981 | .962 | -4.27 | 2.30 |
| | 6 | -.843 | .913 | .973 | -3.90 | 2.21 |
| 2 | 1 | -1.000 | .887 | .938 | -3.97 | 1.97 |
| | 3 | .524 | .764 | .993 | -2.03 | 3.08 |
| | 4 | -2.054 | .675 | .102 | -4.31 | .21 |
| | 5 | -1.986 | .828 | .333 | -4.76 | .79 |
| | 6 | -1.843 | .746 | .299 | -4.34 | .65 |
| 3 | 1 | -1.524 | .928 | .746 | -4.63 | 1.58 |
| | 2 | -.524 | .764 | .993 | -3.08 | 2.03 |
| | 4 | -2.578* | .728 | .030 | -5.01 | -.14 |
| | 5 | -2.510 | .872 | .144 | -5.43 | .41 |
| | 6 | -2.367 | .794 | .117 | -5.02 | .29 |
| 4 | 1 | 1.054 | .856 | .911 | -1.81 | 3.92 |
| | 2 | 2.054 | .675 | .102 | -.21 | 4.31 |
| | 3 | 2.578* | .728 | .030 | .14 | 5.01 |
| | 5 | .068 | .795 | 1.000 | -2.59 | 2.73 |
| | 6 | .211 | .709 | 1.000 | -2.16 | 2.58 |
| 5 | 1 | .986 | .981 | .962 | -2.30 | 4.27 |
| | 2 | 1.986 | .828 | .333 | -.79 | 4.76 |
| | 3 | 2.510 | .872 | .144 | -.41 | 5.43 |
| | 4 | -.068 | .795 | 1.000 | -2.73 | 2.59 |
| | 6 | .143 | .856 | 1.000 | -2.72 | 3.01 |
| 6 | 1 | .843 | .913 | .973 | -2.21 | 3.90 |
| | 2 | 1.843 | .746 | .299 | -.65 | 4.34 |
| | 3 | 2.367 | .794 | .117 | -.29 | 5.02 |
| | 4 | -.211 | .709 | 1.000 | -2.58 | 2.16 |
| | 5 | -.143 | .856 | 1.000 | -3.01 | 2.72 |

*the mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level

Additionally, a Scheffe test was carried out to see if there was a significance between schools. Comparisons showed that some means were significant $p > 0.05$. The multiple comparison table shows that when the dependent variable (English total) was measured across the schools, that school 1, 2, 5 and 6 showed no correlation with the 5 other participating schools, however, schools 3 and 4 do (0.030, $p > 0.05$)

A Scheffe test was carried out to see the significance between schools in math tests. Comparisons showed that some means were significant $p > 0.05$. The multiple comparison table shows that when the dependent variable (Math total) was measured across the schools, that each school showed a statistically significant difference with at least 1 school or more. School 1 mean score for maths differs significantly with school 3 ($p = 0.000$); school 2 has a statistically significantly different maths mean score with school 4 ($p = 0.16$); school 3 with schools 1, 4 and 6 ($= .000, .002$); school 4 with schools 2 and 5 ($= .000, .051$); school 5 with school 4 ($= .051$); and school 6 with school 3 ($= .002$).

Table 18 Multiple comparison of schools with Math Total

| School Codes | Mean Difference (I-J) | Std. Error | Sig | 95% Confidence Interval | |
|--------------|--------------------------|------------|-------|-------------------------|-------------|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound |
| 1 | 2 | 2.898 | 1.046 | .179 | -.60 6.40 |
| | 3 | 5.275* | 1.094 | .000 | 1.61 8.94 |
| | 4 | -.099 | 1.010 | 1.000 | -3.48 3.28 |
| | 5 | 3.031 | 1.157 | .234 | -.84 6.90 |
| | 6 | 1.212 | 1.077 | .938 | -2.39 4.82 |
| 2 | 1 | -2.898 | 1.046 | .179 | -6.40 .60 |
| | 3 | 2.378 | .901 | .226 | -.64 5.39 |
| | 4 | -2.997* | .796 | .016 | -5.66 -.33 |
| | 5 | .133 | .977 | 1.000 | -3.14 3.40 |
| | 6 | -1.686 | .880 | .598 | -4.63 1.26 |
| 3 | 1 | -5.275* | 1.094 | .000 | -8.94 -1.61 |
| | 2 | -2.378 | .901 | .226 | -5.39 .64 |
| | 4 | -5.375* | .859 | .000 | -8.25 -2.50 |
| | 5 | -2.245 | 1.028 | .447 | -5.69 1.20 |
| | 6 | -4.064* | .937 | .002 | -7.20 -.93 |
| 4 | 1 | .099 | 1.010 | 1.000 | -3.28 3.48 |
| | 2 | 2.997* | .796 | .016 | .33 5.66 |
| | 3 | 5.375* | .859 | .000 | 2.50 8.25 |
| | 5 | 3.130 | .938 | .051 | -.01 6.27 |
| | 6 | 1.311 | .836 | .782 | -1.49 4.11 |
| 5 | 1 | -3.031 | 1.157 | .234 | -6.90 .84 |
| | 2 | -.133 | .977 | 1.000 | -3.40 3.14 |
| | 3 | 2.245 | 1.028 | .447 | -1.20 5.69 |
| | 4 | -3.130 | .938 | .051 | -6.27 .01 |
| | 6 | -1.819 | 1.009 | .662 | -5.20 1.56 |
| 6 | 1 | -1.212 | 1.077 | .938 | -4.82 2.39 |
| | 2 | 1.686 | .880 | .598 | -1.26 4.63 |
| | 3 | 4.064* | .937 | .002 | .93 7.20 |
| | 4 | -1.311 | .836 | .782 | -4.11 1.49 |
| | 5 | 1.819 | 1.009 | .662 | -1.56 5.20 |

Table 19 Multiple comparison of schools with IQ total

| School Codes | Mean Difference (I-J) | Std. Error | Sig | 95% Confidence Interval | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------|-------|-------------------------|-------------|-------|
| | | | | Lower Bound | Upper Bound | |
| 1 | 2 | 7.182* | 1.120 | .000 | 3.43 | 10.93 |
| | 3 | 5.829* | 1.172 | .000 | 1.91 | 9.75 |
| | 4 | 4.125* | 1.081 | .014 | .51 | 7.74 |
| | 5 | 6.933* | 1.239 | .000 | 2.79 | 11.08 |
| | 6 | 3.630 | 1.153 | .081 | -.23 | 7.49 |
| | 1 | -7.182* | 1.120 | .000 | 10.93 | -3.43 |
| 2 | 3 | -1.353 | .965 | .853 | -4.58 | 1.88 |
| | 4 | -3.057* | .852 | .027 | -5.91 | -.20 |
| | 5 | -.249 | 1.045 | 1.000 | -3.75 | 3.25 |
| | 6 | -3.552* | .942 | .016 | -6.70 | -.40 |
| | 1 | -5.829* | 1.172 | .000 | -9.75 | -1.91 |
| | 2 | 1.353 | .965 | .853 | -1.88 | 4.58 |
| 3 | 4 | -1.704 | .919 | .633 | -4.78 | 1.37 |
| | 5 | 1.104 | 1.101 | .962 | -2.58 | 4.79 |
| | 6 | -2.198 | 1.003 | .441 | -5.55 | 1.16 |
| | 1 | -4.125* | 1.081 | .014 | -7.74 | -.51 |
| | 2 | 3.057* | .852 | .027 | .20 | 5.91 |
| | 3 | 1.704 | .919 | .633 | -1.37 | 4.78 |
| 4 | 5 | 2.808 | 1.004 | .169 | -.55 | 6.17 |
| | 6 | -.494 | .895 | .998 | -3.49 | 2.50 |
| | 1 | -6.933* | 1.239 | .000 | 11.08 | -2.79 |
| | 2 | .249 | 1.045 | 1.000 | -3.25 | 3.75 |
| | 3 | -1.104 | 1.101 | .962 | -4.79 | 2.58 |
| | 4 | -2.808 | 1.004 | .169 | -6.17 | .55 |
| 5 | 6 | -3.302 | 1.080 | .099 | -6.92 | .31 |
| | 1 | -3.630 | 1.153 | .081 | -7.49 | .23 |
| | 2 | 3.552* | .942 | .016 | .40 | 6.70 |
| | 3 | 2.198 | 1.003 | .441 | -1.16 | 5.55 |
| | 4 | .494 | .895 | .998 | -2.50 | 3.49 |
| | 5 | 3.302 | 1.080 | .099 | -.31 | 6.92 |

The Scheffe tests for IQ results shows that the mean scores for the IQ test for children in School 1 is statistically significantly different to 4 schools; school 2 with schools 1, 4 and 6; school 3 with school 1; school 4 with schools 1 and 2; school 5 with schools 1; and school 6 with schools 1 and 2.

The participating children in the study were asked if they had attended another school prior to the one they were at. They were then asked, if this was a government school, or a different private school. The table below illustrates the results.

Table 20 Prior school enrolment

| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative Percent |
|----------------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| Same private school | 131 | 37.2 | 37.2 | 37.2 |
| Government | 103 | 29.3 | 29.3 | 66.5 |
| A different private school | 118 | 33.5 | 33.5 | 100.0 |

From the participating students, 37.2% have not attended any other school, 29.3% attended a government school and 33.5% from a different private school. If we then break this down into voucher and non-voucher students, we can see that the majority of voucher students came from either a government school or a different private school.

Table 21 Type of School

| | Type of School | | | Total |
|-------|---------------------|------------|--------------------------|-------|
| | Same private school | Government | Different private school | |
| No | 28 | 43 | 29 | 100 |
| Yes | 103 | 60 | 89 | 252 |
| Total | 131 | 103 | 118 | 325 |

103 voucher students who participated in the study attended the same private school, 60 students previously attended a government school and 89 students from a different private school.

4.5 The impact on the school community and stakeholders

This part now considers the second research question:

Question 2: Has the introduction of vouchers in Pakistan impacted on the school community and stakeholders?

When asked about the difference between government and private schools, parents spoke openly about the differences between government and private schools. Parents preferred to send their children to private schools than government schools. The general consensus among parents is that private schools provide better education than government schools. Parents attributed the success of private schools and the reasons government schools are inadequate to a number of reasons,

“Private schools provide better quality than government schools. There is no standard in government schools. The difference is the teachers. The teachers

are getting a salary, but they are not there. The strength is less and they are not able to focus” (Non-voucher parent 4, Lahore, School 3).

When asked about the difference between government and private schools, parents preferred to send their children to private schools. Problems noted in government schools is the lack of teaching and focus from teachers. Many parents have witnessed this, often enrolling children into government schools and then enrolling them into private schools as the quality of education was not present in government schools. Parents often complain of the ‘strength’ in government classes being too high therefore both teachers and students are unable to focus. In private schools, the number of students per class is low, allowing teachers more time to focus and give attention to each child. In terms of whether a parent would still enrol their child into a private school even if it was not a participating voucher school, many parents would still enrol their children into private schools, with or without a voucher. Private school provide a better standard of education, however in terms of facilities, they often lack. Parents much prefer to send their children to private schools even if they have to pay fees.

“It is not even a question of the voucher here at this school, even without it I would still send my children to this school, because the standard is high and the study level is high. There is a double facilities here. You can see the voucher system education here and in other schools and you can see the difference” (Voucher parent 5, Rawalpindi, school 1).

Parents preferred private schools with or without a voucher because the standard is much higher in private schools. The voucher system helps parents financially but with the incentives, it has created a better school system. There is not a lot of punctuality with teachers too. Private school teachers are more responsible and they know they have to do more work and to a high standard.

“A lot of effort is put into their studies and I can see the effort they make with all the children. Not just voucher students but all the children who study at this school” (Non-voucher Parent 6, Rawalpindi, School 2).

There is pressure on teachers to make sure the students perform well. The parents have noticed the level of commitment from teachers. Not only voucher students, but all students at private schools.

When asked about private schools in the area, some of the school managers talked about how one of the 'externalities' of the voucher programme was the closure of other low cost private schools in the area. According to School Manager 1:

“there are about 40-50 schools in the area. Some are not in existence anymore since after the PEF came. Some, which are performing well and have changed the fee structure, raised it 1000-2000 they are working fine. The ones who are on less fees like us, say around 400-500 it's hard for them to survive. How can they afford rent, pay salary for teachers?” (School Manager 1, Rawalpindi, School 1).

For School Manager 2 who has both voucher and non voucher children at his school, the voucher programme brings 'fees' that are consistently paid each month and for him this provides stability and security which he believes has beneficial affects around increasing teacher salaries:

“The difference is there; from other students we are getting 800 from Punjab we are getting 550. There difference is there. We are losing money in that sense. But when you are getting money in time, you can pay salary, you can pay rents, and otherwise you will have to pay for parents to pay then we have to give salary, sometimes it will take time, they have to pay their expensive also, now at a specific time we will receive money from PEF so there is no hiccups also” (School Manager 2, Rawalpindi, School 2).

4.5.1 Teacher's Attitudes

In terms of teacher's attitudes, parents feel the teachers at private schools put in a lot of effort and the concentration level is high. What parents value is having their opinions and voices heard. Teachers are cooperative and respect the parents, thus giving poor parents the same rights. Parents also noticed there was no a difference in teaching styles between

voucher and non-voucher students. Each child was treated the same, the same attention and focus is given to all students. This is beneficial to the whole school and the voucher scheme. Parents appreciate the effort that is being put in by teachers and they can see the effect it is having on their child's studies. One of the reasons why teachers may put in a lot of effort towards teaching is because the Punjab Education Foundation make regular checks, and check, to see how well the students and schools are performing. Therefore, extra attention has to be given towards teaching, as they realise there are many incentives attached to the voucher. According to one school manager, government officials do not benefit from the scheme. Their frustration is largely due to the failure of government schools. Government schools are often spending much more money and not seeing the results. Private schools spend less money but are producing better results. The failure of government schools can be attributed to the lack of effort put in from an administrative level followed by teachers and members of staff. As part of PEF code of conduct, no class is to hold more than 35 students, government schools accommodate more students thus the results are not positive, as the focus is not there. Teachers are unable to simultaneously teach a large cohort of students and expect results of a satisfactory standard. One of the reasons why private school can attract more students is largely due to this reason, that every individual student is valued and a lot of effort and focus is being put in. What attracts parents to government schools is the facilities, which are provided and largely because free education is available. As one school manager said to me, "poor parents just go where there is free things", so the attraction mainly for disadvantaged families is because they are unable to pay for school fees and given the opportunity to choose. After the voucher scheme is implemented in schools, salaries increased and were paid regularly to members of staff. Teachers and other members of staff benefit from the scheme for this reason. However, according to a school manager, the attitudes and teaching styles of the teachers has no differed as they value each child; voucher or non-voucher. Even after the voucher scheme, teachers are continuing to teach a high standard. Teachers are satisfied with the voucher scheme and are reaping the benefits. School managers are happy with the way their school is running and they are able to meet the demands of parents. Additionally, there has been a large influx of students due to the scheme, without the additional benefits of the scheme; school managers believe they would not be able to support large number of students.

“Because they are sitting together, voucher students and non-voucher students is sitting together. Their approach towards students is same. No as such there is no difference. Same handling of both type of students is there. Now I have 600 plus students on a voucher scheme here, I couldn’t have done it without the voucher scheme. Without fees and this many students I wouldn’t be able to do this. And the teachers are happy too with the scheme and it should continue but they should say we should have a teacher training scheme” (School manager 4, Faisalabad, School 4) .

Uneducated and illiterate parents base their decision to send a child to school from a number of factors. A decisive reason as to why parents chose to send their child to a private school is because as a school shows positive results, they can see the effect it is having on their child. Illiterate parents are more than capable of understanding what is ‘good’ and what is ‘bad’ education. And for a lot of fee paying parents they would like to see the results. Parents are checking and monitoring their child’s progress. Many schools now provide report card and have parent-teacher meetings. This is reinforced as other private schools in the area try to attract students too. Putting in effort with studies is critical but a number of other factors attract parents too. The voucher scheme not only covers the cost of fees but provides text books, pays for exam fees and in some cases food. So for the poorest of the poor in society, their needs are being met and being taken care of. Data analysed from student questionnaires, looked at teachers ability to teach, teachers punctuality and teachers attendance. When asked to rate teacher’s ability to teach, 94.3% rated ‘excellent’ and 5.7% rating their teachers ability to teach as ‘good’.

Table 22 Teachers ability to teach

| | Teachers ability to teach | | | |
|-----------|---------------------------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative percent |
| Excellent | 323 | 94.3 | 94.3 | 94.3 |
| Good | 20 | 5.7 | 5.7 | 100.0 |

The participants were then asked to rate their teachers punctuality to class. 95.2% rated ‘excellent’ and 4.0 rated ‘good’, with .9% rating it as ‘poor’.

Table 23 Teachers Punctuality

| Teachers Punctuality | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative percent |
| Excellent | 335 | 95.2 | 95.2 | 95.2 |
| Good | 14 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 99.1 |
| Poor | 3 | .9 | .9 | 100. |

Additionally, when asked about teacher's attendance, 97.2% rated it as 'excellent' and 2.8% as 'good'.

Table 24 Teachers Attendance

| Teachers attendance | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|--------------------|
| | Frequency | Percent | Valid Percent | Cumulative percent |
| Excellent | 342 | 97.2 | 97.2 | 97.2 |
| Good | 10 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 100.0 |

Students are also satisfied with their teacher performance, attendance and punctuality. Thus showing the importance the voucher scheme is having on creating a 'healthy' learning environment.

4.5.2 Policy Implications and Regulation

Since the implementation of the scheme in 2008, all low-cost private school in the Punjab province were invited to participate in the scheme. Speaking to the school managers and directors of the scheme, the schools were chosen on locality and the school facilities. The voucher scheme has attracted a vast number of students to the selected schools due to the incentives created by it. Research question five discusses whether the voucher scheme has thus improved the schools overall, what effect has the voucher scheme has had on the attitudes of stakeholders.

4.5.3 Competition

According to Levin (2002) the key elements to be considered when designing voucher programs are: finance and regulation. If education vouchers are available to all they expand school choice and competition. Competition can be seen as a powerful instrument that can be used in the private sector, to raise productivity and help the poor. One of the many benefits of the voucher scheme is, that it creates competition. All school owners and managers in the study spoke about the competition due to the result of the vouchers. Once the school have met the regulations set by PEF, children are then chosen and offered a voucher. These schools have seen a large increase in the number of students enrolled,

which is having an effect with other non-PEF private schools in the area. The private schools in the area have had to alter their fees in accordance with the competition which is taking place in the private school market. Schools which have not altered the fees are struggling to cover the costs. This ultimately has an effect of the teachers and students. As stated above, a large number of students in one class reduces the quality of education. Under the rules of PEF, there can no more than 35 students in one class. Which thus increases the quality and standard of education a child is receiving. School owners are changing the way they run their schools in accordance with PEF regulations but also see the benefits from it. In terms of schooling, it is not only private-to-private schools which are seeing competition but also private –to-government schooling. Every year tests are conducted by the government of Punjab looking at school performance, taking in to consideration all types of school systems; government, private, PEF schools, religious etc. What the results show, according to one school manager, is that PEF schools are out performing other schools, especially government schools. The school manager links this to government schools not putting in a lot of effort in terms of teaching.

“Then the teachers started putting in effort, saying that if you don’t improve your standards then the PEF will take over our schools and students will leave, and our jobs we will lose. So yes there is competition but it’s a positive one.”

(School manager 5, Faisalabad, School 5)

He states that at private schools, teachers are putting in a lot of attention and effort, which you is not available at government schools. This is largely due to the pressure put on the teachers by the school managers. In terms of facilities and the quality of the school, government school are providing better care, but in terms of teaching, private schools are outperforming. With the voucher scheme, it has created a public-private partnership. In terms of competition between private to private schools. One school manager noted that private schools in the area where ‘forced’ to improve their schools and teaching at the risk of losing their students to PEF schools. This will be disadvantage to teachers are they will lose their jobs and not receive salary. Thus, competition is not necessarily seen as a bad thing.

“In private schools the administration is more responsible they are going to answer to parents, they are responsible to give answers to all their questions,

and if they have problem they will come to you ask you, ‘why this’, and ‘why this is not going well’, they will ask so many things, but in government school, no. If student is going, not going, absent, wherever he is, ok nobody will bother to ask what happened, where is the student. Also, one teacher a hundred students, 1 teacher 100 students. I have seen physically this one. And then they don’t bother because they will get salary, monthly salary they will get, and nobody is going to ask them why you today not here, tomorrow this class was sitting idle and such. No. They are not responsible for those things, so that’s why there is a big difference between those things.” (School manager 6, Lahore, School 6)

Private school owners have extra responsibility not only towards its students but parents too. Non-voucher parents and voucher parents, have a right to question any problems. Parents often feel that in government schools their problems are not allowed to be addressed or the actions of staff members are not to be questioned. The big difference as one school managers said is that there is not a level of responsibility that is adhered to. Staff members are happy to receive their weekly salaries. In private schools, the teachers are responsible to the students, parents, and the school manager/owner, who are in turn under the supervision of PEF. There is more of a level of accountability to each. School owners are running their schools more accordingly. As salaries are paid on time each month, and other finances are being paid directly into the schools accounts, they can afford to pay rents, pay salaries and other expenses.

“The voucher given extra capital to set up more schools or improve facilities. It has added 6 lakh...before the difference was we that we were not that much comfortable. We were very strict in our expenditure, very hard we were struggling. They have supported our expenditure to some extent. We can’t say that money doesn’t make a difference, it does” (school manager 6, Lahore, School 6).

Another extra benefit of the voucher scheme is that it has given extra capital for schools. This extra capital has helped improve the facilities and has created a more comfortable atmosphere. It is not enough just providing education, toilets, and other facilities are essentials. The additional money has helped with this as many schools were struggling to

cover the costs. Many schools have noted that in comparison with government schools, their facilities are lacking. Many government schools are better equipped in terms of facilities, in comparison with private schools. There is also a difference in terms of salaries, noting that teacher salary at government schools are in the thousands as in comparison with private school teacher fees. Another difference mentioned is the effort the school and teachers put in. The yearly QATs are carried out and results passed to the PEF to assess the achievement of students and participating voucher schools. Government schools do not have a system in place. They are not under the supervision of anyone hence why the standard of education may not be adequate in government schools. The difference is that private schools are focusing heavily on education this largely due to the involvement of PEF.

Not only have voucher schools created competition amongst government schools but also private to private schools. Voucher schools under the leadership of PEF are under constraints and other schools make their own decisions. At every point in the term, PEF schools are continuously working on raising their standards and meeting the needs of parents. A lot of the surrounding schools in the area are also trying to raise their standards thus creating competition amongst the schools. Again in terms of facilities and the quality between private and government schools, it is visible. Private school children are not given the same opportunities as government schools as they lack certain facilities. The voucher scheme has given extra capital for schools to invest in such facilities. Children at private schools are not given the same opportunities and the voucher scheme has allowed for this. One school manager described not seeing any competition between schools as it is a community effort which is beneficial to all. A lot of the schools continue to work with each other to create a healthy environment.

“All the people in this area, all the schools in this area, all my friends running schools, now they are all PEF schools too. A lot of the private schools in the area are working with the Punjab Education Foundation. Now the schools who aren't under the scheme, they are running, but I don't see it as a competition between any schools. We are working within our means and limits and we just want to educate our students. Actually, we speak regularly with the other school owners and discuss things” (School manager 5, Faisalabad, School 5).

The Punjab Education Foundation runs various schemes, the voucher scheme being one of many. A lot of private schools in the area are cooperating with one another. Those schools which are not under any scheme are also working alongside each other, and that competition is not a factor. In fact, it is having the opposite effect, the schools are working with each other to create a progressive society in terms of education. Critics of the voucher scheme who argue that it creates unhealthy competition and there is a large shift of students leaving schools to attend a private voucher school. However, this is not the case here. Private schools in the area work alongside each other to create better education systems.

However, one school manager did go on to state, that due to the scheme, families were withdrawing their children from schools.

“We have two categories, I mean from good families, they can pay the fees for their kids, and they don’t want their kids to study with voucher. We have two categories, I mean from good families, students. They think they belong to poor families and their family atmosphere will not be good, and their compatibility will not be there, so many other things, they will talk to our kids and learn bad things from them. After joining this scheme about 300-400 students left our school, we were left high and dry, but slowly and gradually, within one year, now we have majority from very poor families and now that difference is not there.”
(School Manager, Interview 2, Rawalpindi, School 2)

4.5.4 Replication and Scalability

The Education Voucher scheme is one of the many programmes running under the Punjab Education Foundation. The voucher scheme’s main focus is enrolling children into low-cost private schools and offering parents with choice. The selection of the schools is done without taking a pre-test of the children, however, with EVS the PEF goes directly to the school and carries out a physical inspection. Facilities are checked and the school must have a minimum of three classrooms. What the PEF does is check the school is facilitated in an area where the poverty level is low. They do not interfere with the running of the

school or the management of it. In a sense, taking on a set of responsibilities and acting as the role of a parent.

“Actually government is unable to run all the schools opened under the government. Actually recently, 5000 schools have been handed over to PEF. 5000 government schools have been handed over to PEF” (Director).

Government/education sector is unable to meet the needs and the PEF fills the vacuum of the state. 5000 new schools are under the control of PEF under their various schemes; under a private-public partnership. They will use the infrastructure given by the government. It shows the progress the state is making, in terms of engaging with the private sector. It shows the importance of private sector and the need for government to actively engage with the private sector. One of the reasons why the scheme is working so well, is because PEF have a better control over the schools. All the information is centralised, as all the details of the children and schools is in one system. It is the responsibility of the government to provide free and quality education to every child of the country, the scheme is facilitating government department. But since government is unable to manage, or could not manage due to certain reasons, they have shifted this responsibility to the foundation. So, it is a good intervention in a way.

“We are a developing country, don’t have enough resources, and definitely we need to provide a better quality education, or even to get every child into school. So even a child is enrolled into school it is a success, because you know in Pakistan, people don’t believe in sending children to school because if they are earning they believe it is better than sending them to a school” (School manager 3, Lahore, school 3)

When asked how you see the state of education in Pakistan and its progress, it is clear to see there is much progress to be made. The quality of education is lacking and falling behind. Enrolment levels are still low. The main focus seems to be on getting children into schools especially in areas where the education level is low. The issuing of vouchers and the selection criteria was designed to allow out-of-school children access to education in these slum areas.

R: No, no, you are thinking wrong. We don't interfere in their hiring procedure structure, we just try to ensure the facilities and qualify our QAT. The rest is the school owner, who we want to hire or not... but if we don't take such controls, I think the public money will go to...hell.

F: wasted?

R: yes

What is interesting to note is that participating private schools are semi private now. A lot of the teachers and parents consider the schools, government schools. Although the Punjab education foundation has no control over the schools, the running, facilitating, management, administration, there are a number of rules and regulations which must be adhered to. The scheme has given a lot more opportunities to parents and children who are out of school. It has allowed for school owners and managers to make improvements to their schools with the additional money coming in, it has allowed salaries to be paid on time too. However the PEF have to take initiative of this scheme. Allowing autonomy can become problematic, therefore regular checks and a strong hold is in place to ensure the sustainability and longevity of the scheme.

4.5.5 Inspections

Officials from the program monitor the progress of the participating schools and the children's performances. Yearly tests are conducted, what is known as Quality Assurance Tests (QATs) and monitor the running of the schools and the facilities and infrastructure. As one school manager stated that there is "accountability". If officials from the scheme are not satisfied with the running of the schools they will fine the school 5-10% of the total that they are paying. Not only this, but inspection are incentives as they encourage the schools and teachers to work harder.

"Yes, attitudes towards teaching have changed because they know the government is coming to check us, we have more pressure of the government and the community. They come gradually and eventually they take our test. And then we have more pressure of them.

A: and before...what was it like?

B: before we had the same criteria of working, it's not like we are working for any other cause. We are just working to raise the education of our country that is our main dilemma. But the thing is, it is just when an external strong

party comes upon you and reviews your work then you have more pressure rather than before.” (School Manger 2, Rawalpindi, school 2)

The pressure from officials has changed the way schools are functioning. The inspections have helped create a system whereby the private schools are performing at an adequate standard. This can be seen as a ‘positive pressure’ whereby an external party are checking and reviewing work, and encouraging all to work harder.

Checks are carried out in terms of student performances and the state of the school. Regular checks are made this is to ensure the school and its students are performing at a satisfactory level. Teachers have to perform to a certain standard as they are receiving extra capital and understand the importance of it. Schools decided to enrol into the voucher scheme for a number of different reasons. Firstly, it is a benefit to the public; the number of out of school children in Pakistan is 24 million. Opening new schools and providing poor parents with education but more importantly choice is essential. Because of the voucher scheme, it has given schools extra capital. Parents, teachers and school managers are benefiting from the scheme. Parents base their decision off many factors. Teachers and neighbours pass on information and inform parents. In terms of the voucher scheme, it is not only enough providing free education but there are many more incentives from the scheme, which attract parents too. Parents can make a decision as to where to send their child, what type of school, however due to financial circumstances, they are unable to send a child to a school of their choice.

4.5.6 Incentives

There are many incentives to the voucher scheme. One of the things parents spoke openly about was if the voucher did not exist they would find it increasingly difficult to support their child’s education as indicated by the quotes above. Without the voucher scheme, many parents would financially struggle. Before the voucher scheme was in place, many families were paying fees but struggling. According to one school manager, families would struggle; around 80% of the children in schools would struggle to pay fees. This would cause a knock on effect, as the schools would suffer, and the teachers would not get their salary paid. Therefore it would affect a lot of people involved if the voucher was to be taken away, it would be a big loss as highlighted by Parent 3:

“All parents wish that their children attend school and get an education, but sometimes circumstances are difficult and you are not able to fulfil their needs. I am not sure what I would do if the voucher system was not here. I would try to make ends meet, but as a poor parent I know I would struggle. If the voucher was not here, my children would either be working, or at home, or I would send them to a government school” (Voucher parent 3, Faisalabad, School 3)

The voucher scheme has been in place since 2008 in Punjab, Pakistan with more than 200,000 students receiving free education in low-cost private schools, and the scheme continues to expand. Many parents already enrolled their children into private schools and were paying fees, other families struggled and their children either did not attend school or were enrolled into government schools. If the voucher scheme did not exist, many families could not afford to pay the school fees. The number of voucher students in schools is high, in comparison with non-voucher students. Therefore, if the voucher did not exist, families would struggle to pay fees and the enrolment levels would drop. Additionally, this would have a direct impact and effect on the schools, school owners, teachers and other staff members as salaries would not be paid. For many parents, options are limited if the voucher was to be taken away, some parents would not educate their children, some would only send one child from the family to school, or children would be working. Other parents would try to pay the school fees and continue to send their children to private schools. Some parents would then send their children to government schools as a last resort. As many school managers state in the interviews, the difference between a government and private schools is in terms of the quality of education they are providing. By creating separate classrooms, with a smaller number of students and with at least one teacher present at all times, it creates a positive learning atmosphere and environment for the students. One of the ways to ensure children are getting an education is by creating a suitable learning environment. When parents are unable to pay school fees, they are unable to send their child to school. This has an impact on their study and as one school manager noted, it affects their studies and their morale would be low. Now that children are attending regularly, this has been having an impact on their studies as this School Manager reports in his interview:

“I would show you all these students, those students who weren’t interested in studies and now are. Or I could show you students, whose parents couldn’t afford to pay for school fees, so every so often they wouldn’t send their children to school or they would but without fees, after 10-15 days they would give you the fees but less, and this would affect the students, they would be less interested in their studies, and their morale will be down. Now it’s different, the children are now regulars in schools and you can see the effect it’s having on the studies, they are improving as they come to school regularly.” (School manager 1, Rawalpindi, School 1)

Some of the benefits of the voucher scheme, according to parents are highlighted above. Fee paying parents occasionally are unable to pay school fees. Subsequently this has a negative impact on the child as they are often missing days from school. Self-confidence and awareness of one’s capabilities will more often produce better results. The school manager clearly states that the negative impact of being absent from school, or switching schools, can affect the child’s moral and studies. But because of the voucher scheme, children are attending regularly and it is showing in their studies, that they are improving. The collection of fees can become a job in itself and can sideline and distract from the actual goal of teaching. Not having to worry about the collection of fees allows the school owners and staff to focus solely on teaching and the money side is being taken care of from PEF. Referring back to the last quotation, the school’s primary focus is on education. Everything in terms of finance is being taken care of. The concentration is just on studies. Because the schools are providing free of cost education through the voucher scheme all additional facilities and requirements must be at a high standard too. Students know they must work hard and produce results of a satisfactory standard to receive funding. This is a cycle effect, as the more students on vouchers, the more funding received, students’ academic performance is monitored along with the school, and if consistent the schools will continue to receive funding. Once a year the schools undergo a QAT (Quality Assurance Test). If they pass at 50% or more, the Punjab Education Foundation will continue with the funding. If they however, fail to meet the 50% mark, funding will be discontinued. Because the PEF is an autonomous body of the provincial government, the schools are under a strict set of rules and regulations. Therefore, a strong emphasis is

made on student achievement; failure to adhere to this can result in consequences such as fines.

Another benefit of the voucher seems to be a change in teacher attitudes, not only in the private schools but in the government ones too. According to the interviews with the school managers it became apparent that some schools that were receiving the vouchers were now paying teachers a greater salary, owing to school fees being paid on time and being consistent. Also teachers were putting in more effort too in the government schools, as they perceived if they did not then the PEF might take over the government school or pupils might leave. This was all highlighted in the interview with School Manager 1:

“you can ask the teachers yourself, they will say two things, one that after the voucher scheme the salary is better, before it wasn’t as much, secondly that the teachers, especially those who have been with me from the start, they have always had the same goal and aspirations in mind, that they will teach, doesn’t matter what their background is” (School manager 1, Rawalpindi, School 1).

And

“Then the teachers started putting in effort, saying that if you don’t improve your standards then the PEF will take over our schools and students will leave, and our jobs we will lose. So yes there is competition but it’s a positive one” (School manager 1, Rawalpindi, School 1)

This was also corroborated in the parent interviews, who also stated that the voucher was having an impact on the attitudes of teachers to parents, suggesting that there is now greater accountability in the market. This comment from a parent demonstrates this accountability and how the vouchers are offering greater social justice and opportunity for all in society. This comment is about the time teachers spend at school and the caring they give to the children:

“her teacher spends a lot of time here, and is engaged in the school and I can see everyone else is, I like that they care.... Because you can go to some schools and because your child is poorer than the rest of the students, they can look down on you or some parents do not want their children to mix with your child, but here it is never the case. Everyone is equal.” (Parent 28, Lahore, School 6).

Parents feel that they can talk to teachers and receive help. Accessibility of teaching staff to parents is reflected in this parent’s comment. The parent feels comfortable taking a complaint to the teacher and being listened too as well as something being done to put matters right:

“before we moved, the schools my children went to I would always have to chase the teachers. ‘You need to do this, ‘why are you not doing this?’ I used to be a teacher at another private school and the teachers you could tell were not putting in a lot of effort and if you asked them to do something, they would give you a response back. Here if I make a complaint they listen to you. They respond to you. If a child is weak they try and help with additional studies” (Parent 13, Lahore, School 3).

There however has been a change in the ‘accountability’ process for one school owner who believed that he was no longer accountable to the parents, but to the voucher scheme itself. He stated that parents no longer respected him as the school owner and that parents now say ‘I will contact PEF and complain about you.’ (School manager, interview 6, Lahore, School 6).

4.6 Gender Comparison

The next part of the study answers the final research question:

- Does participating in a voucher programme diminish gender inequalities comparing those with vouchers and those in the private schools whose parents pay fees?

The data set consisted of 150 boys and 202 girls in the study. Comparisons were made between boys and girls in test scores to see if receiving a voucher diminished any gender inequalities and equity can be achieved. The visual representation of this can be seen in the boxplots below. The figure below shows the results for the English exam. It can be seen, from the above figure, that girls are outperforming boys in English tests. When looking at the math total we can see, boys are out-performing girls. When looking at the IQ results, similarly, we can see that boys are out performing girls.

Figure 6 Gender comparison for English boxplot

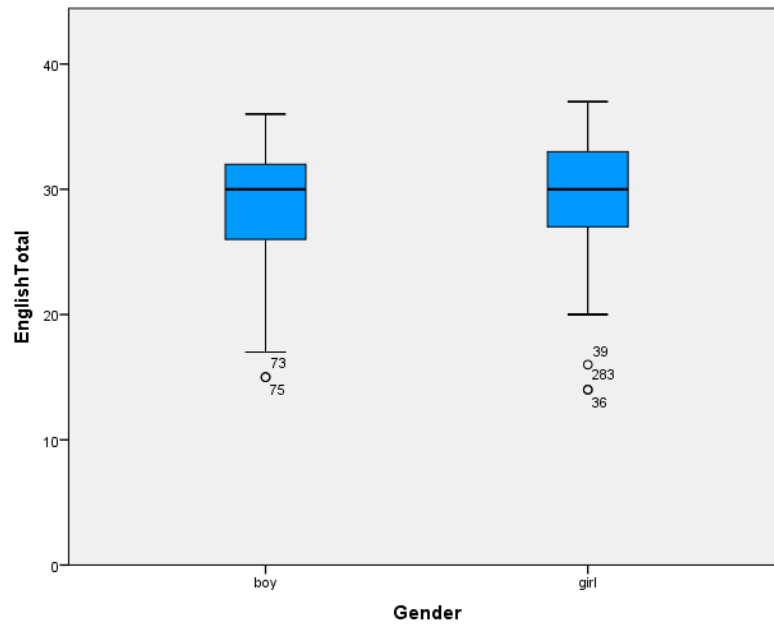


Figure 7 Gender comparison for Math boxplot

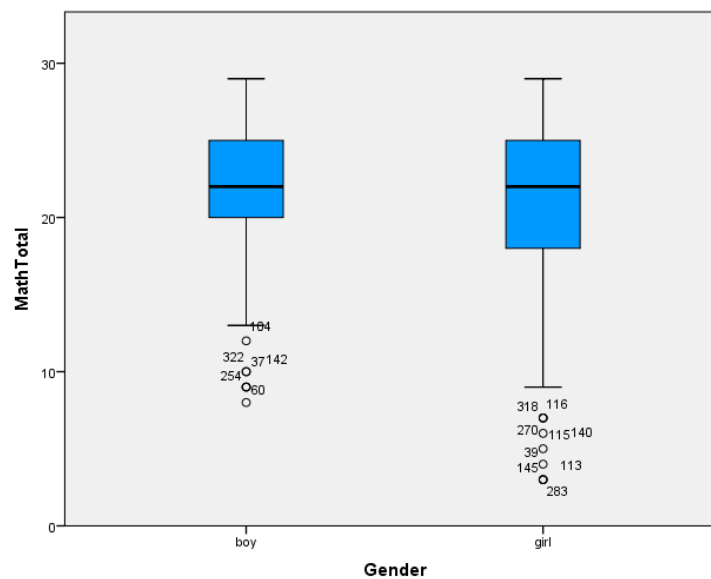
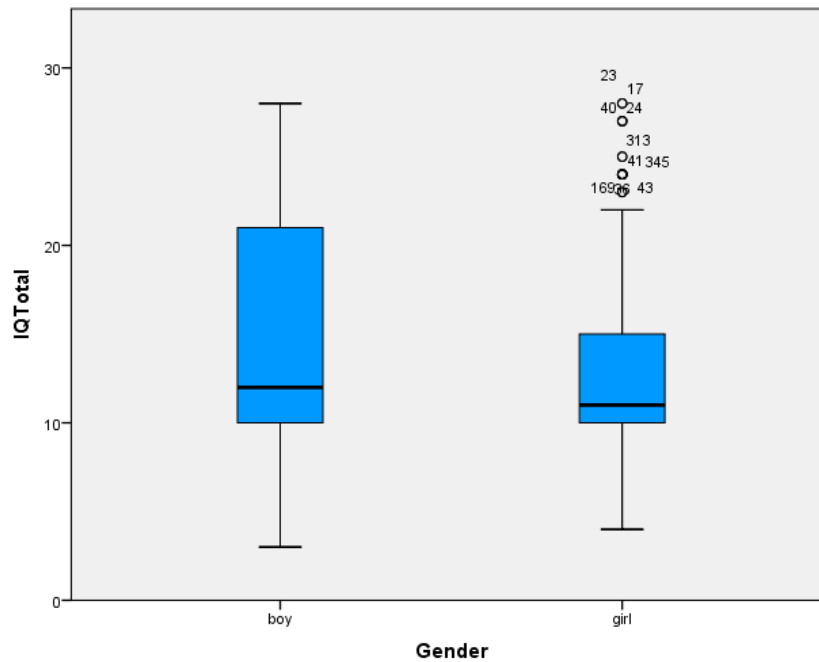


Figure 8 Gender comparison for IQ boxplot



4.6.1 School Demographics

The voucher scheme has many extra benefits and additional incentives. In terms of academic improvement, some of the school managers and teachers stated that the number of girls enrolled into school has increased and performing at a better rate than boys, since the implementation of the voucher scheme.

“Before it wasn’t the same. I go to houses and try convince the parents to send girls to school. Boys, if they come then that’s good too, but I would like to see more girls educated. Because what they say it’s true, ‘if you educate a girl then a family is educated’, if the family is educated you have a better standard of life” (School manager 2, Rawalpindi, School 2)

Demographics of the schools have changed since the implementation of the scheme. Enrolment level for girls remains low in comparison with boys. This percentage has somewhat increased since the implementation of the voucher scheme. When speaking to one school manager, he described going to houses and encouraging parents to send their daughters to school, as he recognized the importance of female education, and the impact it can have towards societal change. Having spoken to all school manager who

participated in the study, they all acknowledged the impact education vouchers are having on female enrolment levels. They stated that the ratio has increased and more girls are enrolled into school and receiving an education. Another advantage of the voucher scheme is that it has increased enrolment and parents are willing to send their daughters to school.

“I think before if they have girls and boys at home, they would prefer to send boys to schools because they cannot afford. I mean this is backwards in our society that boys need to go for education and girls no. But due to this scheme, girls are coming. Now you can say the ratio is 50/50... before? Oh huge difference was there. You can say 20% and 80%. It’s a big difference. Big difference” (School manager 3, Lahore, School 3).

According to this comment, the ratio of girls has increased due to the voucher scheme, and it seems as if, parents are realising the importance of girls education and the impact it has. Parents often prefer to send boys to school over girls, however since the voucher scheme implementation that seems to have changed and parents now send girls to school too. School managers have noted the difference on a large scale. The voucher design is such that girls can also access the voucher, as PEF inspect the schools regularly they will be looking for gender equality. Parents talked about their daughters performing well in school, Parent 27 said “on a voucher she is performing well” (Parent 27). Mothers commented that they had seen a change in their daughters’ performance since being at school on a voucher. One mother said that her “daughter studies at this private school and I can see how well she is doing” (Parent 9). One parent stated how her daughter arrives home each day and recites what she has learned and thus providing the parent with an update of the quality of learning that is going on in the school:

“Yes my daughter has only been here a few months and she has learned so much already. She comes home and asks me questions and says ‘mama I am the teacher today.’ So daily she recites everything to me” (Parent 17, Faisalabad, School 5)

Parents also expressed the level of importance that they placed on girls education saying

“I know they are doing a very good job. It is very important and especially for my daughter. For sons, it is ok, if they learn ...if they don't. But for daughters....they will be like you! It is important to educate girls” (Parent 19, Faisalabad, School 5)

If we compare scores across gender and voucher and non-voucher recipients, we can see that in terms of English scores, the difference is not substantial. With girls who receive vouchers performing better than non-voucher girls do.

Figure 9 Gender and voucher comparison for English boxplot

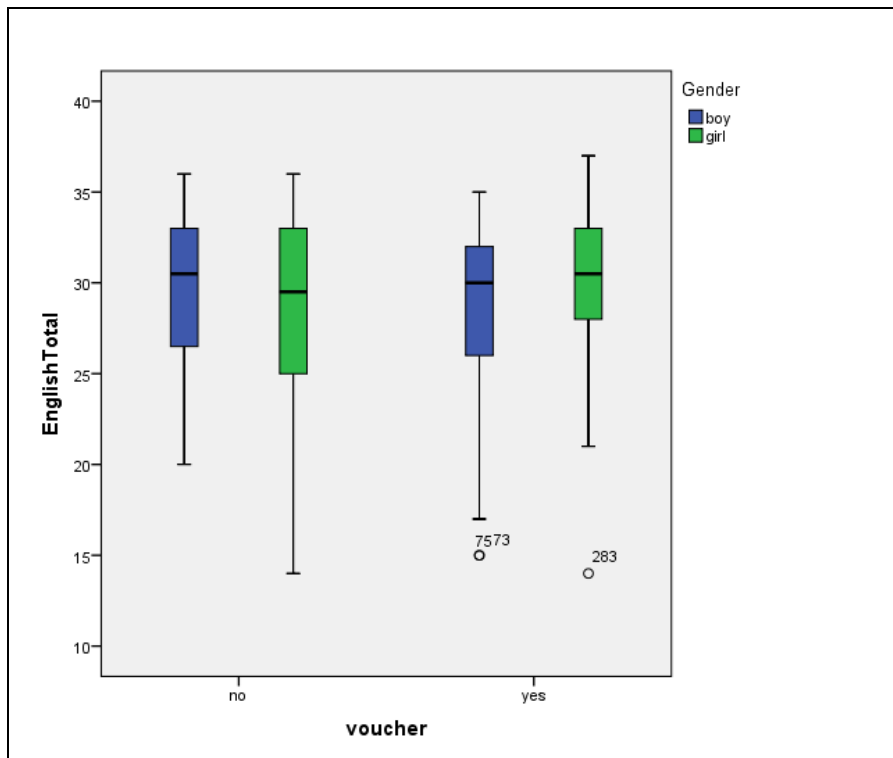


Figure 10 Gender and voucher comparison for Math boxplot

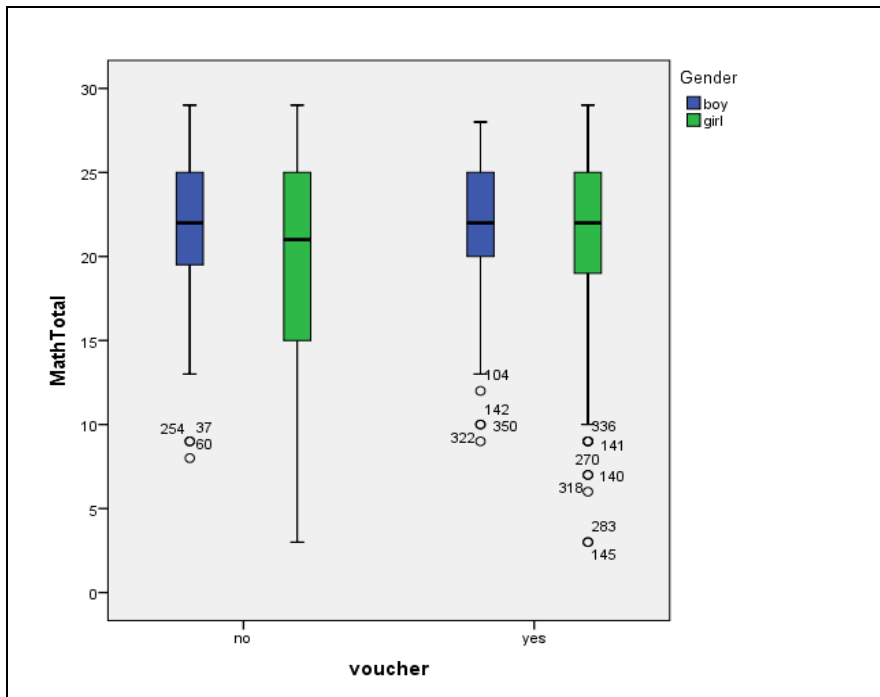
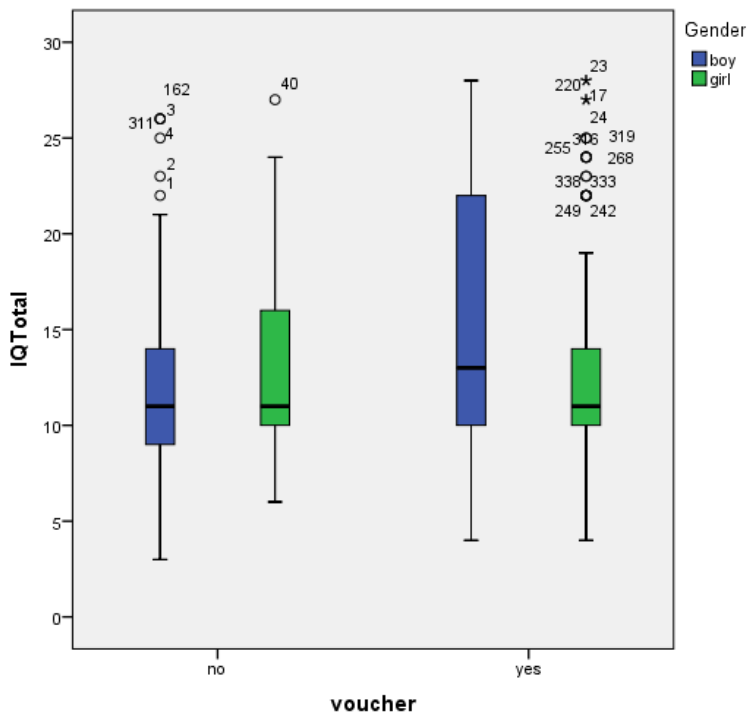


Figure 11 Gender and voucher comparison for IQ boxplot



An independent sample 't' test was carried out to determine if receiving a voucher had an effect on test outcomes based on gender, more specifically to see if the results were statistically significant. There were 150 boys and 202 girls who participated in the study. There were many outliers in the data, as seen in the box plots (figures nine, ten and eleven). Looking at the results based on the 't' test, it was evident to see that gender did not play a role in the overall results, that there was a no statistically significant difference. The only difference is between boys and girls in the IQ test.

Table 25 Independent Samples Test for gender and test scores

| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | T-test for Equality of Means | | | | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------|---|------|------------------------------|---------|------------------|--------------------|--|--------|-------|
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2- tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Differences | Lower | Upper |
| English Total | Equal variances assumed | .521 | .471 | -7.98 | 350 | .425 | -.374 | .469 | -1.297 | .548 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | -.802 | 327.149 | .423 | -.374 | .466 | -1.292 | .543 |
| Maths Total | Equal variances assumed | 13.257 | .000 | 1.397 | 350 | .163 | .801 | .574 | -.327 | 1.929 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 1.459 | 349.989 | .145 | .801 | .549 | -.279 | 1.881 |
| IQ Total | Equal variances assumed | 24.954 | .000 | 2.634 | 350 | .009* | 1.614 | .613 | .409 | 2.820 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 2.540 | 272.233 | .012* | 1.614 | .636 | .363 | 2.866 |

Table 26 Group Statistics for gender

| | Gender | N | Mean | Std. Dev | Std. Error Mean |
|---------------|--------|-----|-------|----------|-----------------|
| English Total | Boy | 150 | 29.20 | 4.262 | .348 |
| | Girl | 202 | 29.57 | 4.416 | .311 |
| Maths Total | Boy | 150 | 21.42 | 4.374 | .357 |
| | Girl | 202 | 20.62 | 5.928 | .417 |
| IQ Total | Boy | 150 | 14.71 | 6.466 | .528 |
| | Girl | 202 | 13.10 | 5.029 | .354 |

The results presented in the table above shows there is no statistically significant difference between gender and overall exam results. In order to determine if obtaining a voucher diminished any gender inequalities a ‘t’ test were carried out. Table 27 provides descriptive statistics for all students (voucher and non-voucher), gender and test scores. The mean score for English total for boys is 29.20, girls 29.57; the mean score for boys in maths was 21.42 and girls 20.62; and for IQ boys mean score was 14.71 and 13.10 for girls. Descriptive statistics for gender, test scores and voucher students can be found in table 27. The mean score for boys in English was 28.94 and for girls 29.90; boys performed better in Maths 21.45 and girls at 21.12, and for IQ the mean score for boys is 15.51 and 12.98 for girls.

Table 27 Group Statistics for gender, test scores and receiving a voucher

| | Gender | N | Mean | Std. Dev | Std. Error Mean |
|---------------|--------|-----|-------|----------|-----------------|
| English Total | Boy | 106 | 28.94 | 4.224 | .410 |
| | Girl | 146 | 29.90 | 3.987 | .330 |
| Maths Total | Boy | 106 | 21.45 | 4.125 | .401 |
| | Girl | 146 | 21.12 | 5.431 | .449 |
| IQ Total | Boy | 106 | 15.21 | 6.509 | .632 |
| | Girl | 146 | 12.98 | 4.967 | .411 |

Next, to see if gender played a role in test outcomes for voucher students, a further ‘t’ test was carried out. The table below looks at the results of students receiving a voucher.

Table 28 Independent Samples Test for gender, test scores and receiving a voucher

| | | Levene's Test for Equality of Variances | | T-test for Equality of Means | | | | 95% Confidence Interval of the Difference | | |
|---------------|--------------------------------|---|------|------------------------------|---------|---------------------|--------------------|--|--------|-------|
| | | F | Sig. | t | df | Sig. (2- tailed) | Mean Difference | Std. Error Differences | Lower | Upper |
| English Total | Equal variances assumed | .028 | .868 | -1.842 | 250 | .067 | -.961 | .522 | -1.988 | .067 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | -1.825 | 218.534 | .069 | -.961 | .527 | -1.998 | .077 |
| Maths Total | Equal variances assumed | 5.743 | .017 | .535 | 250 | .593 | .336 | .628 | -.901 | 1.574 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | .559 | 259.472 | .577 | .336 | .602 | -.849 | 1.522 |
| IQ Total | Equal variances assumed | 27.113 | .000 | 3.499 | 250 | .001 | 2.530 | .723 | .1106 | 3.954 |
| | Equal variances not assumed | | | 3.355 | 188.187 | .001 | 2.530 | .754 | .1042 | 4.018 |

There is no statistically significant difference between boys and girls who receive a voucher with test outcomes. Running a 't' test shows there is no statistically significant difference between gender for the maths and English test. However there is a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.05$) between boys and girls on the IQ test with boys outperforming girls.

If we look at Math results, we can see that both boys and girls receiving vouchers are outperforming non-voucher recipients. Similarly, we can see that boys receiving vouchers are performing better than non-voucher boys, whereas the girls not receiving a voucher are performing better. However, there are many outliers for voucher girls, with many performing exceptionally well. What is interesting to note is that enrolment of girls in private schools and those receiving vouchers has had a great advantage.

When speaking with school managers, it was clear to see how much they valued girl's education. For many families girl's education is a contested issue. However, women's education plays a critically important role in socioeconomic development. In 2000 the United Nations summit adopted the Millennium Development Goals, the third is to, "promote gender equality, and empower women, with the target of eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education" (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO], 2005, p. 7) It is therefore important to ask, that despite international pressure and the distribution of resources in the advancement of girl's education, that girls education is still at a disadvantage. School managers made the link between the enrolment levels of girls before and after the introduction of a voucher at their schools. All school managers noted that due to the voucher, enrolment level of girls has increased and more parents are willing to send their daughters to school. Whilst speaking with one parent, they spoke of how they were unable to send both their children to school due to fees, but since the introduction of the voucher scheme, they are now sending their daughter to school too,

"My daughter is the oldest, but before we did not send her to school because of fees. My son we sent. He is youngest and a boy. My husband believe that it was more important to send our son to school and not our daughter."
(voucher and non-voucher Parent 11, Lahore, School 3)

We can see from the analysis, that girls who are receiving vouchers are outperforming non-voucher students who are girls in English and Maths. However, the IQ tests reveal a different result.

4.7 Conclusion

The aim of the investigation was to assess the impact of education vouchers on an education community, the implementation of the PEF scheme, whilst discussing issues around scalability, sustainability and policy implications. Students from six-different low-cost private schools were selected at random, to participate in the study. Students conducted a math, English, and IQ test, followed by a questionnaire. Participants consisted of both voucher and non-voucher students. All results and their implications are discussed in chapter five. The main findings indicate that the socio-economic background of a child has a statistically significant correlation with educational outcomes. School facilities and the number of years a teacher has been teaching also have an impact on student outcomes. The analysis also revealed that voucher students outperform non-voucher students especially if a child has been on the voucher for 5-8 years. What really shines through from this data is how satisfied parents are sending their children to low cost private schools through the voucher. The voucher programme has also changed the demography of schools with more girls now attending, thus providing empowerment and equalling access. The Sustainable Development Goals around gender and education (SDG 4 and 5) will much more likely to be achieved owing to the vouchers providing parents choices. School owners seem happy with the voucher programme, it has brought with it extra regulations but also stability, allowing teachers to be paid on time and at a higher level. The next chapter looks to compare the findings of this research with that cited in the literature review.

Chapter Five: Discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the findings from the analysis of this research and compares it with the current literature. The analysis of the data has helped highlight and identify key issues in relation to an education voucher programme that runs in Punjab Province, Pakistan. The research questions were as follows:

1. Does participating in a voucher programme improve student outcomes and experience of recipients compared to those already in private schools but paying fees?
2. Has the introduction of vouchers in Pakistan impacted on the school community and stakeholders?
3. Does participating in a voucher programme diminish gender inequalities, comparing those with vouchers and those in the private schools whose parents pay fees?

The chapter presents a discussion of the findings as they relate to the theory and wider literature. It also includes information that can be useful to researchers and policy makers. The aim of the current research was to investigate the impact of an education voucher programme in Pakistan. The research gained knowledge from different stakeholders and voices in order to provide a whole view of how the voucher programme was impacting the community. A summary of the research is presented with reference to the three research questions and the findings of this research is compared to the literature presented in Chapter Two.

5.2 Does participating in a voucher programme improve student outcomes and experience?

The first research question looks at the variation in test scores among both sets of students; voucher and non-voucher. The pupil questionnaire asked various questions around family background, possessions and their home environment; 21 items asking pupils about their family background and 17 items about family possessions and their home environment. The questionnaire included 5 items asking the pupils to rate their class teacher's ability, punctuality, attendance, the state of the building and school facilities, on a four point scale ranging from 1 ('excellent') to 4 ('very poor'). Exploring the results

from the wealth factors shows there are three distinct categories of families that attend the low cost private schools that cater for children on the EVS programme.

The first wealth factor shows the most wealth within the data set where families tend to own a car, computer, taxi or rickshaw, generator, and land or shop. Families in the second wealth category tend to own cattle, goat, sheep or chicken. Factor 3 shows the family owning electrical and other items. From the analysis, what we can determine is that students attending low-cost private schools, in the study, come from diverse socio-economic backgrounds.

However it was apparent from the interviews from parents and school owners is that those benefiting from the voucher programme are typically the poorest. The interviews revealed that these families were more likely to default in the past around payments if they already attended low cost private schools. The voucher programme has also had an impact where girls were originally not attending school; they now have access and empowerment owing to the programme. In agreement with Umar and Asghar (2017) gender disparities are being reduced in schooling in Pakistan. ASER (2016) also shows that it is the poorest that are the most vulnerable and affect the most with regards access for girls.

The LEAPS (2008) study often provides evidence on school effectiveness (Andrabi et al. 2007; Carneiro et al., 2016). The LEAPS sample characteristics show that compared with private schools, government schools have higher proportion of disadvantaged children in terms of family income, parental education and father's job status. In addition, further statistics from the ASER report shows inequality between the richest and poorest quartiles and gender disparities,

“Poorest quartile has the lowest learning levels (19% Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 17% English, and 16% Math) and richest quartile has the highest learning levels (44% Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto, 43% English, and 39% Math). 14% of females from the poorest quartile can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto as compared to 22% of males from the same income group. 11% of females from the poorest quartile can do two-digit division sums and 12% can read sentences in English, whereas 20% of their male counterparts can read sentences

in English and 19% can do two-digit division sums” (ASER, 2016, P.7).

5.2.1 Maths and English outcomes

There are three independent variables which have a statistically significant effect on mathematics scores:

- Gender
- Brother or sister can read English
- State of building

If the child is a girl, they are less likely to score higher on maths. If a sibling can speak English, there is a greater likelihood that the child’s Maths score will be higher. One variable had a negative effect on maths scores the worse the state of the school building the greater the likelihood of scoring less on the math’s score.

There are ten different variables that have a significant effect on English scores:

- Age
- School time
- Live with parents
- Elder member of family can speak English
- Mother has an income
- Profession of father
- Total number of years teaching (teacher)
- Teacher punctuality
- State of the building
- School facilities

The longer a child has been at school, the greater the likelihood they will perform well on English, if an elder member of a child’s family could speak English, it showed to have an impact on English scores, and if the teacher is punctual the greater the English score. Six variables show a negative effect on English scores. The results also showed that the older the child the lower English score. If a child does not live at home with parents, the less likely they will score well in English. If the mother has an income, there is a greater likelihood that the child will score less well in English. Looking at school demographics,

the worse the school facilities the less likely the child will score well in English. The results show the variation in test scores in terms of pupil, family and school characteristics in alignment to the literature. In terms of pupil and family characteristics, we can see that gender has a statistically significant effect on math with boys scoring higher than girls. There are few studies which solely focus on gender disparities outside of school provision and type. There is however, extensive literature available, which explores if private schools are equally accessible by both boys and girls. Several studies indicate that girls are less likely to access private schools than boys others find that in certain contexts private schools reduce the gender access gap that is found in state schools (Pal and Kingdon, 2010; Härmä, 2011; Aslam, 2009; Srivastava and Walford, 2007). However, according to ASER (2016) the gender gap narrows as ones socioeconomic status increases.

The supporting evidence shows that subsidies in the form of a voucher system indicate that conditional and targeted subsidies can raise the quality of school inputs and learning outcomes. Extensive literature is available which focuses on the quality of LCPs receiving public cash subsidies (Fennell 2012; Barrera-Osorio and Raju 2010, 2011) Barrera-Osorio and Raju analyse a scheme run by The Punjab Education Foundation, known as Foundation Assisted Schools. The programme was found to have a significant impact on inputs such as enrolment levels, as well as on the number of teachers, classrooms and blackboards. In terms of outputs, the study aimed to analyse if education outcomes improved. Reports from school managers and parents in this research also show that in some cases classroom space and school infrastructure was improved owing to the voucher. This could be owing to the ability for school managers to use the monthly voucher payment to improve facilities and therefore attract more children to the school.

The regression undertaken to analyse test scores suggests that if an elder member of a family can speak English, the child will perform better in English. This supports some of the literature, which suggests that English language frequently at home helps to determine a child's ability in the future. This result concurs with the findings of Aikens and Barbarin (2008) who state that poor children's literacy development is influenced by parental and home environment.

Research shows teachers to have an impact on student achievement (Behrman, et al., 2016; Chetty et al., 2014; Hanushek, 2011). Hanushek and Rivkin (2010) review 10

recent studies in the United States and it is shown that, a one standard deviation rise in teacher effectiveness raises students reading a mathematic scores by 0.13 to 0.17 of a standard deviation. However, Aslam and Kingdon (2011) looked at data from 65 schools in the district of Lahore, Pakistan. They found no evidence that observable teacher characteristics affect student achievement. Andrabi et al., (2011) looked at the poor quality of learning in schools in Pakistan and accredited that to teachers. The outcome of the results from the linear regression from my study where total number of years teaching had a negative effect on student English scores seems counterintuitive. As set out in Chapter 4 this could be owing to the small number of teachers in the data set as this is likely to cause spurious results.

A study conducted by Talancé (2016) suggest that certain observable teacher characteristics are associated with student achievement: contract teachers perform better than permanent teachers, and higher wages may motive teachers and improve the quality of schooling. However, the study concluded that experience and education have little impact on students' achievement. Similarly, other literature suggests that when teachers stay for a long time at a school, they may learn teaching methods, which are adapted to the class or particular individual (Boyd et al., 2005; Hanushek et al., 1999).

In my study school facilities had a negative impact on the outcome of English scores of student, but the state of the building showed a positive relationship with English and a negative with maths. Again this result should be taken with caution as we are only looking at six schools in the sample and therefore a very small sample.

However, more deliberate segregation, on the basis of targeted characteristic can also become a contentious issue (Siddiqui and Gorrard, 2017 p. 161). The ASER (2016) report suggest that wealth matters, that the children at the bottom of the poorest quartile are more likely to remain out of school and are more generally disadvantaged. This tends to agree with some of the literature, which suggests that achievement is not dependent on income but the quality of family background and environment and time parents spend with their children. (Bradley et al., 1987, Coleman, 1969; Murphy, 1986; Rosenbaum et al., 1987) However, the result from this study shows that if a mother has an income, this has a negative effect on English scores; this is in alignment with Cabus and Aries (2017) which indicate that academic achievement is rooted in a school supportive home environment

and often created by the mother. Similarly, different initiatives have looked at parental support interventions, which improve parent-child interaction. Many have had positive impacts on childhood cognitive outcomes, (Attanasio et al., 2014; Walker, et al., 2005; Banerji, et al., 2014) All of these studies have demonstrated the importance of parental support practices.

My study shows that the EVS programme has had positive impacts around access, gender equality and school improvement around facilities. There is also satisfaction amongst parents as well as empowerment and less stress owing to the voucher paying for their child's schooling. No longer is there the worry around finding school fees and this the parents believe has had good impact around their child's learning. Positive impacts have also been show by other voucher studies in these areas (Angrist et al., 2002, 2006; Muralidharan and Sundararaman, 2015; Barrera-Osorio et al., 2015)

One of the main aims of the study was to investigate the effect of education vouchers. The issue of poor school performance and low achievement rates is subject to major policy debates. Student outcomes were assessed by carrying out an English and maths tests with 352 students across six different low-cost private schools; 100 non-voucher students and 252 voucher students. The English test results show the mean score for voucher students is 29.50 and non-voucher 29.20. Voucher recipients performed slightly better in maths 21.26 than non-voucher students 20.21. However, the t-test showed the results were not statistically significant. But in all cases the mean score for voucher children were higher that the children not on vouchers. Hsieh and Urquiola (2006) found no evidence of improved educational outcomes as measured by test scores. Similarly, Wolf (2011) found that students performed higher in terms of reading but were similar in maths scores. Benfield (2006) examined the effects of academic achievements. However, the results show that the voucher programme does not show any substantial gains for students to other comparison groups. The success of such programmes can often be found in its operational structures and the policies that guide the development of the scheme. More rigorous research is required to assess the impact of voucher programmes and the correlation between the design and the environment into which they are introduced.

The key findings show how vouchers are supporting families by providing education vouchers. The Delhi voucher project is testing how poor students and those from

disadvantaged families can get better access to education. The study demonstrates this with choice. One of the many advantageous of school choice is parents are best and more likely to monitor education quality. To reform education systems is to give parents a voice in education. The aim of an education voucher is to change the way governments finance education, but once an education voucher is introduced, it gives parents the right to accessibility and choice. Schools are accountable to governments but through a voucher, which makes them directly accountable to students and parents as they are paying for this service. One of the biggest gains of the voucher seen in the study is the change in attitudes and beliefs of parents. Parent's investment was reflected in their child's achievement. Additionally, reflecting on Friedman's 'neighbourhood effect', whereby not only do the students benefit, but there are major gains to society (Friedman, 2009). Parents in my study reflected about how important it was to be able to send their children to school and to the school of their choice. The interviews with parents really highlight how happy they were with the low cost private school in which they had placed their child.

In many parts of the developing world, poor families are sending their children to a number of different school management types. Research has shown in many parts of sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia low-fee private schools are a feasible option for parents (Walford and Srivastava, 2007; Stern and Heyneman, 2013; Härmä, 2015). One of the aims of this thesis was to investigate the difference between schools and student outcome. As discussed in the literature review, providing quality education is a major challenge for policy makers. Numerous development agencies seek to provide answers on how best to tackle this (Banerjee and Duflo, 2011). A one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine the difference in test scores among the six participating schools. The boxplots illustrated the multiple comparison of schools with each test scores; that school four for English (M=33) is outperforming the five participating schools; for maths, school one (M=27). The aim to understand the difference between the six schools in this study was undertaken by asking children to rate their teachers on a number of performance measures. Data analysed from student questionnaires, looked at teacher ability to teach, teacher punctuality and teachers attendance. When asked to rate teacher's ability to teach, 94.3% rated 'excellent' and 5.7% rating their teacher's ability to teach as 'good'. The participants were then asked to rate their teachers punctuality to class. 95.2% rated 'excellent' and 4.0% rated 'good', with .9% rating it as 'poor'. Additionally, when asked about teacher's attendance, 97.2% rated it as 'excellent' and 2.8% as 'good'. Students are

also satisfied with their teacher performance, attendance and punctuality. Research has shown how teachers have an impact on student achievement (Behrman, et al., 2008; Chetty, et al., 2014; Hanushek, 2011).

Talancé (2016) suggest that certain observable teacher characteristics are associated with student achievement: contract teachers perform better than permanent teachers do, and higher wages may motive teachers and improve the quality of schooling. However, the study concluded that experience and education have little impact on students' achievement. Similarly, other literature suggests that when teachers stay for a long time at a school, they may learn teaching methods which are adapted to the class or particular individual (Boyd et al., 2005; Hanushek et al., 1999).

Private schools have shown a way forward, mobilising women as teachers and relying on teacher accountability. Andrabi also suggest that government schools and private schools “complement each other in a dynamic context. Private schools have arisen not because of government failures but, in part, because of government's success in educating girls” (Andrabi, 2008, p.331). Since teachers in private schools are educated in government schools indicating the relationship between private and government schools. It is the low-fee of female teachers, which allow for the growth of private schools in urban areas.

One of the explanations frequently given is teaching in private schools tends to be better, and accounts for better educational outcomes, than in public schools. Goyal and Padney's (2009) study of two states in India finds that teacher activity and attendance were similar for private and government schools in the same district. Not only levels of activity, but approaches to teaching are considered to be of better quality in private schools. Aslam and Kingdon (2011) of how teachers spend their time in class had a more significant effect on learning outcomes than the more observable teacher characteristics of certification and experience. ‘Good’ private schools often hired ‘good’ teachers, however, often; they adopted a teaching methodology that encouraged pupil testing alongside interactive lessons. The findings are supported by studies in rural and urban India. Singh and Sarkar (2012) found primary school teachers regularly checked homework, which is seen as a significant role in learning. An important caveat to consider, although a large number of studies, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods often favour

the quality of private school teaching, there is little consistency in terms of what researchers consider to be high quality teaching and how it is assessed.

Where teachers support students, within a classroom environment, it has shown this can affect academic and social outcomes for the child. This will lead to better employment opportunities (Baker et al., 2008; O'Connor et al., 2011). The teacher interview also emphasised the belief that family background and school environment was having an impact on the child's ability.

In my study parents talked about teachers being accountable and accessible to them through the EVS programme. Parents also felt that their children were now learning more at school owing to the voucher programme. Teacher attitudes had changed, the parents believed and they were now putting in more effort owing to the voucher and were spending more time at school to care for the children.

5.3 How has the Introduction of Vouchers Impacted on the School Community and Stakeholders?

The Education Voucher scheme is one of the many programmes running under the Punjab Education Foundation. The voucher schemes focus is enrolling children into low-cost private schools and offering parents with choice. The selection of the schools is done without taking a pre-test of the children. Facilities are checked and the school must have a minimum of three classrooms. The Pakistan government is making great progress, in terms of engaging with the private sector. It shows the importance of private sector and the need for governments to actively engage with the private sector. The main focus of the EVS is to allow children to access schooling and for there to be gender access equality. The voucher design in Pakistan allowed for this thus encouraging girls and out of school children to access low cost private schools.

Davies (2015) argues that this process of 'socialisation' has made voucher-winning households more acceptable with the private sector providing them with their needs and basic services. The private sector does not change a household's political belief but it does change economic preferences in increasing household material resources to affect their political choices. Davies' study does seem to suggest that the voucher has positive outcomes, such as providing households with different experiences, "embodied in the form of private schools that allows them to interpret their social world differently" (2015,

p.16), through the interviews conducted, vouchers seem to make the functioning of private sector more “legible” to voucher recipients. Families are willing to pay more for private services. In my study parents said that they would struggle to send their children to school if it were not for the voucher. They said that their child might even have to play in the streets or go to work if it were not for the voucher. This was also a point made by school managers who also said that before the voucher programme this would also have been the case. Parents believe that low cost private schools perform better than government schools. Their perception of quality was that teachers in the state sector do not teach even when they receive higher salaries. Also in the government schools the number of children was low. This agrees with Tooley (2009), Tooley and Dixon (2006), Tooley and Dixon (2007) and Tooley and Longfield (2013). These studies show parental preferences for private schools of government ones.

What is interesting to note is that the participating schools have become more like public private partnerships. Although the Punjab education foundation has no control over the schools, the running, facilitating, management, administration, there are a number of rules and regulations that must be adhered to. The scheme has given a lot more opportunities to parents and children who are out of school. It has allowed for school owners and managers to make improvements to their schools with the additional money coming in, it has allowed salaries to be paid on time too. Regular checks and a strong hold are in place to ensure the sustainability and longevity of the scheme.

5.4 Does Obtaining a Voucher Diminish any Gender Inequalities?

There is severe gender inequalities in South Asian countries, where inequality is observed over all indicators; education, child marriage, healthcare, and employment (Agarwal, 1994; Khan and Hussain, 2008; Dube, 2001) Therefore, education is expected to play an important role in mitigating these gender inequalities. In this study comparisons were made between boys and girls in test scores to see if receiving a voucher diminished any gender inequalities around student outcomes. It can be seen that girls are outperforming boys in English tests but not in maths. This coincides with research carried out by the Independent Evaluation Group (2011). However, these gaps are wider in children from poorer households. This is similar to the ASER 2016 report, which highlights male students from poorer households tend to outperform female students from similar backgrounds.

“Fifteen percent of the poorest females can read a story in Urdu/Sindhi/Pashto as compared to 21% poorest males. Similarly, 12% poorest females can do two-digit division sums and 13% can read sentences in English whereas 19% of the poorest males can read sentences in English and do two-digit division sums” (2016, p. 18).

The gender gap seems to affect the poorest in society, who are the most vulnerable. ASER’s report enabled the researcher to delve into the relationship between the rise of low cost private schooling and gender equitable education. The gender gap in educational outcomes has frequently been highlighted, and the socio-economic background of children is found to be influencing gender inequality. Both male and female children belonging to the poorest quartile are at a disadvantage, as seen in the 2016 report, but it is largely girls, who are at a disadvantage.

The voucher scheme has many extra benefits and additional incentives. In terms of academic improvement, a lot of school managers and teachers stated that the number of girls enrolled in school had increased and girls were now performing at a better rate than boys, since the implementation of the voucher scheme. Maitra et al., (2011), find, girls whose mothers are educated or from wealthier households faced less disadvantage. Where poor families cannot afford to send their children to private schools, having to choose between them, often favour boys over girls. Whilst, Daley, et al., (2003) found the more educated and independent mothers recognised a strategic advantage gained through education and thus emphasised this to their children. Similarly, Aslam (2005) looks at student achievement and enrolment levels among male and female students. The analysis showed that private schools allowed for better opportunities for girls to attend school, but were at a disadvantage as parents preferred to send boys to fee charging schools. Parents in my study are very excited about their girls being educated they are also aware of the importance to educate girls for their future and empowerment. School owners also revealed the importance of girls schooling and acknowledged that the voucher programme had much to do with the changing attitudes of parents and the school community.

5.5 Summary

The main findings of this study are first, that poor parents now have the opportunity to send their children, especially girls, to low cost private schools in Punjab Province. This provides households with social empowerment offering opportunity to the poor when prior to the voucher children were playing in the street or having to take up employment. The impact on gender access and equality is very prominent in this study and seems to be as a direct result of the EVS programme. Second, educational outcomes from these six schools that cater for voucher and non-voucher children show very little difference between the children in maths and English tests. This can be seen as a positive outcome as children typically on the vouchers are from lower socioeconomic backgrounds and are achieving at the standard of other non-voucher children. Third, there seems to be great satisfaction amongst parents who are sending their children to low cost private schools. Parents are typically impressed by teacher activity as well as the learning their children are experiencing in the low cost private schools where the vouchers are being accepted. Teachers are also very positive about the voucher programme as it offers stability in the form of income to the school and hence to their salaries. School owners also like the stability the vouchers bring to their schools and in some cases facilities and school buildings are being upgraded because of the sustainability the vouchers bring to the school owner.

Chapter Six: Summary and the Way Forward

6.1 This research study

The focus and motivation of this research, as set out in chapter one, has been to investigate the impact of education vouchers in Punjab, Pakistan. Existing research has shown that countries that have implemented education vouchers, produce positive to mixed results (Carnoy, 1997; Levin, 2018; Wolf et al., 2018; Alexiadou et al., 2016; Shafiq et al., 2014; Muralidharan, 2006). These findings make education vouchers an interesting area of study, as this may contribute to ensuring 'education for all'. The findings of this thesis offer a significant contribution in furthering what is known about the impact of education vouchers on an education community. This has been examined in chapters four and five.

Chapter one traces the education system in Pakistan and the rise of private schooling. It considered the historical factors which have shaped the education system in Pakistan and looked at certain policy implications. Five questions were raised about the focus of this research. Each of the questions were then explored. Chapter two draws from critical theories of education vouchers, establishing the theoretical underpinning for this research. The chapter is broken down into various subheadings. Chapter three presented the methods used for this research. Chapter four analysed the data collected for this research, using a mixed methods approach. These results were discussed in chapter four and five, where the implications for policy and practice were situated into a broader literature. As with all research, there are limitations and implications for future research. The limitations of the study are presented with the aim of offering guidance for future research.

The particular focus of this research was a case study in Pakistan. The Punjab Education Foundation channels public financing to private schools through a number of initiatives, with the aim of promoting high quality education for the poor through the private sector. The foundation serves low-income families. These schools charge low fees as well as provide places for children offered vouchers in the neighbourhood. The current research was a comparison between students who received education vouchers with those who do not receive vouchers, within in the same schools. This research also considered the

multiple voices of the stakeholders and communities and much rich data were forthcoming around the impact of the voucher programme. It utilises the use of case study research, to assess the effectiveness of vouchers, from both a quantitative and qualitative approach. This research was carried out in three cities in Pakistan Rawalpindi, Lahore and Faisalabad.

The study's research aim was designed to understand the impact education vouchers have on an education community. The analysis of the data has helped identify key issues in relation to education vouchers, whilst keeping in line with the research questions.

6.2 Limitations to the Study

As with all studies, there are limitations. This study is limited in the number of participants. The majority of students in the participating private schools were voucher students there was a limited number of non-voucher students available to participate in the study and therefore there were not equal numbers of children in each cohort. There were three locations for this study Rawalpindi, Lahore and Faisalabad. These locations allowed this researcher to remain safe as well as minimise cost. However, owing to the small number of students in each location carrying out analysis that looked at differences or correlations between sites would have not been statistically acceptable. It must also be remembered when carrying out linear regression that there were only six schools in this study and a limited number of teacher characteristics that were inputted in SPSS. Therefore any quantitative results that highlight school or teacher characteristics may result in some findings being counterintuitive.

6.3 Future and Research Implications

Future research will build on a number of the findings and contributions. This section reviews the immediate opportunities for research and scholarly activity. Firstly, the research could benefit from additional participants, to understand more about the background of the children and the intended scheme. A larger sample size would help further investigate the scheme. To date, no studies investigating the Punjab Education Voucher Scheme exists. Ansari (2012) and Salman (2009) have studied the Education Voucher Scheme but both studies are heavily reliant on descriptive data and using qualitative data. This thesis aimed to investigate education vouchers using mixed methods and focused on areas that had not been explored before including the voices of the

marginalised and their perceptions of how the voucher programme had changed their lives. Future research should aim to incorporate comprehensive models using a longitudinal study to see the long-term effects of vouchers. To date, there has been no longitudinal study investigating the Punjab Education Foundation's education voucher programme. Future studies would benefit from a longitudinal study, and whilst there was a gain for voucher students in achievement, it would be interesting to see if these results continued into the careers of children that were given the opportunity from the scheme to study in low cost private schools.

Furthermore, the scheme is heavily supported by international donors and monitored by the State. This raises the question whether its 'success' is due to state collaboration, which is seen as the biggest factor in the positive outcome of the scheme.

6.4 Implications for Policy

The scope of these findings has wider implications for policy development at a national and international level. The scale of Pakistan's education crisis can be seen as problematic, with many children unable to receive basic primary education. Reforms are in progress but require time. Achieving quality education will be a slow process and not a process that can be rushed, or by the Government relying heavily on international donors. According to some (Moyo, 2009; Easterly, 2005) these donors may do more harm than good.

My research informs policy in the following ways:

- Girls empowerment and access to schooling can be facilitated through a voucher design that focuses on gender equality;
- It is important to listen to multiple voices in the community when a policy is introduced and implemented;
- Test scores and student outcomes are not the only measure of success for voucher programmes that are implemented in the Global South;
- Education programmes can create stability within the schooling system not only to households but also to teachers and school owners.

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Appendices



Appendix A: Participant Debriefing

Thank you for taking part in the Newcastle University study. Your participation was gratefully received. It has enabled us to analyse the data and information you gave our researchers.

The overall purpose of the research project was to conduct the research and help develop education in Pakistan. The information received and studied will help in facilitating new ways and methods to provide quality education for children in Pakistan.

The following are the major draft findings of the component of the study you were involved with:

[Insert major findings of the particular component of the study]

We value your comments, suggestions, queries and observations on these findings. If you wish to address any such comments in writing please do so to the email listed in the letter-head above.

We may wish to follow up these comments with you. If you are happy for us to do so, please include your contact details. Equally, you may wish for your comments to be anonymous. We are also happy to receive anonymous comments.

Your comments and information studied will be taken into account in the revised version of the findings. Any comments again which we include will be made anonymous. The revised findings will be published in due course.

Again, thank you so much for your help in making this research possible.

Signed

Farrah Khan



Email: f.khan@ncl.ac.uk

Appendix B: Participant Information Sheet

The project is organised through Newcastle University. The aim of the research is to investigate the impact of education vouchers on an “education community” within a developing country setting. The education community includes government officials, school owners, teachers, parents, and children. The investigation will also take place around the implementation of the scheme. Issues around scalability and sustainability of such a programme in a developing country setting will therefore be investigated and policy implications discussed.

All participants who will engage in the research will be free from any form of coercion. Parents and children will be given the option of opting out. Children will also be given the option of opting out immediately prior to the classroom intervention. In relation to the interviews, all participants will be given an information sheet and talked through the aims and objectives of the project. There will be no identifiable data and the project will not withhold information prior to the research. No names will be used to identify participants at any stage of the research, including dissemination. Once the results have been analysed all participants will be debriefed. The teachers, education officers and parents will be provided with a short user-friendly report that also provides details about the project. All debriefing materials will contain contact details of the researcher. During the workshops it is hoped that children will develop debriefing toolkits for other children who they are peer teaching.



87-B1, Gulberg III,
Lahore, Pakistan.
042-99268114-7
042-99268118

Appendix C: Parental Consent Form

Project Title: Investigating education vouchers in a poor area of Pakistan.

Introduction: My name is Farrah Khan and I am currently a student at Newcastle University, England. I am researching education vouchers in Pakistan, with a keen interest in improving education in Pakistan. Newcastle University has been involved in research work for over two decades and are committed to generating knowledge and understanding research that can be used with other researchers, government officials, and policy makers.

What is the study about? It is a privilege for me to work with your child in this study. The research will help us gain a better understanding of education vouchers and ways we can improve education in Pakistan, to ensure every child has access to quality education. I will in the end, come back and talk with you about what we have found in the study, so the decision for your child to join or not to join, is up to you and can withdraw them at any time.

What is involved in the study? If you allow your child to participate, this will involve your child taking a Math, English, and Urdu test followed by an IQ test. The tests will be conducted on the school premises in small groups, with help available upon request.

Benefits of the study: There are many benefits to the study. This involves helping improve education, providing quality education for all, and ways we can extend (if needed) access to education vouchers to encompass a wide range of backgrounds. No direct benefits to the children are expected from participation. However, others may benefit in the future from the information we find in this study, as the main benefit from the study will arise in the research results.

Confidentiality: We will take the following steps to keep information about your child confidential, and to protect it from unauthorised disclosure, tampering, or damage. All results will be given numbers or letters– they will have no names and there will be no way of finding out who did what. All results will be used solely for the purpose of this study and will not be passed on to a third party or used for additional studies without your consent. Results will not be shared with other students, parents or teachers. We need to protect who you are and your results so all the information will be kept on a computer that is protected.

Additionally, all results from the study are confidential, used only for the purpose of the research. Parents will not be told the outcome of the results and this information will not be shared with other parents, students, or teachers.

Please note that participation is voluntary and that you are free to withdraw your child at any time, without giving a reason. The children have the option of opting out of the study if they wish too. This includes immediately before the study. If you have any other further questions about the study please contact me on the information provided above.

Thank you.

Appendix D: Information Sheet

My name is Farrah Khan and I am currently a student at Newcastle University, England. I am researching education vouchers in Pakistan, with a keen interest in improving education in Pakistan. The project is organised through Newcastle University. The aim of the research is to investigate the impact of education vouchers on an “education community” within a developing country setting. The education community includes government officials, school owners, teachers, parents, and children. The investigation will also take place around the implementation of the EVS scheme, currently in place at your schools. I am hoping to conduct the research at your school. I hope to carry out examinations of 400 students, 200 who receive vouchers and 200 who do not, across EVS schools in Punjab. These exams will consist of Urdu, English and Maths, followed by a questionnaire and IQ tests, aimed at children between 10-12 years of age. I am hoping to conduct the research at your schools with your permission. The research will help us gain a better understanding of education vouchers and ways we can improve education in Pakistan, to ensure every child has access to quality education. I will in the end, come back and talk with you about what we have found in the study. There are many benefits to the study. This involves helping improve education, providing quality education for all, and ways we can extend (if needed) access to education vouchers to encompass a wide range of backgrounds. No direct benefits to the children are expected from participation. However, others may benefit in the future from the information we find in this study, as the main benefit from the study will arise in the research results.

We will take the following steps to keep information about the children confidential, and to protect it from unauthorised disclosure, tampering, or damage. All results will be given numbers or letters– they will have no names and there will be no way of finding out who did what. All results will be used solely for the purpose of this study and will not be passed on to a third party. Results will not be shared with other students, parents or teachers. We need to protect who you are and your results so all the information will be kept on a computer that is protected. The study will take place during school time, where the children have the option of opting out of the study if they wish. Additionally, I am hoping to gain a better understanding of the vouchers, it would be my pleasure if I could interview some of the teachers at your school and yourself, the school manager, during this time too. If you have any other further questions please do not hesitate to contact me on the information provided above.

**Pupil Booklet
Pakistan Project
2016**

Appendix E: Pupil Booklet

About You

- 1.) How old are you?
- 2.) Are you a boy or girl?
(0) Boy (1) Girl
- 3.) What language do you speak at home?
(1) Urdu (4) Punjabi
(2) Sindhi (5) Pashtu
(3) English (6) Other
- 4.) How long have you been attending this school?
- 5a.) Do you have a job outside of school?
(0) Yes (1) No
- 5b.) If yes, what do you do?
.....
- 6.) How do you travel to school?
- 7.) How long does it take to travel to school? (Approximately).....

About Your Family

- 8.) Do you live at home with your parents?
(0) Yes (1) No
- 8b.) If not, who do you live with?
- 9.) How many people live in your house?
- 10a.) Do any of your siblings attend school?
(0) Yes (1) No
- 10b.) How many of your siblings attend school?
- 11.) How many siblings do you have? (Not including you).....

12.) Can any elder member of your family write and/or speak English fluently?

(0) No (1) Yes

13.) Are there any older brothers or sisters that can read English in your family?

(0) No (1) Yes

14.) Which position in the children do you come in your family?

(1) Eldest

(2) Youngest

(3) In between, not eldest or youngest

15.) Who pays the fees or for books or uniforms for your schooling? (Tick as many boxes as apply to you)

(1) Father/Mother

(2) Guardian (male/female)

(3) Elder brothers or sisters

(4) Other relatives

(5) Neighbours

(6) Other

please specify _____

About your Mother and Father

16.) Does your father (male guardian) have an income?

(1) Yes (0) No

17.) Does your mother (female guardian) have an income?

(1) Yes (0) No

18.) What does your father (male guardian) do as a job?

19.) What does your mother (female guardian) do as a job?

20.) What was the highest level of education your father (male guardian) completed? (only tick one)

(1) No school

(2) Primary school

(3) Secondary School

(4) Secondary Advanced

- (5) College
- (6) University

21.) What was the highest level of education your mother (female guardian) completed?
(Only tick one)

- (1) No school
- (2) Primary school
- (3) Secondary School
- (4) Secondary Advanced
- (5) College
- (6) University

Household Assets

22.) Does your family own any of the following items? Please tick all that your family has.

| | Family owned asset | Please tick here if your family has the item |
|----|------------------------------|---|
| 1 | Car | |
| 2 | Scooter or motorcycle | |
| 4 | Mobile | |
| 5 | Radio | |
| 6 | Electricity | |
| 7 | TV | |
| 8 | Gas Stove | |
| 9 | Cattle | |
| 10 | Goats, sheep and/or chickens | |
| 11 | Taxi or rickshaw | |
| 12 | Computer | |
| 13 | Generator | |
| 14 | Shop or Housing plot | |

23.) How many rooms do you have in your house?

24.) What type of building is your home?

- (1) Brick or concrete building
- (2) Semi-permanent building
- (3) Wood and tin sheet building
- (4) Mud building
- (5) Other (please specify) _____

25.) Does your house have a toilet?

Within the premises

- (1) Yes
- (0) No

Outside the premises

- (1) Yes
- (0) No

About your School

26a.) Did you attend any other school prior this school?

(1) Yes (0) No

b.) If so, what was it?

(1) Government (2) Private

c.) Do you enjoy school?

(1) Yes (0) No



26) How would you rate your class teacher's ability in their subjects that they teach you?

1

Excellent

2

Good

3

Poor

4

Very Poor

27) How would you describe your class teacher's **punctuality** for lessons (starts lessons on time)?

1

Always punctual

2

Mostly punctual

3

Almost always late

4

Always late

28) How would you describe your class teacher's attendance at school?

1

Always at school

2

Mostly at school

3

Often absent

4

Always absent

29) How would you describe the state of the school buildings?

1

Excellent

2

Good

3

Poor

4

Very Poor

30). How would you describe the school facilities (toilets, library, drinking water, chairs, blackboards etc.,)?

1

Excellent

2

Good

3

Poor

4

Very Poor

English Test

What is this? See the picture and write the name.

1)



This is an _____

2)



This is a _____

3)



This is a _____

4)



This is a _____

5)



This is a _____

6)



This is a _____

7)



This is an _____

8)



This is an _____

9)



This is a _____

10)



This is a _____

11)



This is a _____

12)



This is an _____

Read the story and answer the following questions

Nabeel is six years old. Every day he goes to school. One day, on his way back home, he saw a baby bird under a tree. It was very small. It was unable to fly. It made strange sounds. Perhaps it was crying.

Nabeel looked up and saw a nest on the tree. Two little birds were playing in it. Nabeel picked up the baby bird and carefully put it back in the nest. The three baby birds were together again.

Just then the mother bird returned. She sang a song to thank Nabeel for his help. Nabeel waved to the birds and went back home.

13) How old is Nabeel? (tick the right answer)

- a) Five years old
- b) Six years old
- c) Seven years old
- d) Eight years old

14) What did he see on his way back home? (tick the right answer)

- a) A very small dog

- b) A stranger
- c) A baby bird under a tree
- d) A young woman crying

Write 'True' or 'False' against each sentence given below.

For example:
 Nabeel went away when he found the baby bird under the tree. **False**

- 15) The baby bird was small but could fly _____
- 16) There are three baby birds in the story _____
- 17) The mother bird thanked Nabeel for his help _____

Write the opposite of the following words:

For example:

New **Old**

- 18) Above _____
- 19) Big _____
- 20) Happy _____
- 21) Down _____

Choose words from the box for each of the following groups:

Bird, Animal, Flower, Food, Colour

- 22) Blue, brown, green [_____]
- 23) Rice, bread, meat [_____]
- 24) Lion, tiger, deer [_____]

**Teacher Questionnaire
Pakistan Project
2016**

Appendix F: Teacher Questionnaire

About you

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender? 1) Female 0) Male
- 3 How many years have you worked in this school as a teacher?
4. How many years in total have you been working as a teacher?

Your education

5. What is your highest education level, not taking teachers' training into account. Please tick only one.

- 0) Primary Level
- 1) Vocational training Level
- 2) Secondary Level
- 3) College certificate Level
- 4) Diploma level
- 5) BA, BSc
- 6) MA, MSc or equivalent
- 7) PhD

6. What type of teacher training have you received? (Please tick only ONE)

- 0) None
- 1) Lower Primary
- 2) Upper Primary
- 3) Junior Secondary
- 4) Senior Secondary
- 5) Graduate
- 6) Post graduate Diploma
- 7) Masters in Education

You as a teacher

7.) What is your average salary per month? Rs

8a.) What class do you teach

8b.) How many students are in your class?

8c.) How many boys..... girls.....

8d.) How many are on a voucher?.....

Private vs Government Schools/vouchers

9.) Is there any difference between government and private schools? i.e., quality or facilities.

10.) Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

11.) Has the voucher scheme changed competition between a.) Private and government, or b.) Private to private schools in the area?

12.) Has the voucher changed the demographics of schools? (Demography – more girls than boys, the boy/girl ratio, poorest students, student outcomes

13.) Has the voucher changed your attitude towards teaching? If so, how and in what way?

14.) When the voucher started were the children already in private schools? (Was there a switch between government schools to private schools?)

15.) How do parents judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do they make decisions when offered with school choice? Can poor, illiterate parents judge the difference between a bad and good school

16.) Have student outcomes improved? Academically improved to other students?

17.) Do you believe education vouchers serve the poor sections of society?

18.) How do you personally view vouchers?

19.) Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?
Is the voucher a good idea? If not, why not? If so, why

School Managers Interview

1. Who receives the voucher?
- 2, What form does the voucher take? – Physical, direct payment to the school, parent get it?
- 3, How much is the voucher? Does it cover 100% of school fees, uniform, book exam fees.
- 4, Can your child move to different schools with the voucher?
5. How long has the voucher scheme been running in this school?
6. What makes a school eligible for taking voucher children?
7. What are selection criteria

Quality

1. Is there any difference between government and private schools? i.e., quality or facilities
2. Has the voucher changed attitudes towards teaching? If so, how and in what way?
3. How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?
4. Has the voucher scheme changed competition between a.) Private and government, or b.) Private to private schools in the area?
5. Has the voucher changed the demographics of schools? (Demography – more girls than boys, the boy/girl ratio, poorest students, student outcomes.

Innovation

1. What happens if you want to raise the costs/fees? How does the voucher deal with that?
- 2, Have you noticed a change in the way school owners are responding to the demand of vouchers?
3. Have private schools increased competition among other schools or in the school market?
4. Has the voucher given extra capital to set up more schools or improve facilities?
5. Is the voucher money easy to collect? Does it come into the bank? How do you collect it?
6. When can a school no longer take voucher children?
7. Can vouchers be withdrawn? i.e. pupils leaving schools or returning to government schools.

8. Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?
Is the voucher a good idea? If not, why not? If so, why

Perception

- 1, When the voucher started were the children already in private schools? (Was there a switch between government schools to private schools?)
2. Have the schools that receive vouchers change in any way? i.e. have the teachers changed, less accountability to the parents, shorter opening hours.
3. If vouchers did not exist where would parents send their children to school, i.e., what types of school?
4. How do parents judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do they make decisions when offered with school choice? Can poor, illiterate parents judge the difference between a bad and good school?
5. Has their student body changed? I.e. the number of students, types of children.
6. Have student outcomes improved? Teachers changed attitudes? Parents attitudes?
7. Has your student body changed? i.e. the number of students, types of children.
8. Do officials from the foundation visit and inspect the school?

Appendix G: School Manager Interview 1

A: Who receives the voucher?

B: Parents

A: How does the distribution work?

B: the parents or the guardians will receive them and we inform the parents. We are informed through the foundation, we then inform the parents, they then come meet the students' parents, check backgrounds and their financial situation.

A: What form does the voucher take? – Physical, direct payment to the school, parent get it?

B: these vouchers used to be only for 6 months and not they are for one year. They are printed, distributed and afterwards the payment schedule is as such, every month the attendance sheet we send them, the teams come and inspect the month.

A: every month they come?

B: not every month, maybe once every two months, or twice every month

A: so they inform us. The parents come with their identity cards, they have a copy, and then they show us. The parents collect the voucher and after comes to us. The parent's copy we give to them, the school keeps a copy, and a financial copy we send away to PEF.

A: Why do certain parents receive a voucher?

B: voucher students we don't take any money. There are free books apart from school uniform. From under the PEF voucher scheme, it is because the parents can't afford it, they are orphans or for any other reason, so these vouchers are targeted at a certain population. So the kids who are on the streets and not getting education, we are giving them one.

A: How much is your fees?

B: not a lot, Rs. 450-500, let's say.

A: and it covers all things? Books, uniform?

B: uniform the parents get, books we get from the PEF, fees for exams, everything else we manage.

A: Can a child move to different schools with the voucher?

B: the way to this is, there are small improvements coming. School to school transfer they can do once a year. Before it was not allowed.

A: How long has the voucher scheme been running in this school?

B: Roughly for 4-5 years. We had it early but it wasn't a large amount, it wasn't until 2008 that we properly started the scheme. Before this, even the PEF struggled and it wasn't effective. There are over 200,000 children enrolled in this scheme in Punjab.

A: What makes a school eligible for taking voucher children?

B: locality. The PEF gave an opportunity for all private schools to participate in the scheme. They looked at the fees structure - what's the average fee, the locality – they are lots of labour work here and poor people, that's why PEF selected this area and they told everyone they could apply for the scheme. They conducted a test QAT, and if the schools passed, and in agreement with the policy of PEF, they were selected.

A: so then why was your school selected?

B: because we worked hard. But I don't understand why we were selected and other schools weren't. Because in this area, there were a few schools who passed the tests.

A: How many private schools are in this area?

B: there are about 40-50 Schools in this area. Some are not in existence anymore since after the PEF came. Some which are performing well and have changed the fee structure, raised it 1000-2000 they are working fine. The ones who are on less fees like us, say around 400-500 it's hard for them to survive. How can they afford rent, pay salary for teachers. In our school we are allowed 35 students in one class, when we weren't in the PEF scheme, we still had the same rule, now if you have one class with not a lot of students, and 8 students have not paid their fees, how do you expect to make a profit with that small amount? What the schools do is, put a lot of students together in one class with one teacher. But when the class is together then where is the quality/standard of education? And if there is no quality then parents remove their children from the school. This is why these schools who aren't under the PEF are struggling. In our school we have a rule, only a certain number of students in one class. PEF have clearly stated no mixing of subjects and multiple teachers in one class.

A: but can you afford it?

B: it doesn't matter if you can afford it or not, they say we have an agreement with you and you must meet our rules and regulations. You must have a separate class, doesn't matter if there is one child or 10, or 30, there must be a separate room and one teacher.

A: What if you can't afford to pay or teacher's salary?

B: we manage somehow, overall we have to manage. It doesn't add up right now. We have classes from 6-10, in those classes those fees we receive, it isn't covering our fees.

A: Is it not covering your costs?

B: for the smaller classes it is. There isn't a smaller class which doesn't have 35 students in it. 35 students for 550 per student, 12,000 for rent, teacher's salary, 5000-6000, and the rest for bills etc so the average is covered.

A: Is there any difference between government and private schools? i.e., quality or facilities

B: the facilities which we receive from the PEF is limited. But the things the PEF are asking from us in terms of facilities we cover. The parents, before the scheme, 15 years before let's say, we didn't have a fan in one room, we would try to provide it. Now the problem is with electricity, it goes and comes, so we put a generator in place.

A: In terms of government and private schools is there a difference?

B: a difference? The donations from PEF, every year the schools have a test, class 3 they usually test made under the department of education, a small test is conducted, with 150-200 schools, all types of schools, PEF schools, government schools and other private schools. And for so many years there is only one result coming, that PEF schools always perform at the top, private schools are second, and government schools at the bottom. And our government always get annoyed as to why they are at the bottom when we are spending so much money. In government schools the expenditure per child is 3000-4000 and one teacher is getting a salary of 1 lakh, they have all the facilities. They get angry, even the chief minister, because they spend so much money, but we here, spend so little and come out on top. But the technical things suit the bureaucrats, but what they don't see is that they give one class 80-90 students. Then how do you expect to teach? How are they going to check the student's books? And individually to the students. They can't focus. In government schools the teachers are putting in a lot of effort. But in terms of their facilities, their building, playground, ideal classrooms, in that sense, a lot of effort is put in their but not in other things.

A: Has the voucher changed attitudes towards teaching? If so, how and in what way?

B: the teachers who were teaching before the voucher scheme and the teachers still teaching now after the voucher scheme, I can say this, but you can ask the teachers yourself, they will say two things, one that after the voucher scheme the salary is better, before it wasn't as much, secondly that the teachers, especially those who have been with me from the start, they have always had the same goal and aspirations in mind, that they will teach, doesn't matter what their background is. A kid is a kid and we need to teach him. So they are happy that they are helping children overcome problems. So that's good. But before the scheme how many students were we able to teach especially without fees. It would have been 5 - 7 or so students if they were very talented, we could do that, that it didn't matter if they could afford fees or not. But with this many students we couldn't. Now I have 600 plus students on a voucher scheme here, I couldn't have done it without the voucher scheme. Without fees and this many students I wouldn't be able to do this. And the teachers are happy too with the scheme and it should continue but they should say we should have a teacher training scheme.

A: Has the voucher scheme changed competition between a.) Private and government, or b.) Private to private schools in the area?

B: what do you mean competition?

A: due to the scheme, are government schools trying to do better or private schools...

B: the students were leaving those government schools, and would ask for vouchers as they saw children around them with a voucher and the parents would then want to send their students to a private voucher school. And there was a private schools which was empty but then they started enrolling students again. Then the teachers started putting in effort, saying that if you don't improve your standards then the PEF will take over our schools and students will leave, and our jobs we will lose. So yes there is competition but it's a positive one.

A: Has the voucher changed the demographics of schools? (Demography – more girls than boys, the boy/girl ratio, poorest students, student outcomes.

B: If you had longer I would show you all these students, those students who weren't interested in studies and now are. Or I could show you students, whose parents couldn't afford to pay for school fees, so every so often they wouldn't send their children to school or they would but without fees, after 10-15 days they would give you the fees but less, and this would affect the students, they would be less interested in their studies, and their morale with be down. Now it's different, the children are now regulars in schools and you can see the effect its having on the studies, they are improving as they come to school regularly.

A: When can a school no longer take voucher children?

B: oh yes this is a problem for us because we have a main campus and a sub campus but we

don't have a third campus and we have a limit, 35 students no more per class. You can do subsection in the class but nothing more. Now what they have done, there is no limitation on vouchers, they just look at capacity size. Now there are rules, they look at the classroom sizes, if the class looks too small for 35 students and they say it can only hold 25 students they we have to follow to their rules. So if we are overcrowding and in taking too many students then they can fine us 5% of our overall fees, but we don't do that. We have an agreement and we stick to it.

A: Can vouchers be withdrawn? i.e. pupils leaving schools or returning to government schools

B: this can be for many reasons. Say if they are shifting. So right now the afghan students, as the new rule in place from the government that afghan immigrants have to leave Pakistan, they made vouchers and such, but over the past few months, they have stepped in and told them to leave. So we had about 50-60 students leave. Other students, we didn't know about and they left and then there are some students in their houses who's surplus is less, after class 6 more so, as the kids get older, the parents do not wish to send them to school anymore.

A: is that mainly girls or not?

B: no it's mixed, it doesn't matter. Poorer parents don't wish to educate their child as they want them to work. In our school we have a separate school for girls anyway as parents don't like co-education. So we have a separate campus.

A: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan? Is the voucher a good idea? If not, why not? If so, why.

B: yes of course. This should be all over Pakistan if they have the money. All over Punjab but focusing on students who cannot afford an education, or those who are out of school and working, especially them.

A: If vouchers did not exist where would parents send their children to school, i.e., what types of school?

B: if the voucher was not in place... right now I have a family coming; their dad was a labourer. In Pakistan we have shortcut people, shortcut meaning that they wouldn't want to work for anything but want the full entitlement and benefits, but he would work but gamble with his money. He would always lose and his children study here and he asked for less fees so I agreed, so once he gave me nothing for over 6 months, and then after took his children out of school and enrolled somewhere else. And this affects the students how are they going to learn if they keep leaving school and enrolling into a different school each time. If the voucher scheme was not in place, the ones who could afford it, then fine for them, they can afford to educate their children. And the poor, their route to education would have been blocked, and would stay at home. But thankfully now it's not a problem like that, a fee problem no more.

A: Do officials from the foundation visit and inspect the school?

B: yes they do, like I was saying, the PEF is better above other private schools and government schools because they come and monitor each and everything and they have QAT tests. We let them talk to the students and check registration. They inspect every little detail and ask a lot of question so there is accountability. They will even ask the students if they are voucher or non-voucher students, which we don't do with the student, but they do for confirmation, checking and note everything.

Appendix H: School Manager Interview 2

A: What is your name?

B: Mine... [Name removed]

A: Who receives the voucher?

B: Who receives the voucher? The poor ones. Ones who can't afford to pay their fees. They are the ones.

A: can you elaborate? Define poor...who is poor?

B: you cannot judge from just seeing them...you have to believe them...what they are telling

'we can't afford', you have to believe them. You cannot say this one is poor, or this one is richer, you have to believe them if they are saying, you know that, they are living in the same locality, these people belong to the same category.

A: What form does the voucher take? Physical, direct payment, or does it go straight to the parents.

B: I couldn't get your question...

A: what form does the voucher take...

B: no no not at all. Parents are the one who are gonna receive this one. From HQ Lahore the teams are coming, they are the ones who are disturbing to the parents directly, not to the school.

A: then how do you receive them?

B: then parents will bring the vouchers to us, because there are different schools. Then err we have to receive one our part portion and we have to give back their one, and one we have to send back to Lahore for reimbursement of the vouchers.

A: How much is the voucher?

B: err that is 550

A: for one month?

B: yes one month?

A: is there a difference between grades?

B: yes 550 up to primary, 600 up to middle, and then 700 in the higher ones...I mean...secondary.

A: and it covers 100% of school fees, uniform...

B: Everything. Everything. Each and every thing. Even the rents...and all those things.

A: can the child move to a different school with the voucher?

B: er yeh yeh, they can go to, I mean what you are asking me...the same student can go to other schools also?

A: yes

B: only only to the EVS schools, only EVS schools he can go there. But once in year he can change his or her school. One in a year.

A: and then after that?

B: no. okay compassionate ground maybe they are allowing but as for policy, no, once a year.

A: how long has the voucher scheme been running in this school?

B: errr this is about 6 years now.

A: so how did you hear about this scheme?

B: ok so these people came here...

A: who?

B: from Punjab Education Foundation...

A: What makes a school eligible for taking voucher children?

B: err you have to qualify the QAT test. The Quality Assurance Test. Yeh

A: they take a test...

B: yes they take a test and at least 50% marks students should get.

A: What is the selection criteria?

B: again same. It depends on QAT test plus the buildings, you have proper buildings. Good infrastructure. And er staff and er plus all those facilities, first they will visit all those things, and if they are satisfied then...

A: Is there any difference between a government and private school?

B: Yeah of course there is a difference. In private schools the administration is more responsible they are going to answer to parents, they are responsible to give answers to all their questions, and if they have problem they will come to you ask you, 'why this', and 'why this is not going well', they will ask so many things, but in government school, no. If student is going, not going, absent, wherever he is, ok nobody will bother to ask what happened, where is the student. Also,

one teacher a hundred students, 1 teacher 100 students. I have seen physically this one. And then they don't bother because they will get salary, monthly salary they will get, and nobody is going to ask them why you today not here, tomorrow this class was sitting idle and such. No. They are not responsible for those things, so that's why there is a big difference between those things, responsible or no responsible.

A: Is there any other difference? What about in terms of quality or facilities?

B: but there is one thing, they have very good building, good playgrounds, those things, attractive things they have. But unfortunately, the standard of education is very poor there. The main difference is there. They have good labourites, and er, I mean, other than good education they have everything, almost.

A: you just said now, that in government schools there is 100 students in one class, what's the class size in your school?

B: our ratio is 35 students per class. It can be less than that but not more than 35.

A: Has the voucher changed attitudes towards teaching?

B: because they are sitting together, voucher students and non-voucher students is sitting together. Their approach towards students is same same.

A: have you noticed a difference?

B: no as such there is no difference. Same handling of both type of students is there.

A: Has the voucher scheme changed competition between government and private schools or private and private schools?

B: competition in the sense...

A: so schools which are not part of the EVS scheme is there any difference, or government schools have they tried to change their...

B: oh so you can say, there are about 9 to 10 schools in our surrounding, now I think everyone is trying hard to attract these students because they know until you are going to put effort and show results to parents you are not going to survive. So only asking for fees and these things won't help you you have to prove you are providing good education and the standard is there, parents are aware of this thing, they are not only sending students to this this school, they are checking the standard of education and even they will, if we are not doing well, they will tell us 'ok next year, I think we will take our students somewhere else.' Because some specific time you can say teachers are not good, they are not helping our cause, and then we have to ask those teachers, 'please please focus on this teaching, and methods and all of this.' Because we need new teachers when we have to change teachers. So we also have those problems, that people are not satisfied with us also. But then we are aware that it is panic button that we have to go for competition. Fine tuning is always required.

A: do you think that is one of the reasons you wanted the EVS in your school? That it will be good for us?

B: The school...or betterment of society?

A: both

B: you can say that because of the school, where our school is situated, it is a very poor vicinity, most people living here is drug addicted, I mean indulge in so many bad things, so we were expected to take those students, from streets into our school and in that sense we can help ourselves and those students also. Because for fee purpose you have to ask poor people so many times 'please you have to pay the fees', but they cannot afford. Now we don't have to bother about the fees, because that is coming from funding, we have to concentrate only on studies.

A: Has the voucher changed the demographics of schools? (more girls than boys, the boy/girl ratio, poorest students, student outcomes)

B: yeah I think the girls students, I think before if they have girls and boys at home, they would prefer to send boys to schools because they cannot afford, I mean this is backwards in our society that boys need to go for education and girls no. But due to this scheme, girls are coming. Now you can say the ratio is 50/50...

A: before?

B: ohhhh huge difference was there. You can say 20% and 80%. It's a big difference. Big difference.

A: and student outcomes, their achievements and their tests, has it changed? Before receiving a voucher do you think the student has improved?

B: I think that our concentration is same, but now because of this competition, that we have to show people, not only we are giving vouchers, we are giving good education also. So people should know, that we are providing funding for students, free of fees, but no standard of education is there? No the behaviour of students is more responsible after coming to voucher scheme because we know we have to work hard on this one.

A: What happens if you want to raise the costs/fees? How does the voucher deal with that?

B: fee we can increase by 5% only by 5%.

A: Have you noticed a change in the way school owners are responding to the demand of vouchers?

B: yah, till about today we have 300 students registered for this scheme. Even they are studying in government school or other school, but they are fully interested to come into our school for this voucher scheme. The people are more attracted and satisfied with the standard of education we are providing is good. Otherwise how the people come to you if you are not providing a good education or the standard of education is not there? People will not come to you.

A: Has the voucher given extra capital to set up more schools or improve facilities?

B: no because 550 is not going to help you out for that reason, more budge is required to improve infrastructure and other things. But having said that, we have improved so many things. Because check and balance is there. Because the teams are coming to check the environment and the furniture we are providing and other things. When we were not with the scheme maybe we can manage with some other things. But now a specific standard is required. Even though they are not providing that much to us but still we have to manage from our costs.

A: When can a school no longer take voucher children?

B: it depends on the capacity you have. Vouchers are coming to you after one year or two years, not every now and then. There will be a specific time they will give you vouchers, not on our demand, when they have budge, they can provide us with 50 or 100 students. They will tell us 'ok send your nomination for this much students', so all schools will send their nominations, and their teams will come to school, they will see these students, 'ok these are the student who need voucher', they will interview their parents and check them and finally they will approve their voucher, whether this family deserve voucher or not.

A: I don't understand, before the voucher scheme...

B: yes...?

A: these poor parents were paying the fees, so then you are losing money in a sense, so why did you chose to be part of a scheme that in a sense...

B: as I told you, majority of those parents weren't paying proper fees to the schools, schools were after to them, we will do this and this...

A: but it was still more money coming in...

B: yeah instead of paying our attending towards study, we were busy in those things you know, now we know the government is going to take care of this we have to only concentrate on this. And this was a hectic activity to ask parents to pay fees for their kids as they cannot afford so they would ask you 'ok next month I will pay', and then they would have fee increase of 3 month of 4 month and then that they would take their children out of school. I mean the attraction is just to save our time and focus on studies.

A: but you are losing money in a way...

B: yes we were charging maybe 1000 but now 550

A: so you decreased your rates... why?

B: because you have to compete., I mean from good families, they can pay the fees for their

kids, and they don't want their kids to study with voucher students. They think they belong to poor families and their family atmosphere will not be good, and their compatibility will not be there, so many other things, they will talk to our kids and learn bad things from them. After joining this scheme about 300-400 students left our school, we were left high and dry, but slowly and gradually, within one year, now we have majority from very poor family and now that difference is not there. Those families are sending their children to other schools where the fees is Rs. 1000-2000, they can afford that. Now we can say that we are not saving that much, but peace of mind is there, that one thing from your inside is telling you, you are serving well, doing a good deed also. Not only money, money is not everything. After seeing these poor people and these poor people are coming here, but seeing these students who are in the streets and sitting at home now they are coming to school, I mean this is going to give you a great satisfaction, you are helping a good cause, everybody needs money, but at the same time, not at the cost of these students.

A: but what are you getting from PEF? What are you getting in return? Are they giving you money?

B: yes they are giving Rs.550 per student

A: so you're not losing money really...

B: no the difference is there, from other students we are getting 800 from Punjab we are getting 550. There difference is there. We are losing money in that sense. But when you are getting money in time, you can pay salary, you can pay rents, and otherwise you will have to pay for parents to pay

then we have to give salary, sometimes it will take time, they have to pay their expensive also, now at a specific time we will receive money from PEF so there is no hiccups also...

A: so for every child who is a voucher student, the PEF pay RS. 550 to you...

B: 550 up to primary, 600 middle, and then the 700

A: Can vouchers be withdrawn? i.e. pupils leaving schools or returning to government schools?

B: they can go to PEF schools, they can go to government schools but they are already free so not take effect of voucher on them. But they cannot go to any other school, specific PEF school, PEF having EVS, NFS, FAS, so, we belongs to voucher scheme, so our students can only go EVS school not anything else.

A: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

Is the voucher a good idea? If not, why not? If so, why

B: Yes of course. I think that will be a great help to needy people, people who cannot afford. And you know these people are all over Pakistan. Not only in Punjab, all 4 provinces, I think the government should take this scheme, and this is great help to people you know. You've met with some of these people, they need this help at least they can put the money towards other things. But if they are only earning 10,000-12,000 and in between they having to pay fees for their kids, they cannot give them proper food, or take proper care of them, even if they are sick, they cannot take to doctors. But at least now, PEF is giving a help, everyone is appreciating. So many people have come to me, 'what benefit is PEF getting by giving so many free vouchers?' I told them they are not ones, donors are the ones. We should appreciate UK people and the ones who from their taxes and hard earned money are giving this donation to our generation so we should give thanks to them also.

A: When the voucher started were the children already in private schools? (Was there a switch between government schools to private schools?)

B: no

A: so they were already here....?

B: or did you see students from government schools coming to your schools?

B: yes they are coming but then they won't get this voucher

A: why?

B: because the voucher scheme is specifically for those students whom the nomination, the government are going to ask to send the nomination first, and then they will check and verify and then they will issue a voucher. If someone is coming directly to us, we cannot entertain

them.

A: Have the schools that receive vouchers change in any way? i.e. have the teachers changed, less accountability to the parents, shorter opening hours.

B: no no everything the same

A: If vouchers did not exist where would parents send their children to school, i.e., what types of school?

B: there are two three ways which we already experiment in the past. Most of these students were easy pray for those drug addicts even if they were sending their kids to government schools, or playing on their way, parents don't know and no one bothers to check what is happening. So the problem was there, majority of the parents were suffering because the government is not paying proper attention, that's why the parents were sending their kids to work shop at least that way they were bringing money. But after this scheme at least I can say over 500-600 students in this area, due to this scheme, are in school, otherwise they could have been somewhere else.

A: How do parents judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do they make decisions when offered with school choice? Can poor, illiterate parents judge the difference between a bad and good school?

B: yes that depends on the standard of education, plus discipline, plus err what sort of education the school is proving...

A: but then how does a parent, like we interviewed a parent before who has no education, so how does a parent then decide?

B: because they are sending their students to tuition with teachers, and then those teachers will tell them if their students are going to a good or bad school, they will give them the information. If someone parents will come to us and tell us 'oh you are not writing a proper diary' or 'you should improve this'. So these parents come and ask us different questions.

A: Do officials from the foundation visit and inspect the school?

B: yeah. Monitoring teams from time to time. They are coming for surprising visits. They will come and see whether we are providing proper education, giving furniture to students, and whether the criteria of 35 students per teacher is existing and they will see the supporting things like blackboard having or, whether washrooms are clean. I mean all sorts, they will monitor everything, and if they are not satisfied they will fine school maybe 10% maybe 15% of total they are paying to us. This fine system is also there, we are suffering also because sometimes we are saying they are only paying Rs.550 to us, but because of this fine, this fine, because problems are always there, sometimes due to teachers, sometimes due to parents, sometimes due to students, and suddenly when they will come, they will see a student is carrying something 'no, why are they carrying that?' - Ok, if they are a student of this school, your supporting staff should do that, student is only here for learning they must not do anything else, very strict monitoring policy from them, because check and balance is not there. You cannot approve. Thank you.

Appendix I: School Manager Interview 3

A: Who receives the voucher?

B: mostly the parents receives the vouchers.

A: can you elaborate on that? Is there a criteria?

B: first they come to see the school physically, are we deserving or not. After that they conducted a test, if we come up to their mark, if the students are passing more than 50%, then they take this school and then they give the vouchers for their support.

A: ok so they give it to the school...

B: they give it to the school, but the voucher goes to the parent hand.

A: any parent...? You don't have to meet a certain criteria?

B: no, we have the full information about the parents as well, we also confirm that. They confirm that physically, how much the parent is earning, what is their occupations, how much have they have studied they ask all the information related to the parents and students as well.

A: What form does the voucher take? – Physical, direct payment to the school, parent get it?

B: the voucher is on a paper which is given to the parents. The money doesn't go to their hand. Goes to schools account. The parents can't cash the voucher as a cheque, it's not a cheque.

A: ok. So how much is the voucher? What's your...

B: it's approximately Rs.400-600.

A: how much is your fees?

B: we don't charge a single fees to our students.

A: not a single penny?

B: no

A: how does that work?

B: we are a charity based school. Our main way is raising funds, we are basically based on funds. The main way through which we raise fund is collecting dry waste from the houses, segregating it and then selling it.

A: collecting what?

B: dry waste. We collect dry waste from the localities, from the houses, then we segregate it, then we sell it and then we raise the funds. Our main way of raising funds is through dry waste. Our second way is to ask the rich people of the community, like they are more than able to support, so we ask them to sponsor our child, we have a minimum sponsor fee of Rs700 per child. In which we accommodate their lunch, food, like their milk, books, uniform, and tuition and we ask 700 per child to support our school.

A: 700 a month?

B: yah 700 a month and it depends on how many people they students they want to sponsor. Most people sponsor 10, 20 students, it depends on them.

A: do you always meet the 700? Or sometimes fail to meet...?

B: no we mostly meet the 700, we also have more than 700 but minimum have 700.

A: How many children are at this school?

B: we have nine school with approx. more than 5,000 children.

A: so then why would the PEF support your school and give it vouchers if it is a charity based school?

B: why the support...?

A: Yeah if it's a charity based school, you don't need help covering fees, do you?

B: no er actually we ask for the funds from the local community and the government as well, but they support to a nominal level. Like up to a nominal amount. They support our full expenses. We welcome everyone to support us, whether its government or our community. The main aim is to make our community aware we have to help each other, firstly we started with the local community, we, we didn't ask the government, when government come they started this scheme, they come to know about us, saw us, took a test, and then they started to support us.

A: Can your child move to different schools with the voucher?

B: yes they can because it's a government scheme. And any school under the PEF scheme they can move from one school to another. We've approximately been with them for years.

A: What makes a school eligible for taking voucher children

B: conduct a test, firstly they see if we are deserving or not, then we conduct a test, if we are giving a better results, if we are really working on the education and then they make us eligible that they'll be fiving us money to support the education.

A: Is there any difference between government and private schools? i.e., quality or facilities

B: yeah there is. There is. But it is eliminating day by day. Time by time. Firstly the government

school were not that good enough, the private schools were better because they were charging large amount of tuition fees, obviously the government was not charging nothing that's why they were not good enough. Now, but day-by-day the government is becoming more strict about education and they are also getting better.

A: In terms of quality and facilities is there a difference?

B: there is a big difference. There is. There is a visible difference. Private school are more facilitating there students rather than government.

A: Has the voucher changed attitudes towards teaching? If so, how and in what way?

B: yah because they know the government is coming to check us, we have more pressure of the government and the community. They come gradually and eventually they take our test. And then we have more pressure of them.

A: and before...what was it like?

B: before we had the same criteria of working, it's not like we are working for any other cause. We are just working to raise the education of our country that is our main dilemma. But the thing is, it is just when an external strong party comes upon you and reviews your work then you have more pressure rather than before. All these tests are in preparation for the PEF test as they will be coming 21st January so we are very keen to make them prepare.

A: Has the voucher scheme changed competition between a.) Private and government, or b.) Private to private schools in the area?

B: it has changed the competition between government and private schools now the government schools are more keen to be ahead then the private schools. Like the checking criteria has become more strict and vigilant; it is raising the education level, education standards.

A: is there any difference between any other private schools in the area who aren't part of the PEF scheme?

B: I don't know much about the other schools but ya because the government is checking them again and again so I'm guessing it would raise their standards too.

A: have there been students in your school who were previously in government school or private schools and joined your school based on the voucher scheme?

B: actually we only admit those students which are not able to support their education. If they are studying in a private school and they have the ability to give their tuition fee and then they come to us because our reserves are more, many students came to us, many parents come to us, 'that we are giving 2000 fees in that school and they are not that much good enough and your reserves are very good', but we don't admit them because it's like you are taking someone else's right, that are are not able to afford education; you are in their seat. So we don't allow them to come. But the thing is they move from other schools to here.

A: Has the voucher changed the demographics of schools? (Demography – more girls than boys, the boy/girl ratio, poorest students, student outcomes?)

B: no no the demography depends on our local mentality, you know what is our mentality, that the boys should be more promoted towards education that girls, that's not the point...

A: but obviously as a society, boys are favoured over girls, have noticed since the scheme there has been an increase in the number of girls or not?

B: I don't think...maybe...but I don't think demographics have changed that much.

A: ok, in terms of student outcomes...

B: yeah obviously, because the students know they are getting the vouchers, more facilities and they are keen.

A: Have you noticed a change in the way school owners are responding to the demand of vouchers?

B: actually before the voucher, before the scheme, we were providing free of cost education to the children. That's why they know everything is free, they don't know about the vouchers very

much, 'what is that?', what the government is doing and all of that, but let me tell you something very frankly, once the parents came to know about getting the vouchers, 'how much money they are getting in our name, they are getting so much and they are just raising funds and government is giving a lot of money for our sake' so they have something in their mind that why are they not giving us money, they are just giving us the education, just giving us the uniform, this is everything they were giving us before, why are they not giving us the money. They don't know that money is a very nominal amount, we are not even able to cover up 20% of our expenditure from that amount. Our monthly, as whole, from our 9 schools is 30 lakh a month, from PEF the total fund from students we get is 6 lakh. It is a small ratio.

A: Has the voucher given extra capital to set up more schools or improve facilities?

B: yes obviously, it has added

A: 6 lakh...

B: yes... but still if we are not getting that 6 lakh we will be lacking something, lacking many things.

A: before that then what was the difference?

B: before that we were not that much comfortable. We were very strict in our expenditure, very hard we were struggling. They have supported our expenditure to some extent. We can't say that money doesn't make a difference, it do.

A: when can a school no longer take voucher children?

B: up until now, PEF have not taken all our students under the PEF scheme, half are under and half are not nominated, not selected, or even nominated, so I don't think up to now we have come to that limit where we can't take any more students. I don't think there is a limit.

A: Can vouchers be withdrawn? i.e. pupils leaving schools or returning to government schools

B: they can take the voucher to the different school, but like money can't be drawn from the account, no they can't do that.

A: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan? Is the voucher a good idea? If not, why not? If so, why

B: yeah it's a very good idea. The government have started working now on education but we have a lot of the area where government support is very much needed. Except roads, making of roads and metro buses, we need a lot of work in the education sector. It should be spread all over Pakistan.

A: Have the schools that receive vouchers change in any way? i.e. have the teachers changed, less accountability to the parents, shorter opening hours.

B: yeah we put some pressure on them, government is coming to check us. We cannot give them, like recently there came a father of a student, who said we need to go on marriage, need five holidays, and we said no, we cannot, because government comes to check about the students at any time. So what will we say, where are the students, so it makes some pressure on the parents and on the teachers, they are more keen on the standard of education, and about the reserves they are providing.

A: If vouchers did not exist where would parents send their children to school, i.e., what types of school?

B: let me explain you, the thing is our school, have difference scenario from other school, because before PEF we were proving everything for free, so they are more interested to send their students to our school. I don't know about the other schools because if the other schools now made their tuition fee, not taking it because PEF is proving them the fees, maybe the parents will be more keen to send more comfortable to send them there. But in our school it's a different scenario here.

A: How do parents judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do they make decisions when offered with school choice? Can poor, illiterate parents judge the difference

between a bad and good school?

B: like they prefer the schools, because you know in Pakistan the people are earning more than they need is very rare, most of the families are middle class and they are suffering from many difficulties. So they prefer the schools where the government is giving free education or the news came the PEF voucher scheme they will be preferring more because it will be a helping hand for them.

A: do you think illiterate parents can?

B: illiterate just go for where the education is free, where we are giving them more than something then other education, giving them books, lunch, education, other clothes on Eid which we collect from the houses. So they just go for in the incentives we are giving with education.

A: Have student outcomes improved?

B: yeah yeah teachers are working more on them.

A: do you think there is a difference between PEF students and non-PEF students in terms of student achievement or not?

B: yean because they teachers are more conscious about PEF students but in our school we take all equally, other than PEF we are accountable to the community who are giving us the money. We give them reserves after every 6 months. Monthly report of the students to their home, because they are sponsoring a child, so they want to know what we are doing, what they are doing...

A: yes lastly, do officials from the foundation visit and inspect the school?

B: yes. Random basis. Mostly every month. When they come here they look clean of the school, school attendance, and er students and parents, uniform, facilities we are providing, whether they are sitting on the furniture or whether they are sitting on the ground, all that they inspect.

Appendix J: School Manager Interview 4

A: Who receives the voucher?

B: the owner.

A: what is the process of this?

B: the parents recieve it first. There is four copies, one finance copy, and one which we send to PEF, one the parent gets, and one we keep ourselves.

A: How much is the voucher? How much is your fees?

B: we have difference fees for different classes. Rs. 250 for KG and after Rs. 500 up until 8 class. They are done on the basis of classes. Step wise they increase.

A: does the voucher cover all the fees?

B: round about. Covers the fees, the exam fees, book for free but the only thing is not uniform that we don't provide. The parents purchase it themselves.

A: Can your child move to different schools with the voucher?

B: yes you can. Only PEF schools. Not any private school but from Punjab Education Foundation schools.

A: How long has this scheme been running?

B: more than 5 years now

A: Ok, so before enrolling in the scheme. How much was your fees?

B: yes, it was less than what we are charging now. When we started it was only Rs100.

A: so how long has the school been running?

B: its been 10 years

A: so before you enrolled into the scheme, how many students did you have in the scheme?

B: about 300 students before the voucher

A: and now?

B: once the announced there was a voucher scheme, the students enrolled, we had about 800 students, but slowly we are now 500 students.

A: why is that?

B: students pass, so they leave after 8 class. Now the new admissions coming, they are too young to enrol in the voucher scheme, once they get vouchers made, we will have 600 above students in our school. Before we used to get students from afar now coming to our school. Now there are other PEF private schools in our area, about 3-4, so these students have enrolled closed to the schools nearer the homes, hence why we have less students.

A: So from before the voucher scheme, now what is the number between voucher and non-voucher students?

B: 106 are non-PEF and 484 students are EVS students, this is based on current enrolment.

A: What makes a school eligible for taking voucher children?

B: our school was the first school PEF selected in Faisalabad. We were elected because they visited the area and spoke with the people, that there are poor people here, which is a backward area, they took tests from the children and saw some strengths, and when speaking with parents realised a lot of parents couldn't afford the fees, so we were selected.

A: How did you initially hear about the scheme?

B: when it started, the voucher was then was announced outside of school, nothing was done in school. All they would do was bring the voucher to us and we would admit the children in our school. Then when we were selected, once the announcement was made, the parents were informed and then the students and parents would come to us. Now it's different. The voucher is now made in the schools.

A: What was your yearly intake, as in the profit, before you enrolled into the scheme?

B: well like I said, before our fees was very low, we started at Rs.100 and there wasn't a lot of profit, it wasn't a lot, but the school was running still, but in our mind we were thinking that in this area there isn't a good standard of education, a good quality in this area, and we can give them. So we started and now thankfully its running and the students have a lot of facilities...

A: what was your profit before?

B: if we think about it then...it was 10,000-20,000 but that was 10 years ago.

A: and now you have more students enrolled, obviously you are getting more money from PEF...

B: profit now is, isn't that much difference, the reality is we get good pays now, and we have survived a lot. Because it was a backward area people couldn't afford the fees. But now we enrolled into the scheme, now it's helped a lot, our income addition it has helped people. We are providing more facilities to our students. If we compare to other schools in the area, the teachers, if we compare in terms of qualification it might be the same level, but our pay here is more than other schools if we compare. As to compare to other private schools we aren't enrolled in the scheme.

A: ok, so why did you decide to enrol in this scheme?

B: because firstly it will be benefit to the public, more people will be educated. And there is a benefit for people and myself. I started the school because my Mrs really wanted a school. So we started a school and on their wish, and slowly and slowly, we created a school and now with PEF we are doing well. Now we are about Rs. 80,000 profit.

A: so because of PEF you have more money to spend, they have helped you a lot in terms of the running and functioning of you school?

B: they provide everything to us, book are given, fees are covered, exam fees etc

A: what is the section criteria?

B: most people didn't at first know what a voucher, so we guide them, we tell them it's a

voucher for your child, in practically those who cannot afford the fees. When we guide them, we take a small test from them, on the base of the test we let me know if we can admit them, the books we receive from PEF. The test we take is because every year PEF conduct a QAT test, a Quality Insurance Test, so from that level, we base the children on their strengths. And selected their class for them based on the test scores.

A: Is there any difference between government and private schools?

B: yes a huge difference. Difference like pay difference. There would be in the thousands ours would be in the 100s and in facilities we don't have much in comparison. In private schools, take studies for example, PEF takes the QAT test from our students, so we have to work hard all year with the students. In other schools, government schools they don't have a system like that. We are strictly told we have to pass the QAT test and we have to get 50% or more to pass, and if we do get 50% or more than we can be under the PEF scheme but even if we get less than 1% we are out of the scheme. This is why we have to work very hard with the students and put in a lot of effort, whole heartedly with them. And the teachers we have to have them on the right level, that they are capable of teaching the students in the right way. But in government, I think, they don't have anything like this. Not even a test like this. And certainly not a lot of focus on studies, unlike the PEF schools. The difference to me is that in private schools there is more attention and a lot more effort put in.

A: Has the voucher changed attitudes towards teaching? If so, how and in what way?

B: before, we were free, we didn't have a test. It's not that we didn't put in effort before, clearly we had a high intake so that shows we were putting in effort. Parents when they put in the admission for their kids, they look at the school, how the achievements levels are. If they are satisfied they will keep them here and if not, they will take it out. Now in terms of teaching, since enrolling the PEF scheme, the teaching attitudes is better, it was good before, but now it's even better, more improvements. There is more conscious. They are more conscious and put more effort in. If the teachers are getting better things, then they will want to continue this. The facilities are better and the salary has increased then the attention is to always keep this steady.

A: Has the voucher scheme changed competition between a.) Private and government, or b.) Private to private schools in the area?

B: yes there is competition. Because those schools are free, we are with some constraints. We have to pass the QAT we have a certain standard. They are free and can do as they wish. We have to meet the rules and regulations of PEF. After QAT we have to start our annual exams and we start a new semester so there is a difference as we put in more effort in. SO other schools in the area try to keep up with us and our standards.

A: Has the voucher changed the demographics of schools? (Demography – more girls than boys, the boy/girl ratio, poorest students, student outcomes)

B: I think there is more girls than boys in the school. Girls are also performing better than boys.

A: since receiving the voucher and before was there a difference?

B: yes, it's more now since the voucher.

A: What happens if you want to raise the costs/fees? How does the voucher deal with that?

B: the parents won't be able to afford the fees. If we wish to, they won't be able to afford it. If we ask PEF then yes our profit will increase, everything is being covered for. If we raise the fees then maybe we can cover the cost of school uniform and the parents won't have to pay. The things we provide is covered from the fees. These are general things, like needing water etc we provide them, just not uniform. But if we raise cost the only benefit would be we could provide uniform and the parents wouldn't have to worry about anything.

A: Have you noticed a change in the way school owners are responding to the demand of vouchers?

B: there is an improvement in everything. A lot has improved. Especially from before, now we

have a lot. Anything we get now, is because of the voucher we can give to the teachers/staff. Parents who couldn't afford fees before, don't have to pay for anything, so they are happy now.

A: When can a school no longer take voucher children?

B: we can take a lot more students, we have two campuses and have a lot of space.

A: Do officials from the foundation visit and inspect the school?

B: yes they do. Monitoring officials do come and inspect our school. Not every month, maybe after every two months, it's normally surprise visits. Or twice in one month.

Appendix K: School Manager Interview 5

A: Who receives the voucher?

B: The vouchers are specially targeted and to receive one you have to fit within a category. There are 5 categories; financial problems, your monthly income should be less than Rs.20, 000, third category is children and families who cannot afford it at all, even if they have parents or this can include if they are orphans, lastly, those families who have a support, a guardian but due to financial means cannot afford it.

A: what was the selection criteria?

B: There are three things which is looked at; we look at the handbill, secondly, there is a survey conducted in the community, and thirdly we also keep in contact with local people here, so they inform us of different families and refer them to us. After we have checked the families and students ourselves, collecting the data, then we submit the data for a voucher. We do this with PEF.

A: How long has this scheme been running in your school?

B: since 2009

A: in the beginning, did PEF come to you, or how did you hear about this scheme?

B: they contacted our city government to find out where the poor areas were, then they drew up the areas, then they conducted a survey, asked parents if they actually would like to enrol their children into schools, to see if there was a 'need' for education in the area from the parents. Then they contacted us and we would like to give you these things if you would like to teach children.

A: so why did you chose to enrol on the scheme? What benefits did you see in it or not?

B: well there are two things, one thing is being Muslim, our culture and values, when you can see the benefit in something and the rewards you will get in the afterlife, we try to do it then, secondly it was because it will have a hand in improving things in our country, so two things.

A: What form does the voucher take? – Physical, direct payment to the school, parent get it?

B: payment is not an issue for us anymore. Payment is a problem for a lot of families and schools. We are 100% sure that the children we are teaching under the voucher scheme, everything is covered for apart from uniform. For uniform we rely on local communities and donors. We tell them about our school and how we teach poor children and they help us out every so often. They supply them with uniform or schools bags. It's not expensive, roughly Rs. 400-500 in a year, so it's not a problem at all. Book are providing by the government. So the issue of books is covered. Before we enrolled into PEF scheme, the books we just bought, now the government provides us with the teaching materials.

A: How many vouchers students do you have in your school?

B: today, to date, 494 students and non-voucher students we have to date, 132 students.

A: so before the scheme how many non-voucher students did you have?

B: the school system/structure the finical situation of these school are not stable, it's a process. So when we started it was a slow process. So before the voucher, when we applied, we had around 250 students in our school. Now in terms of profit, we were still continuing and our school system was working. Now it's the same, we are still doing well. Now we have two

buildings, before we only had one. Before we had less teachers and less building. Now we have more space, can afford more things, and teachers salary is covered.

A: so the extra funds coming from the government is helping you...

B: yes it is. We have 30 teachers who work with me and we have more staff. So we have 25 families who are benefitting from this scheme and its helping their homes too.

A: Is there any difference between government and private schools?

B: definitely in the facilities and quality. Now when we see these things we are astonished.

What you see in front of you is shields from my kids. These are from my kids, there was a cricket tournament in the district and they came third. The question is this, I don't even have a ground to play, and these kids are now coming winning these tournaments. Now I have purchased a huge land and plot for the school, for 54 lakh. So where could I provide these and Labourites for children? So from this money we are getting this is helping us, with small things such as playing around and their minds are fresh. This knowledge that they gain here they should use somewhere, but they never get the opportunity. They come to school, they sit and learn and then go home. This was the big difference between government schools. But now it's not for me. But the big properties they have no there is no education there. There is a government school near me, there is in one class 100 children and only 5 or 6 pass. By kids, they pass with more marks. This is a major difference between us. Because I see them as my children, I should educate them and they show grow further. There are people coming from government schools wanting to enrol in my school. But can I do? I have no space for them.

A: Has the voucher changed attitudes towards teaching? If so, how and in what way?

B: attitudes? Hmm no I don't think so. Because they were working with our school structure ok, they are a part of our family so it runs like that. But now under the voucher scheme, if we are getting benefits from it, we would like our teachers to feel the same benefits. It's not an issue. We will give them something as our system will run better. I don't think there is any change within their behaviour, they notice the benefits coming from the scheme so it's not an issue.

A: How much is the fees in your school?

B: students who are not receiving vouchers they are paying Rs. 300 from the small classes from the older classes we charge Rs. 500. This is our system works and well. There are kids who enrol and are on the waiting list for a voucher so we adjust.

A: Has the voucher scheme changed competition between a.) Private and government, or b.) Private to private schools in the area?

B: okay this is an interesting questions. Because all the people in this area, all the schools in this area, all my friends running schools, now they are all PEF schools too. There are a few schools under the FAS scheme, so a lot of the private schools in the area are working with the Punjab education foundation. So for the past year or two they are enrolled now. Now the schools who aren't under the scheme, they are running, but I don't see it as a competition between any schools. We are working within our means and limits and we just want to educate our students. Actually, we speak regularly with the other school owners and discuss things.

A: Has the voucher changed the demographics of schools? (Demography – more girls than boys, the boy/girl ratio, poorest students, student outcomes

B: recently I checked my self and approximately there are 47% girls and 53% boys.

A: so before receiving the voucher what was the ratio?

B: before....it wasn't the same because I prefer girls. I go to houses and try convince the parents to send girls to school. Boys if they come then that's good too, but I would like to see more girls educated. Because what they say it's true, 'if you educate a girl then a family is educated, if the family is educated you have a better standard of life'.

A: What happens if you want to raise the costs/fees? How does the voucher deal with that?

B: we arrange things first and then raise our fees. We speak to the parents first, we say 'if you

would like to see the best for your child, have better quality education, drinking fountains, or better toilets, some labs, or a library, or something else', or it could be just because of inflation rates we have to increase our tuition fees. Then we have to inform the parents that next month we would like to increase the rates, sit with and discuss it kindly. Some parents say no we can't, so we agree not to increase the rates.

A: When can a school no longer take voucher children?

B: can I just say.... When I first started the school, my fees was Rs. 50. So we had the same rule sometimes before the voucher scheme, that if you have two siblings here the third child can learn for free, or if the fourth child is enrolled the fee is half, along those lines, or those people who were performing well, at the end of the year, position holders would be, I can never forget, those children would come first in their studies at the end of year, those children who could not afford an education.... I will never forget that....sorry what was your question again?

A: yes what is the limit?

B: we try, those people who come here, we perform a test, and with the test we try to favour them a lot, but we are limited a little, that space is limited. If you see the classes yourself, I'm sure you will see that there isn't any more room, the classroom are filled. Otherwise in every class there is 30-35 students in each.

A: If vouchers did not exist where would parents send their children to school, i.e., what types of school?

B: private schools. I'm sure they would still chose to send their children here.

A: How do parents judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do they make decisions when offered with school choice? Can poor, illiterate parents judge the difference between a bad and good school?

B: the parents decide for their kids where they will go. They make the best decisions for the kids.

A: what about illiterate parents?

B: they can still decide. Take a look at Pakistani culture, look at our generations before us, our grandparents etc, they made good choices for us and they were illiterate. So it doesn't matter what kind/type of parents you have, however they are, they can never make a bad choice for their children.

A: Have student outcomes improved? Teachers changed attitudes? Parents attitudes?

B: in honesty, you will know, and it's not impossible, that education is going well and far, and it's not because of the vouchers, it's based on the QAT tests. From this test, parents we inform them that your child needs to pass this test, so that we meet the standards and it's for everyone's benefit.

A: Do officials from the foundation visit and inspect the school?

B: yes the do come and it their right to come. There are four system of PEF so they have to monitor a lot. One monitors, one is for education, one is for the local communities, so they come and check the schools, and they monitor the teachers and parents. There are workshops for us all. They try and improve on everything.

Appendix L: School Manager Interview 6

A: Who receives the voucher?

B: parents

A: what parents? Is there not a criteria?

b: they've never told us. What the criteria and on what criteria you select a child or not. All they do is give us the voucher and within our agreement we teach the children.

A: so the voucher comes directly to you?

B: there is different parts to the voucher. One finance, one school and one a parents. We sign a copy and give back to the parents, one we keep and one we send back to the head office.

A: How much is the voucher? Does it cover 100% of school fees, uniform, book exam fees

B: Rs. 550. Originally it was Rs. 100 per student per month.

A: now the voucher covers everything?

B: we don't charge anymore fees over the agreed amount to our students. We don't adjust it and live with what we have.

A: ok, are there any non-voucher students in this school?

B: there's not that many left now.

A: but there are some and they pay the fees?

B: yes.

A: so uniform and books etc?

B: parents get themselves. PEF provide the books after every year.

A: What about the exam fees?

B: no nothing. Within the Rs.500 we have to do everything.

A: Can your child move to different schools with the voucher?

B: yes but not any private school, just those private schools who have an agreement with PEF.

A: How many students are in this school?

B: at this time right now, 850. And 600 voucher students.

A: before the voucher?

B: same... 850 students.

A: 850 still?

B: listen, we lost...look, people believe if things are free there is no quality. So that is why they don't appreciate this. Parents have decided this system has no quality because it is free.

A: so the parents decided that...

B: ...there is no quality. All our government systems, it is all the same state. If you look at thing with a government stamp or PEF, look at their results, its zero. Government schools spend 31,000 per student per month but their results are zero. All these big school they fail too, but the government doesn't fine them and or say anything to them. Now look at all the PEF school, they fine them. If they make a mistake, or if a parent complains, without asking they fine us. Of our total payment they fine. I think if you look at any school system in the world, that the students makes a mistake and we get punished for it.

A: ok, so what is your yearly profit?

B: no loss no profit.

A: before the voucher?

B: 2 lakh before. Now it's nothing. We agreed to go into this partnership with PEF because we wanted to educate our children, money is not everything, but PEF has made our survival impossible. Our monthly income you fine us and cut money from us, then how can the school owner make up for this? How can then we support our school and children?

A: have you ever been fined before?

B: yes. Quite a few times. A water fine recently. 2 lakh. There is a point system and we were less than that, it was on their website but we didn't know about it. They visited our school one day and saw it, and they fine us. Say for example, they speak to a child and ask 'where is this student' and the kid says 'oh he has left' and they fined us, next day, the child is sitting in our class. It is only from the student's point of view. They do not listen to us or ask us questions. They only have two solutions, to either fine us or take a cancellation letter. We will take a cancellation soon.

A: oh really?

B: yes. We will inform the parents by the end of the year and they can make arrangements too.

A: How long has the voucher scheme been running in this school?

B: since 2008.

A: now you want to cancel after all these years?

B: look, when there are so many problems and there is no self-respect left for me, then there is no point continuing with this work

A: have you spoken to the parents about this?

B: when the scheme was first introduced, the parents did not like the idea anyway. We told them there would be free education, they said it would be a loss for us and our children. You will have free education and you will not teach our children and your attention will be elsewhere they would say. You've got a payment in a lump sum, but 'where is the future for our children going to go?' now all voucher students' parents, they are not serious. Look, so they have a rule if a student misses more than for days of school, the school gets fined, they cut from our profit. The child is skipping school, doesn't turn up, but we are getting punished. We ask the parents, and they respond to us saying 'why do you care? You are still getting paid whether our child comes or not.' So what can we do...?

A: Is there any difference between government and private schools? i.e., quality or facilities

B: there is a huge difference. I think the government need to focus a lot and give more attention to its government schools. They have so many more educated people, more than in private sector, more than what we can afford that is. MSc, PhD, MPhil teachers, we cannot afford them as the cost for them is so high. When the government pays them, the check and balance is there. If the government fixes its government schools then private schools will automatically fix themselves. Competition will increase. In fact there will be no need for private schools. If you are getting something for free and something for quality but you are paying money, you will more than likely for the free product. Private schools are surviving because, the big chains that are in place in Pakistan right now, it is because there is quality at these schools. Now these private schools which are under PEF they are I would say, are now at a government level. Like today you have tested children, PEF do the same. They have four tests; English, math, Urdu, and science and to be conducted under 120 minutes. There are 4 subjects in 28 pages and in 120 minutes how are they going to do that?

A: I'm sure the results are still good, no?

B: yes because you spend the whole year preparing for only 4 subjects that you have to pass the QAT test. The test is a weight on or shoulders. We have to get rid of it somehow.

A: Has the voucher changed attitudes towards teaching? If so, how and in what way?

B: it's changed. Totally changed. There is no respect left. They will just answer back to you. They will say 'I will contact PEF and complain about you.'

A: is there a difference in their teaching?

B: they just complain to PEF about us. Whether it is true or not, PEF will listen to them and punish us.

A: Has the voucher scheme changed competition between a.) Private and government, or b.) Private to private schools in the area?

B: there is no competition I think between government and private schools, I can't even give it any value. As the classes get higher the number of students become less. Say for example in 8 class there will be 100 students, 9 class there will be 80, and so on, so on.

A: are there more private schools in this area? Are there any voucher schools?

B: yes there are private schools, not PEF schools. There is competition between these schools. Look free things people think there is no quality. Now recently, two years ago I set up my own Punjab group of college's chain. Now the kids who were learning for free here, they have moved over there and are paying Rs. 1000. This is because of quality.

A: Has the voucher changed the demographics of schools? (Demography – more girls than boys, the boy/girl ratio, poorest students, student outcomes)

B: we have more girls.

A: since before the voucher or after?

B: we always had more girls from the start. We sit our boys and girls separately too. So that is why there is more girls. We don't give boys a free hands here.

A: Have you noticed a change in the way school owners are responding to the demand of vouchers?

B: I don't like the voucher system. We try to organise our school around this system. We just need to pass the QAT tests and you can't fail.

A: When can a school no longer take voucher children?

B: we reject them. Before we did accept and now from two years we reject. We tell those ourselves, there is no quality in the voucher and we wish to leave. Look the students we already have, I haven't dismissed them, because I do not wish to take the future into the dark so we will continue. As long as they are here we will work with them. Two years ago we had 1100 voucher students now we are 600. The students who are leaving, we are no longer accepting students for vouchers, nurse, prep, class 1, etc.

A: so what will you do after?

B: I will still continue to teach these children, until they have completed their education and if that means for free I will. The children who we found working on the streets, we brought into our school and will continue to teach them, we are not going to let them go. Before PEF I used to teach 300 students for free. I did it before, I can do it again.

A: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

Is the voucher a good idea? If not, why not? If so, why

B: look this is not the first voucher scheme, across the globe it has not been successful. Pakistan is not the first country in the world to launch a voucher scheme

A: Yes I know...

B: before this, all voucher schemes which was launched failed. The pioneers behind the voucher scheme they had a different agenda, a different theme. They respected the school owners. When we saw people and met with them, we thought how we could stand alongside some great people and help our country but now, as time passed, the need for voucher increased. PEF is now the owner of us, and they take over our schools. The meaning of a partnership is equal rights, but their meaning of a partnership is something else. When we first signed the contract with them, we were just told we have to teach the children, every year we will take a test. They came one day, without me knowing and took a test. Now I do not take any interest in what they do, for the past two years I do not.

A: If vouchers did not exist where would parents send their children to school, i.e., what types of school?

B: the ones who teach their children to private schools, will always continue to send them there. If the voucher didn't exist, we would have more students here. Since joining, my personal view is, I lost under this scheme.

A: what about the parents?

B: parents who wish to educate the children, they have left us. We did try to stop them but at the end of the day, they know what is best for their child and we cannot stop them. There is also issues between the fee and non-fee paying parents. We apply the same rule for all but the parents do not agree.

A: Do officials from the foundation visit and inspect the school?

B: yes. Firstly they would come after every six months. Now from this year, it's every month. They come and they do no respect us here, they tell the teacher and me to sit outside, where is the respect when someone from outside comes and tells you to sit outside your own 'house'.

Appendix M: EVS Director Interview 1

S: Mr [Name removed] he is one of the pioneers of this programme. Because initially he was the one who started this programme in PEF. So you can say he is our teacher, you can say I am learning too. So I often seek advice from him. So he is the senior one. We are really enjoying this work, it is a different programme. With respect to the other departments, other programmes of PEF. Because in other program what we do, in one programme we take all the schools, we adopt all the children, and we start paying the fees of all the children. So we are actually acting the role of the parents. Because we don't interfere with the management of the school, we don't interfere with the hiring or firing of the staff. Overall, we see performance of the school, administration of the school and quality which the school is supposed to deliver. So what we do is, we monitor all schools. There are terms and conditions set, there are detailed set of instructions...

F: How do you select the schools?

S: there is a selection criteria. Which is approved by the board of directors. That every programme has a different criteria. EVS is, you can say, a slightly relaxed criteria. Because we select the school without taking a pre-test. But with other programmes, we conduct a pre-test, and if the school qualifies, then we conduct physically inspection and then we select. But with EVS, we directly go to school, we visit the school, check all the facilities, if there is a minimum of three rooms, and if there is a capacity to run that school, there is 2-3 teachers. If the school is situated in the area which is shortlisted for the children of the area. So if the school is situated in that area then we select that school and sign an agreement with the owner.

F: so there is no limit to what kind of private school?

S: all private schools obviously.

F: so charity based schools as well?

S: yes, but after coming into partnership they cannot get any other funding from any other organisation if we are paying for them

F: because we visited one school, which is a charity based and they are getting vouchers.

S: yes they are getting vouchers but they are taking charity for the food of the kids, not for the fees. Because they are giving free of cost food to the children...

F: but it's a charity based school anyway, so the children don't pay fees. So I don't understand why the PEF is providing vouchers to them if it's a free school...

S: no that is a free school. But they are not able to manage all the administration cost of the school, they were not able to hire better quality teachers. We are giving them money for better teachers, for better administration, for better infrastructure, for better furniture, for other facilities. Because they were not able to manage all these things, they were able to provide free education but they were not offering food or other things. But with the support of the voucher scheme they have started providing them with free food, then they have improved their infrastructure, they hired better teachers, now there is one teacher per class. Previously when they were not associated with PEF, at that time, there were combined classes, one teacher teaching one or two classes, which is the way they were running the school.

F: why didn't the government just give them extra money? Why did it have to be under the voucher scheme?

S: obviously... government...

F: ...if they needed extra funds for their school they could have gone elsewhere, or under a different scheme...

S: no no, government don't fund for that purpose, especially for the private sector. Actually government is unable to run all the schools opened under the government. Actually recently, 5000 schools have been handed over to PEF. 5000 government schools have been handed over To PEF.

F: in just Punjab?

S: yes in Punjab. And yes, now those school are given to the private entrepreneur. To run as to

the terms and conditions of PEF. They will not charge fees from the students but they will manage all these things in the school. They will use the infrastructure given by the government. And we will pay the fee of the student to the entrepreneur. And he or she will arrange the teacher. He or she will arrange the furniture and other facilities for the kids and obviously for the quality education and we will conduct tests of those students and if they will qualify they will continue working with us. So that is the progress, so that is the additional, you can say, trust of the government on PEF. That PEF is obviously providing a good opportunity to the community, and you can say a success story. Because every second day we are meeting with different groups of the government and the private, like today the FATA education foundation visited, tomorrow KPK education foundation is coming to PEF. Every second day a delegation is coming to learn from PEF on how we are running successfully this model.

F: so is this scheme is going to be set up in KPK, Sindh...?

S: Sindh is working, like, a new programme, only that. Even then they have no performed will like PEF is performing. We have a better control over the schools. We have all the data base of the students, which are enrolled in all the schools and all the information is centralised, because we have taken all the details and information of the partner and the children in one system. Now we are moving towards a better integrated system. So we can trace even one child, who so ever is enrolled, we can trace where that child is. If he or she has qualified or anything we can trace that child.

F: are there any success stories from the EVS?

S: Yes, there are many stories I can tell you. Details you can ask from Mr [name removed]. Because recently has completed PhD.

F: So where do you see the state of education in Pakistan? Where do you think it is going? How can it progress?

S: Actually, we are facilitating government department. It is the responsibility of the government to provide free and quality education to every child of the country. But since government is unable to manage, or could not manage due to certain reasons, they have shifted this responsibility to the foundation. So, it is a good intervention in a way. We are a developing country, don't have enough resources, and definitely we need to provide a better quality education, or even to get every child into school. So even a child is enrolled into school it is a success, because you know in Pakistan, people don't believe in sending children to school because if they are earning they believe it is better than sending them to a school. Right now we have more than, 2.6 million children in total. Mr [Name removed] will tell you the rest....

Appendix N: EVS Director Interview 2

F: so you were saying about the testing before? What is the reliability and validity of it?

R: what is the reliability of your questionnaire?

F: I did a pilot to begin with.

R: you did pilot in?

F: Pindi

R: in Rawalpindi

F: yes

R: from those school that were...

F: no I did one school, and got a good sample size. I tested the questionnaire, math and English test and we brought it back and we analysed the data.

R: on SPSS?

F: yes on SPSS and it proved to be very reliable so we gave everything the thumbs up.

R: ok. That's good. Thank you.

F: what about you? What was your PhD on?

R: I completed my PhD in education sector. In Pakistan. The academic achievement and social skills. 'A comparative study of students with and without education vouchers.'

F: oh so you are doing the same as me! So tell me about your research.

R: yes very much similar.

F: because I wrote you an email quite a while back and asked you if there is any other research on EVS scheme and you never mentioned...

R: I have studied about the EVS. So this basically started in 2006. In the slum area of Lahore. Which is called Sokhnair. In the beginning 1000 vouchers were issued and the selection criteria of the students and the schools is a little different of the current criteria. In the beginning we visited the area, to determine the poverty level, of out of school children, drop put ratio etc etc. Before going to select the students we selected some school in the private sector working in that vicinity.

F: working in the slum area?

R: slum area. We have selected our area, did our survey, selected schools and then we went to the household to send their kids to any of the selected schools. We selected schools first for the purpose to give parents freedom of choice. This is the list of schools, 10 schools, this is the voucher now it's up to you to select the school. But now, at that time, the voucher was very less. It was 1000, then 5000, 20,000, now we are 200,000. So going to every household is impossible task. For that we have selected some third party. For example, BISP – The Benazir Income Support Programme. They have the household data, the poverty level, number of kids, school going kids, etc. One NGO and then we requested the district authority (DCO) to send us poorest of the poor with maximum number of children out of school. Then we match the data sets. Then we selected certain areas. We verify the data. To check the data. To check the schools. After this initial 'homework', we give an ad in the newspapers. That we are going to launch EVS in these areas so the interested schools owners can participate and submit their requests. With conditions, it is not an open offer for each school. Schools should have some infrastructure, facilities, qualification of the school owner, functionality of the school etc. We again visit the school, we don't only select the school on their information, and we again visit the schools to verify the information. If they meet our criteria schools are selected and an agreement is signed between the schools and PEF. You can say it is a PPP agreement. We are on the public side, they are on the private side and we are a partnership. Now that was the selection of schools and areas now its selection of kids. Then we ask the school owner to move around the area, to get the student in the school and send nomination to PEF that these are the children who are now in our schools. They submit their nominations online, we get these nominations and visit the area to verify. Once we verify, they meet our criteria and then we print vouchers. Have you seen the vouchers?

F: yes from the school owners.

R: I'll show you after. There is four copies. We hand over the vouchers to the parents. One for finance copy, one for schools, one for PEF and one for parents. One vouchers goes to parents, parents goes to school, and the school owner submit one copy to PEF (the finance copy), and one copy to parents... and there is certain codes in this, so it couldn't be printed in the market. So security reasons. We also take thump print from parents for verification. Parents also have the choice to shift schools. The payment to school is paid as per the number of vouchers, and every month we request the school to submit their enrolment online. There is a possibility at the start of the academic session the totally voucher was 300 now 290 and for any reason has shifted out or dropped out. We compare. The total enrolment including voucher and non-voucher. But there is a separate section for those. Then we compare the enrolment with the submitted vouchers, and whichever is less, we pay to schools per month online. Not through cheques or cash. First 10 days maximum 15 days the payment is in the accounts of the schools.

F: does every school have different fees?

R: for every school across Punjab it's the same. For primary students the fees is Rs.550 per month, for middle level students Rs.600, for secondary it is between Rs.900-1000. And usually

we monitor these schools two times minimum, but you can say three times per year; one for QAT, two times by surprise visit to check the infrastructure and other facilities.

F: have you ever removed a school off the voucher scheme because they haven't followed your rules and regulations?

R: if schools involved in other practices such as money charging or not providing proper facilities then we penalise them. We call them, hear their point of view, and if it is determined there is something at the school end, then we penalise them.

F: how many times has this happened...this year?

R: we usually meet the school owners like I said. The schools which in previous years, you can say from 2007-2008, they are running very good. The new schools we have to take initiative. They are not well aware of our rules, they might try to get more money. Usually, you have seen the schools, you have seen the areas we are working, if they were not EVS or PEF, they would charge very less than what we charge.

F: so basically they are making a profit from you?

R: yes yes they are making a profit. Earning some money. But at the same time, if you have seen the salary structure and infrastructure. Usually when we select the schools their rooms are usually 3. Before PEF intervention, there were multiple teaching in one room. PEF don't allow them.

F: Don't you think that with PEF and the voucher scheme it has become a government takeover of these private schools?

R: you mean the government takeover of 1971?

F: no I mean, I feel like, they were private schools, now they are government schools. But they are still conducting everything in a private school way. But the government has a control over them, you guys have a control over them, so they aren't free to do as they want.

R: no no you are thinking wrong. We don't interfere in their hiring procedure structure, we just try to ensure the facilities and qualify our QAT. The rest is the school owner, who we want to hire or not...

F: but everything else, you are...

R: but if we don't take such controls, I think the public money will go to...hell.

F: wasted?

R: yes.

F: So tell me about your PhD

R: I've completed my PhD

F: so what were your findings? You don't want to share do you?

R: ok, if we compare non-EVS to EVS it can be understood that non-EVS are relatively better, wealthy families and good in academics. But if we compare EVS, I compared a longitudinal study, their results from 6 class, 7 class and then 8 class, there was an improvement in classes in the years. This is about the improvement.

F: how many students did you test?

R: I tested 504 in total; 264 EVS and 264 were non-EVS, and for social skills I developed my own instrument. It is available now, called 'The Rabbani social written skills.'

F: the process we had to go through, to get to you guys was so hard.

R: usually although we are semi-government autonomous, but usually the culture of our institution is not very research friendly you can say. People hesitate to share their information.

F: Like you,...you still aren't telling me about you PhD! You keep changing the subject!

F: so what's the plan now? The director was saying earlier that there are going to be 500 new school that are going to be a part of PEF? So what's the future plan?

R: with vouchers, we don't play for the schools we plan for the students. Depending on the situation of the area, we select more schools. Where there are more out of school children, we select schools there. God willing, next year, around more than 100,000 we are going to select

EVS students across Punjab according to the data supplied to us.
F: do you get that data yearly or?
R: no, when we plan for a new phase we ask them to send the data
F: when is...
R: the voucher target is given by the government
F: so what is the minimum or maximum yearly phases, the phase I mean. Is it months or a year?
R: it can be 2 faces in a year or zero phase even.
F: but what do they base the phases on?
R: ok, so I should discuss the phase. Government give some target for fiscal year. For example currently we have 400,000 students. The target from the government for PEF to enrol 300,000 more students, then we divide this target within PEF schemes.

F: what's their target based of do you know?
R: it depends on their surveys, their funding, how many kids are out of school. We are not alone in this field, SED (school education department) they are there, they are also working for the government. So they give us a target depending on their surveys and budget, and then we divide internally the enrolment within the programmes; FAS, NSP, EVS. For EVS we get the data, then we are going to these districts for the student's data. The phase could be one in a year the phase could be, two in a year. If there is no target or funding then we will be easy on that year.

Appendix O: Parents Interview

Parent 1

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?
FA: It is good
FK: what do you mean it is good?
FA: the education is good here
FK: how many of your children attend this school?
FA: I have two children who have now completed their education from here and one son and one daughter is currently studying still.
FK: ok are they on the voucher scheme, yes?
FA: yes they are voucher ones
FK: How did you hear about the scheme?
FA: the head teacher told me from this school. They came to us and asked if we were interested in the scheme and we said yes. Both my children are on a voucher scheme.
FK: How long have they been studying at this school?
FA: since they were three years old, both of them.
FK: before attending this school, did your children study anywhere else?
FA: No, they've always studied here. Before we would pay fees, and now because of the voucher we do not.
FK: Have you noticed any difference in your child education since receiving a voucher?
FA: No, not really. Before it was fine and now it is also fine.
FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?
FA: I've never been to a government school.
FK: what do you think about them? Why did you choose to enrol your child at this private school?
FA: my children have always studied here. My children's father died 10 years ago, and I live in this area so it is an easy option for us. I've never contacted any other school.
FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan? Is the voucher a good idea?
FA: Yes. My relatives all study in this school too.
FK: they all have voucher too?
FA: Yes apart from the little ones, but we will enrol them onto the voucher scheme too. Those parents who cannot afford to pay fees, they should all get a voucher. It is a good thing.

Education is a great thing, kids will be educated and our country will improve. Those children whose parents are poor, education is important for their children.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

FA: then I wouldn't be able to teach my children. I would have to give tuition fees and school fees. Now we do not give fees and I give very little tuition fees.

FK: so if the voucher didn't exist would what you do?

FA: I couldn't education my kids, they would be sitting at home all day.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

FA: Nothing. I never went to school. I don't even know 1, 2. In our village we don't teach anyone. So when we moved to the city, I sent my children to school.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

FA: it is good, everything is good with us. Our children are getting a good education. There is nothing else we need apart from education and afterwards we will think what is next for our children.

Parent 2

FK: How many children do you have?

JB: Two. One boy and one girl.

FK: Both study at this school?

JB: My daughter studies at this school and my son does not.

FK: Where does your son go to school?

JB: He doesn't. He's at home.

FK: Oh, how old is he?

JB: He's 17

FK: So he's never been to school?

JB: No, he has but he left after class 8 (13 years old). Said he did not want to learn anymore. We tried our hardest but...

FK: So he used to study here before?

JB: Yes in this school

FK: what about your daughter?

JB: She's in class 5 and on a voucher.

FK: Why did you chose this school?

JB: I work here that's why

FK: So why did you chose to enrol your daughter at this school?

JB: it is a good school, the education is good here.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

JB: I work here so I heard about it. I asked the teachers more about it and then the school principal and put my daughter's name forward.

FK: How long have you been receiving a voucher?

JB: 3 to 4 years I think now.

FK: What about your son, before leaving school, did he ever receive a voucher?

JB: No, he didn't. He didn't attend this school, it was another private PEF school and was on the voucher scheme there.

FK: Have your children ever attended a government school? What do you think about government schools?

JB: They've never been. They aren't good because the teachers get up at 10, 11am and sometime do not go to school to teach. At least that's what I've seen. Private schools are good. This voucher system is really good.

FK: why do you think it is good?

JB: there is more effort here on learning. The teachers put in a lot of effort in teaching the children.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan? Is the voucher a good idea?

JB: Yes, every child should get one.

FK: if the voucher didn't exist would what you do?

JB: Then I would have to pay fees to send my child to school. As a parent it is my right to teach my child, so whatever way is possible I would. My husband died so I couldn't pay fees, and was worried because of this, but I tried really hard. I tell my son still, and push him still to get a education but he does not wish too.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

JB: Yes she is studying very well.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

JB: I never attended school. My husband did not attend school but he learned how to read and write.

Parent 3 -

FK: How many children do you have?

NJ: I have three children

FK: Do all of them go to this school?

NJ: They've been attending since nursery. The twins are in class 5 and my son in class 4.

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

NJ: Why did I chose this scheme? Because we had financial difficulties and problems at home too.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

NJ: In the beginning, when the school first started this voucher scheme, people would come to the schools to enrol their child under the voucher scheme. Before that, it was made in the communities. They would inform the schools. First, the PEF would go to local communities and homes to enrol children. Since then my children have been enrolled in the scheme, so for about a year I was paying fees and then after that the voucher has been covering everything apart from school uniform.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

NJ: No, it seems the same to me.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

NJ: private schools provide better quality than government schools. There is no standard in government schools. The difference is the teachers. The teachers are getting a salary, but they are not there. The strength is less and they are not able to focus.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

NJ: yes of course, because the deserving kids, those who cannot afford, those work on the streets, parents who cannot for whatever reason cannot send...in the beginning I was also struggling and now I think, I don't have to pay until class 10, so my worries are less. I do wish the government extends this above class 10 though.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

NJ: I would still send my children to private schools. The level of education in private schools is higher. The parents who chose to send their children to private schools also care, take and interest more about their education. Those parents who send their children to government school, they do not take an interest in their studies because it is free. It depends on the parents. If the voucher system is taken away I would really struggle and do not know what I would do.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school?

NJ: I can't say any school is bad school. All schools who are educating children are good schools. There is one thing though, that there is no teacher training or there is no qualified teachers in place, that's why schools are labelled as a bad school. But I don't think there is an education system that is 'bad'.

FK: Can poor, illiterate parents judge the difference between a bad and good school?

NJ: Yes if they are motivated. The teachers will talk to the parents and inform them. Through motivation. Teachers can plant awareness in parents. We can do it. Even if one teacher takes

that step they can. Parents, their level is low, they are uneducated and backwards, so we need to motivate them but it is hard. Because they believe in working over education. But we try to educate them.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

NJ: Yes, the teachers cooperate so much. They work very hard here and very happy here. They prepare everything at school. It is not even a question of the voucher here at this school, even without it I would still send my children to this school, because the standard is high and the study level is high. There is a double facilities here. You can see the voucher system education here and in other schools and you can see the difference. Our nursery children have learnt so much that even children in class 2 in other schools have not learnt yet. I teach outside of school too, and I can see the difference myself from other school children and children at this school, because the school standard here is so high.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

NJ: I have graduated and have some diplomas from America and have additional training. In university I studied history and journalism.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

NJ: I have told you before that the benefit is the fees and the facilities. I have three children and the voucher covers the fees. If I sent them to another school I would be paying Rs. 2000-3000 and my pay is not very high so it would be very difficult.

Parent 4

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

R: my husband does not work so I was hopeless. This school the education is good, the teachers are good. I've enrolled my children in many schools before and in this school is the best.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

R: I came from a different province and city, I asked my neighbours and they suggested this school. So I enrolled and after a while I noticed they were performing very well so continued to stay at this school.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

R: I have three. Two small ones are receiving a voucher. The third one is too young to receive a voucher yet. They both study here.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

R: no I haven't noticed a difference.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

R: I went to government school and did not like it. So I enrolled them at private school. When we first came here from the village they did not know anything but now they are learning so much. In my eyes private schools are good, government school did not listen to what I was saying or wanted for my children.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

Is the voucher a good idea?

R: Yes it should. The level of education and the quality they are receiving is very high as in comparison with other schools. The voucher scheme has helped me a lot, and I know it has helped other families in a difficult position too. I have come from outside of Punjab, as we wanted to move to a bigger city. If we did not, the voucher scheme is not in place where I am from, so I would not have been able to send my children to school. If I did, it would have been until I could financially support them and after that they would no longer go to school.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

R: If there was no voucher system then I would have struggled. I would probably only send one of my children to school. I would struggle. Before, my child was just at home for two years as I could not afford it. Now he is in school learning because of the voucher.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

R: Government school is not good that's all we know.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

R: Yes! Like I have said before, my children have improved so much.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

R: Metric (O-levels)

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

R: the only benefit I need and I am getting is that my children are learning.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

R: it is really good. I am very happy with it.

Parent 5

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

NR: The biggest thing is, my husband died and we found it difficult. Plus we live very close by so that was a benefit.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

NR: Actually the local school children told me.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

NR: I have one son who studies here.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

NR: no the teachers are good. They cooperate with the parents will and they put in a lot of effort with the students.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

NR: The problem with government schools is that the teachers are too proud over there and not able to give the children their rights. Because their strength is too much (classroom sized too big) here they have smaller class sizes. It is good. There is a big difference between two types of school.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

NR: Yes it should be extended throughout Pakistan. Everyone should get the benefit from the voucher.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

NR: Then I think I would have to send them to government school. I wouldn't let them stay at home.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

NR: I think about my child's future. The teachers should be good, that's what I base a good and bad school off. Because if you do not have good teachers, then how can the school and its children gain a quality education?

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

NR: Yes I have seen so much change in their work.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

NR: MA and a BA and teacher training. I am a teacher at this school too.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

NR: of course I benefit both as a teacher and a parent. We are getting extra benefits here because of the funding available but I can also see from other teachers they put in effort too, so as a parent I am satisfied.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

NR: for the poor it is very good. The children who would pick up litter on the streets and children working in slums, they come here and gain an education.

Parent 6

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

NK: There were problems at home, some financial problems.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

NK: The school told us. When we enrolled them, then after a while, we heard about it.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

NK: I have two children. One child is on the scheme. The other is too young yet.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

NK: no they behave very well. I have no seen a change in their attitudes. They have always put in a lot of effort in teaching. Maybe they put in a bit more effort now they are getting money from the government but they are teaching my children well.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

NK: I am just happy my children have a good education. To me it does not make a difference what type of school it is just as long as my children are getting a good education and the quality is there. This private school we are getting all the facilities we need and my children are happy.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

NK: Yes of course. Because it is benefiting the parents so much.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

NK: All parents wish that their children attend school and get an education, but sometimes circumstances are difficult and you are not able to fulfil their needs. I am not sure what I would do if the voucher system was not here. I would try to make ends meet, but as a poor parent I know I would struggle. If the voucher was not here, my children would either be working, or at home, or I would send them to a government school.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

NK: Most parents talk with each other and word is passed around. They can tell from how well their child is performing at school if it is a good school or not. The teachers and head teacher will put in a lot of effort and to me that shows if a school is good or not. My children tell me how their day at school was and what they are learning. So I can just tell, even if I do not understand myself, that they are learning and getting a good education. I know a lot of parents who cannot afford to send their children to a private school and you can see the difference between these children.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

NK: Yes my children are clever and performing well.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

NK: Metric

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

NK: The benefit is that my children are performing well.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

NK: Yes it is very beneficial and should be all over.

Parent 7

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

RO: because I am poor.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

RO: from the school. Sir told me.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

RO: Two of my children and two of my other children are on the waiting list. Once the funding is accepting, then I think they will get vouchers too.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

RO: their education was good before and now it is good too.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

RO: I'm not sure to be honest. I just send my children here so that is all I know... I don't know much, I don't know much about government schools. This school is near to where I live so that's why.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

RO: I think the poor and those people who cannot afford, I think it is so helpful for them, so yes.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

RO: I would teach a little, or as much as I could, then I would take them out of school. But I would try to educate them and send them to school as much as I could and afford too. I wouldn't let them work.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

RO: I just like this school

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

RO: Yes, they are doing well. The teachers are teaching them well. All four of them are learning well.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

RO: nothing.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

RO: Benefit is that I can afford to pay for my two other children to go to school and not worry about the other two on vouchers.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

RO: very good for me and a lot of other poor parents

Parent 8

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

K: because we are from a poor family

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

K: My neighbours told me about it

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

K: I have four children. 3 of my children have vouchers, the fourth child is too young to receive vouchers. They have been receiving them for a few years now.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

K: they are equal and normal with all of us and all the children. They work very hard.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

K: I don't find any other school apart from the one my children are attending well. So if this is a private school, then yes I like this school. I've noticed in government schools they tend to sit the children on the floor. There isn't anywhere to sit sometimes, or sometimes in the ground they sit and it is too hot because there are too many students. There is not a lot of punctuality with teachers too. Private school teachers are more responsible and they know they have to do more work and to a high standard.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

K: yes it should because I have seen a lot of families in the area who are poor, the children play in the streets and mothers work all day, so they cannot afford to send their children to school.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child to? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

K: they would sit at home, or maybe a government school.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

K: before it was this that private schools are good. They charge fees and take care of our children. But there are some private schools are not good. Then I changed schools to this one.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

K: Yes a lot

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

K: yes my children are being educated.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

K: my relatives, some of them are not in school or go to another school, you can see the difference. They can't even write 'ABC'. If in schools are studying well then we as parents do not have to worry about them. I tell them to come to this school and tell them about the voucher scheme too, to enrol their children because I can see the benefits.

Parent 9

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

J: I have four children, 1 boy and three girls and in the house it becomes difficult.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

J: one of my daughters has always been in this school, since playgroup. So I know what is going on.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

J: Only one of my children goes here. The other 3 go to a different school. It is a government school. It is a good government school too.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

J: no not really. My youngest child has been here since playgroup so there is not a lot that has changed. The teachers are very good here too.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

J: All my children, bar one, go to government schools. I have even studied in a government school myself. So to me, they are both good. All my children are getting a good standard education and I have not noticed a difference. I care a lot about my children's education.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

J: yes it should. Because we live in this locality. There are so many children who study here from this area. I have seen so many parents praise this school and everyone here because they are doing something wonderful due to this scheme. I have seen through this scheme, children who were once out of school now in school.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

J: I would always send them to school

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

J: I have studied at a government school myself so I know that they are good too. My daughter studies at this private school and I can see how well she is doing.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

J: yes

FK: What is your highest level of education?

J: FA – I am studying again.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

J: yes, because fees are covered. I can also use the money for other things – for food etc

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

J: it is good because children who were not in school are in school now because of the scheme.

Parent 10

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

SY: My husband does not have a lot of income, a labourer, and we have six children.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

SY: From the school

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

SY: 6 children. The older ones are finished with their education. The younger ones are still studying.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

SY: No it's the same with everyone. I'm a teacher myself and my son goes to this school, so if I see he is being treated unfairly or anything than...but that is not the case here. One of the

reasons I enjoy teaching is I can help less fortunate children. I do not differentiate between EVS and non-EVS. If you do that, it creates more problems. Within your classroom, the teachers, parents, and the school. Plus all the children from this school, well the majority of them, they are from a poor area, and a lot are enrolled onto the voucher scheme anyway.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

SY: I have studied in a government school myself, it was fine. The only difference was here they have parents review, in government schools they did not have that. They used to take fees from us too in government schools and they would say 'if someone comes and asks you, do not tell them.'

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

SY: Yes, because the situation for a lot of families is difficult here in Pakistan. A lot of intelligent children will never be given the opportunity to go to school.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

SY: we would never send them to work. We would send them to maybe a different private school with a lower fee.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

SQ: I think schools are good if they really take an interest in a child's study. The ones that have report cards and every month they are told there is a monthly test and meetings with parents regularly.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

SQ: Yes. Performing very well and to a good quality and standard.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

SQ: FA

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

SQ: There is no stress

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

SQ: There should be a scheme like this all around. There is no stress. Parents are not worried about collecting fees, and children do not get worried also. I know some parents and some teachers who tell the children that there fees has not been paid and make them worry about things. This really puts a child off his or her study.

Parent 11

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

M: He has always studied here, before receiving a voucher.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

M: someone told us.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

M: Just one

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the

voucher?

M: No everything is fine

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

M: there is no difference

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

M: it is very good

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

M: I don't know

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

M: this school is close to me so that's how I chose.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

M: yes

FK: What is your highest level of education?

M: Nothing and my husband does not have an education either.

Parent 12

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

A: Because it is good, we get food, uniform, shoes from here and we like it. They have always studied here.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

M: I work here so I heard about it from here

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

M: All my 7 children receive a voucher (6 girls and 1 boy) and all go here

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

M: It is very good and they are taking extra care. There is a difference, a little, but the teachers are really good.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

M: they are giving more time to the students and covering everything

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

M: Yes it should be all because we have a lot of poor people. Some people who cannot afford a meal to eat, so it is important.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

M: If there was no voucher, I think a lot of poor parents would struggle. Children would not get an education

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

M: I think it depends on the parent and where you live too. I do not wish to send my child to a school which is too far from where we live because sometimes in our area it is dangerous so that is a factor too.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

M: yes, they are getting a lot of things here, and all my children are studying well.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

M: none neither does my husband. When you go out into the world you see the benefits of education, we have no education, but we wish to give our children that opportunity.

Parent 13

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

F: First of all when I moved here to this area, I thought that the school has to be a good quality and there fees low. I visited a few schools in the area and they were average. Then I came across this school. I only saw the outside of the building and could tell it was a good school. So I went home and told my husband and sent him to find out the standard of education. We saw the atmosphere here. My husband asked about enrolment, they told us about the test and if we are good, we will accept. They told us there was no fees and just said we concentrate on a child's study only. I thought this was odd as I have never come across a school like this. Here they have a diary system, a monthly test and assessments here. I am so thankful of this because my children are getting a good quality education.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

F: I visited and saw myself

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

F: two; son is in class 3 and daughter in class 2.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

F: before we moved, the schools my children went to I would always have to chase the teachers. 'You need to do this, 'why are you not doing this?' I used to be a teacher at another private school and the teachers you could tell were not putting in a lot of effort and if you asked them to do something, they would give you a response back. Here if I make a complaint they listen to you. They respond to you. If a child is weak they try and help with additional studies.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

F: I do not like government schools. First thing I asked before coming here was 'is this a government school?' thankfully it is not! Because they are not responsible, the atmosphere is not right, they hit the children too. There is nothing like this here. There is everything here and it is all free. And it is clean too! There is no focus on studies, the teachers come and go, if they focus or not, they do not cover the syllables. I have also heard from other people the same. If we complain, they just say 'take your child and leave'. I am thankful they listen here.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

F: yes because even the middle class cannot afford a good education these days.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

F: Then I would have managed somehow, but it would have been difficult. Middle class not afford either.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

F: MA in political science

Parent 14

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

S: There is no fee here. There is free food and uniform. There are a lot of benefits in this school that my children are getting.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

S: I heard from the children. My son's friends told him and he told me. Other people told me too. And so I came and saw it myself.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

S: One son. Yes he is on a voucher.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

S: no not really

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

S: sometimes in other private schools are too high. This school is good because there are no fees. Government school obviously have no fees too but you are not getting the same benefits.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

S: yes it is helping a lot of poor people like myself.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

S: I'm not sure, I would still try to send them to school because education is important.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

S: I have no education myself but when my child comes home telling me his is happy and I can tell he is focusing on his studies, then that must mean it is a good school.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

S: nothing. We were poor and could not afford it. This is some 10 20 years ago, we did not have the same benefits my child has now. Maybe if we did, we would have had an education too.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

S: because I did not have an education and education is such a huge thing. The difference between an educated person and an uneducated person is like the difference between the sky and ground. An educated person has so much respect and an uneducated is nothing. You can tell the difference between an educated and uneducated person. I do not wish my children to be like me.

Parent 15

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

S: because it was helping to pay our fees which we could not afford.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

S: The school told us the voucher scheme was for poor people who cannot afford to pay the fees.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

S: I have three children and they all study here. One is 7, one is 9, and the other 12.

FK: Have they always studied at this school?

S: No, before they used to study at a different private school, and announced a voucher scheme, so we shifted.

FK: In this previous private school how was the children's education?

S: It was not good.

FK: Why not?

S: Even I'm not sure why but the teacher would not focus on the students. I would even pay fees but not a lot of effort on studies. Here, it is different and I can say it whole heartily that it is very good here.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

S: yes I think teachers here put a lot more focus into their work and make sure the children study more and learn more.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

S: Government schools are ok, I'm not going to say they are bad. But, there is a saying that a person creates the environment they are living in. So in that sense, if you want to see a change or improvement, you create it. Also, government schools are far from where we live. My oldest daughter went to a private school elsewhere, and that was good. We could not afford her fees but we somehow would.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

S: I think so because it is such a benefit for us poor people.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

S: If the voucher scheme was not here, then obviously my children would still be in school. Either a different private school or a government school. This voucher scheme from PEF has been such a help for us poor people.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

S: I have a little education so I can see and tell some things. But mostly I ask my children and they tell me if they think their studies are going good or not. And you notice from other parents children, and you can see a difference.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

S: Yes I have noticed, especially since the last school. I've seen a big improvement. The difference is the things we get in this school, even in the education sense, we are getting more benefits here, and my children are very happy here too.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

S: Metric. My husband is uneducated but he works in a mill and I'm a seamstress at home.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

S: I've told you, there are many ways we benefit. One is we are not paying fees, two my children are getting a good education, three they are getting additional benefits.

Parent 16

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

R: Because we could not afford the fees and so enrolled.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

R: they made an announcement. Plus the head has a mother meeting every so often so they told us what PEF was doing.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

R: One daughter only as she studies here on the voucher scheme.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

R: They are very good here.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

R: They are good government schools. I've studied in government schools myself. The only problem is they are too far away and it is not possible to send our small children that far. Now if you've seen this area, you won't see a government school nearby. We are thankful for PEF they have set up a system to help the poor.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

R: yes of course. In little stages. Everyone should get education.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

R: I would still send my child but it would be difficult. The good thing is about this is, the owner is good, the teachers are cooperative, books are free, it is close to us. Everything is good. I would request PEF to make some more schools voucher schools because there are a lot of people like myself who cannot afford.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

R: no she is very good. The teachers are putting in effort and they give her homework. Everything is good.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

R: FA, my husband the same. He works in a factory and I am a housewife.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

R: it is very good for the poor. The school is here, second thing is the poor we cannot afford it are easy and the education is good.

Parent 17

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

RS: When we were looking for schools to enrol our children, we went to a few, and then finally settled with this one, and I really liked it.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

RS: The first day I came I was informed about the voucher. I only came to enrol my child and find out the situation and it is very good.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

RS: I have two children both on vouchers. They are aged 8 and 4. They have always studied here. I paid for fees for a year and then after we got a voucher.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

RS: I think teachers put in a lot of effort. They focus a lot on a child and if they see he or she is behind the make sure the child improves.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

RS: They are good, I have studied there myself. But the problem is if a child does not wish to study then there is nothing you can do. If he does not open his books, does not matter how good the school is, if the child is not putting in the effort then it does not matter. Here, at this school, I do not have to worry about anything because the teachers take care of everything. I do not think badly of government schools.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

RS: Yes because it has helped us a lot. But we are so thankful now we are giving our children an education and there is no stress about anything. Because sometimes you worry so much 'how are we going to afford the fees', or 'oh we have to pay for books' so it is good we do not worry any more.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

RS: Then we would have done something. Now because of this voucher, they are getting an education. Parents like us maybe we could not have afforded to send our children to school so if we did not have it, we would struggle

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

RS: You have to look at the situation of the school. Where it is located. If it is affordable and if the children feel comfortable.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

RS: Yes my daughter has only been here a few months and she has learned so much already. She comes home and asks me questions and says 'mama I am the teacher today.' So daily she recites everything to me.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

RS: I've done religious studies. My husband is educated a little and he works in a factory.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

RS: We are not paying fees and there is no worries.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

RS: It is very good for poor people.

Parent 18

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

N: Because when we moved we needed to enrol our children in school and heard about this scheme.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

N: When we moved we heard about it. That there are no fees, books are free

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

N: Three.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

N: It was good the government school

FK: Did you notice any difference then between the two schools as your sons were studying in a private school and your daughter in a government?

N: No they were both good schools.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

N: yes, the poor cannot afford it but wish to educate their children. There are parents who cannot afford and the kids are out working, they wish to give their children an education but cannot. Every parent wishes that their children get a good education, it is their right.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child to? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

N: If there was no voucher we would somehow manage the fees. I am thankful to God and everyone at PEF.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

N: My children studied elsewhere first. My daughter in a government school.

FK: and your sons?

N: They studied in a private school. My daughter did too, but when we could no longer afford to pay her fees, we moved her to a government school. My daughter was the oldest and my sons were young.

FK: how was that private school?

N: It was good, in terms of education it was good. But once we moved it was hard to travel so far and if they are getting a free and good education here, there was no point.

Parent 19

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

A: Because we are poor and cannot afford.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

A: Sir announced it, those parents who could not afford fees, they can get a voucher to help. Now my daughter has been receiving it since class 1 and now she is in class 4.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

A: Two but only my daughter studies as my son is too young.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

A: I have nothing to compare with I guess. My daughter has studied here since class 1 and has always received a voucher. The teachers are very good here, they care about the studies.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

A: They are not so good. I have seen a few myself and there are too many children in the classrooms

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

A: Yes. It is a very good system in place. Every parent wants the best for their child and to get a good education.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

A: I do not know what I would do. If parents cannot afford then they just work children.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

A: we can still make a choice. We just want the best for our children and to get quality education.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

A: yes very good. Her writing is very good, I check her work every day. If there is ever a problem then I know I can tell them.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

A: no education

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

A: I know they are doing a very good job. It is very important and especially for my daughter. For sons, it is ok, if they learn ...if they don't. But for daughters....they will be like you! It is important to educate girls.

Parent 20

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

RB: I used to live in Islamabad and my parents live here, so we moved and the first thing they told me is government schools are too far. This is the first school is I looked at and was satisfied.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

RB: My parents told me about it.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

RB: 3 children

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

RB: They are doing very well. My children and I are very happy.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

RB: When we live in Islamabad, my children attended a government school and it was ok. So this school is good too. I do not see a difference in terms of it.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

RB: Yes because if we did not have we would not be able to send our children to school.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

RB: Poverty is so high here and people do not even work, how could they send their children to school then? The voucher has been so helpful to us. Are children are getting a good education.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you

make decisions when offered with school choice?

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

RB: Yes they are doing very good. They are improving every day.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

RB: I am not educated and neither is my husband.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

RB: That my children are getting an education what more do I need. Like I said before, my husband and I are both uneducated, and in today's society the first thing they ask you is if you are educated or not. Because we are uneducated it means my children should be educated.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

RB: it is very good. I think PEF should open a few more schools like this. Because we are seeing the benefits of it.

Parent 21

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

R: I am poor and work at this school as a cleaner so it was good for me

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

R: There was an announcement. They said it was for the poor and you can get a free education. The problem is there is no government school here. They are very far from here. Must take 30 minutes at least.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

R: three and they have always studied here.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

R: yes they are doing a great job. A lot of effort is put into their studies and I can see the effort they make with all the children. Not just voucher students but all the children who study at this school.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

R: Private schools are good but sometimes the fees can be too high. Government schools are good too. Afterwards, we will send our children to government schools, in middle schools. So I am thankful that the voucher can educate them to a certain level.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

R: yes of course

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

R: Then I would have struggled a lot. Because I do not have a husband, the government school is too far and my salary too less so I would not have been able to afford it at all, so my children would be uneducated.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

R: I check my children are happy and understand and they seem to be doing very well.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

R: I don't have an education. My husband was educated but only FA.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

R: We benefit so much. One we are not paying fees. Book and exam fees are being taken care of too. The school is very near to me. My children are happy too...what more could you want?

Parent 22

FK: How many children do you have?

SA: 2 children, one boy girl and one boy. Both receive a voucher and have been here for a number of years.

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

SA: We decided this is a good option for our children. We do not have a high salary to send them to a private school, with Rs. 13-14,000 that is not a lot of money. Now with this scheme, the government, has given us the right to educate our children.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

SA: The teachers but also our relatives. We moved here and enrolled our children here at this private school.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

SA: I have two children. One child is on the scheme. The other is too young yet.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

NK: no they behave very well. I have no seen a change in their attitudes. They have always put in a lot of effort in teaching. Maybe they put in a bit more effort now they are getting money from the government but they are teaching my children well.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

NK: I am just happy my children have a good education. To me it does not make a difference what type of school it is just as long as my children are getting a good education and the quality is there. This private school we are getting all the facilities we need and my children are happy.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

NK: Yes of course. Because it is benefiting the parents so much.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

NK: All parents wish that their children attend school and get an education, but sometimes circumstances are difficult and you are not able to fulfil their needs. I am not sure what I would do if the voucher system was not here. I would try to make ends meet, but as a poor parent I know I would struggle. If the voucher was not here, my children would either be working, or at home, or I would send them to a government school.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

NK: Most parents talk with each other and word is passed around. They can tell from how well their child is performing at school if it is a good school or not. The teachers and head teacher will put in a lot of effort and to me that shows if a school is good or not. My children tell me how their day at school was and what they are learning. So I can just tell, even if I do not understand myself, that they are learning and getting a good education. I know a lot of parents who cannot afford to send their children to a private school and you can see the difference between these children.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?
NK: Yes my children are clever and performing well.

FK: What is your highest level of education?
NK: Metric

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?
NK: The benefit is that my children are performing well.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?
NK: Yes it is very beneficial and should be all over.

Parent 23

FK: How many children do you have?
S: Four. Three are in this school and one is very young still.
FK: and from the start they have been here?
S: yes. Before my son he used to study at a school behind here.
FK: is that a private school?
S: yes.

FK: so why did you decide on this school and the voucher scheme?
S: As my two other children got older, it became difficult to afford the fees and we sent them to a government school. There was a women from the community who told me about this scheme. That the government are helping this school. I said 'but I cannot afford the fees' and she said no it's a voucher scheme and it is free. My children are happy here. We couldn't afford anywhere else.
FK: do the children enjoy it?
S: yes they are very happy

FK: what about in terms of their studies? How are they doing?
S: well they've have always been here since they were little and they are performing really well.
FK: what about your son? You said he was previously studying at a different private school? Have you noticed any difference in his studies?
S: he is also doing very well. In the other school it was good, there were smaller classes but he is older here now and also doing very well. He's actually doing better here. He just used to pass there, here is getting top marks. Teachers put in a lot of effort.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?
S: I took my children there to enrol, and when we were told about the voucher scheme we came here. So my children never went to government school. So I'm not sure.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?
S: Yes. It is so helpful to us poor parents. It is every parents wish that their children get an education. But the poor do not have a lot of money. We do not have enough money for food. Every parent desires quality education too. We are thankful we have found it. They are happy and we are happy too. And people have thought about us poor people.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?
S: probably where I initially took them to study, at a government school. We do not have a lot of money, we are thankful we have food, so this scheme really has helped us. If not, how were we going to afford their fees and tuition? And the books are free here too.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

S: eight class

FK: what about your husband?

S: also eight class. We both studied at government schools. Now it is our wish that our children get a better education than we did otherwise they will have to struggle like we are.

FK: does your husband do?

S: He works in a factory.

FK: what about yourself?

S: I am a housewife

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

S: Yes. They work very hard. They put in a lot of effort here. They check their books regularly and help them when they are falling behind. My son is getting top marks.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

S: we are educated to some degree. So we know. I can tell from the teachers and the way my children are performing. If I send them to a school and see they have no learned anything in months or weeks, then something must be wrong, no?

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

S: We are very poor. Without the scheme I do not think we would have been able to afford their fees. Like I said, I would have sent my children then to a government school and I'm not sure what kind of education they would have got there. If it would have been any better than this or not...

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

S: Very thankful

Parent 24

FK: How many children do you have?

A: Two children. Both study here. In total I have four but the other two are too young.

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

A: They used to study at a different private school and we couldn't afford.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

A: my aunt works here, she told me about it.

FK: The previous private school which your children studied at, what was that like?

A: In terms of education and studies it was good but there were other problems. Apart from paying the fees we had to pay for a lot of other things too. So the total amount would add up. One child we paid RS. 900 and the other child was Rs. 600, this was every month on top of paper fees and uniform etc. It was too expensive for us.

FK: In terms of both schools, was there any difference? How are the children performing?

A: It is good here too and because a lot of effort from both teachers and students. In the other school, there was a lot of effort being put in, but it was too small the school. The classes were too tight. In terms of education, it was fine. The teachers were fine and they taught them well. Afterwards we would take them to tuition. Good thing about this school is that we no longer send them for tuition. They learn everything here and come home and tell us everything. Tuition fees and schools fees were too much.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

A: I ask them myself, what they have done today. They explain to me. I have a look at their copies and homework. Sometimes they do it at school. I listen to what they need to memorise, even though I do not know myself all of it, I try my best to understand. If I do not and the children are struggling still, I ask someone for help too.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

A: government school might be good, but I do not know. I never took them there or anyone I know has never gone to government school. We have never needed to go down that route.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

A: yes of course. For the poor community they cannot afford and the parents who cannot afford to teach their children, they will be interested in it. It should be all over Pakistan. These schools are a little far. I come from quite far away to teach my children here at this school.

FK: where is that? I'm not from this area so not sure how far that is.... 10-15 mins...?

A: Maybe more than that I think.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

A: middle school and my husband also. He works in telecommunication and only earns Rs. 10,000 a month

Parent 25

FK: How many children do you have?

H: 2 children.

FK: Have they always been studying here?

H: No, they used to study at a different private school. I enrolled them here because their father is ill, he has Hepatitis C.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

H: There is a lady who lives next door to us, she told us that this school is good.

FK: In terms of their education and performance, how are they doing? Have you noticed and differences since moving schools or not?

H: No, they were performing well at the other private school and here they are also performing well, maybe a little better. In our house, my older children, the girls they have completed their education so they help the younger ones with their studies. They are doing well.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

H: Yes. The poor cannot afford it. The rich are privileged and can afford to educate their children in the best private schools but we are poor. So we are very thankful. It should be all over Pakistan. SO no child is left behind.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

H: government school. My two older children studied there.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

H: My children studied there so they are not bad. They completed their education from government schools. All schools systems are good if the child wishes to study.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

H: I am uneducated but my husband has studied until 8 or maybe 10 class. He sells fruit and veg now in the market.

Parent 26

FK: How many children do you have?

S: Five; four girls and one boy

FK: Do all of them study at this school?

S: Two of my children study the others are too young

FK: and have they always studied here?

S: yes from the beginning

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

S: sir told us about the scheme.

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

S: I really like this scheme, it's a really good scheme for us poor people otherwise how would be able to educate our children. The fees are too high in private schools and government schools, they are too far and too crowded and the focus is not on studies too much. Here, the classes are smaller and the focus is more.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

S: Very good. I've never had to complain about anything or put my children into tuition after school. I open their books, and have a look. I have studied until class 8 and know a little bit about English and some meanings, so I help them out as much as I can.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

S: yes, for the poor like us it should be in place.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

S: government school however it was. Since they were young we have always taught our children at this school. They are still young but as they get older the fees will increase and the voucher will not cover that cost. We will then have to send them to a government school.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

S: until eight class and my husband

Parent 27

FK: How many children do you have?

KN: I have 6 children; four girls and two boys.

FK: and have they always studied at this school?

KN: My eldest daughter has finished, my elder son he was in government school and now is in private school. Two are in this private school and the other two are too young for school.

FK: How are the children performing?

KN: They are performing very well. We have no complaints. We cannot afford tuition so we teach them what we can at home ourselves. My husband is an electrician but has more work to do in the winter time than summer so we struggle with money sometimes. My eldest has finished school but we need to enrol her into middle school but because of the fees we cannot. She teaches her siblings at home. My two other children we are paying fees for and attend this school and only one child is on a voucher.

FK: Why did you chose to enrol your children at this school and through the scheme for one of

your children?

KN: In the beginning I took all my children to government school but they would always fight with each other and other people. So we decided that we would separate them for that person.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

KN: My eldest daughter completed her education in government school because we couldn't afford private school, now it is her wish she wants to study more but we cannot afford it. But with the child who is on a voucher she is performing well here too. All my children are, it doesn't matter what kind of school it is. It's the quality that matters.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

KN: yes. Look there are a lot of people like us, some are more worse off than us, some go to sleep hungry. Thankful we have food at night and sleep. To educate your children, it is the right of every parent.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

KN: Probably government school. We are paying for their fees here at this school struggling to do so.

FK: what is your highest level of education?

KN: Until 8 class and my husband until metric. He has a small electric shop and I am a housewife.

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme? As a parent how do you benefit?

KN: I am very thankful. The government here through the scheme have secured our children future. We have to educate our children and more so we have to educate our girls. As they grow older the first question people ask is "how educated is your child?" or "how much has she studied?" Therefore it is very important to educate your children and we have benefited so much through this voucher scheme.

Parent 28

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

R: I liked the teachers here and the studies and we needed the extra support.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

R: My eldest son was in nurse here and got full marks and told us "your son has got good marks, he is intelligent" and that this scheme will be beneficial. So we said, yes if you think it is best.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

R: 3 children; two sons study here from nursery and one child is still a baby.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

R: No. The teachers are very accommodating. All the staff is. They care a lot about the students and the progress they are making. I think it is because the government checks on them regularly. Extra care and attention is given to all students, I wouldn't say it was just voucher students, because they know having students perform well and having good grades is beneficial so the whole school and system.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

R: Good schools are those who are cooperative with you and your needs for your child. I sent

them to this school because I liked this school and the staff. There are other private schools in the area but I was satisfied here. Sir spends a lot of time here, and is engaged in the school and I can see everyone else is, I like that they care.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

R: Yes especially to those less privileged. Plus sir has never said, "Oh this child is a voucher student and this child is not, lets torture him." No, it's never been like that. Everyone is treated equal also which I like. Because you can go to some schools and because your child is poorer than the rest of the students, they can look down on you or some parents do not want their children to mix with your child, but here it is never the case. Everyone is equal.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

R: Before the voucher I enrolled my children at this school. They started in nursery and have been here since. Before the voucher, I was paying fees. After the voucher was made, sir selected the students and now at least 80% of the students here are voucher students. I am in an ok position to pay for fees right now, one because we have saved money from not having to pay fees. But if ever there comes a time that the voucher is no longer here, we would struggle. Not just me, but like I said about 80% of the children here would. And then the school would suffer and the teachers would not get salary. So it is an effect on all of us if the voucher was to be taken away. It would be a big loss.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

R: I think there are a number of things parents look at. If you are educated, then yes it helps you because you can tell how a school is. You have more knowledge of things. But I think also, uneducated parents they can care more. They know what it means not having a good education and the benefits it has. Benefits like, you are more aware of things and society. No one will give a poor person the time and energy and they cannot get a job. If they cannot get a job where will the money come from? So education is a cycle. When you pick a school you look at different things. I picked this schools because it is close to my house, I like the teachers and I like the effort they put into studies. Myself as a teacher I can judge that and see for myself. But a lot of parents do not know the difference. That's why you have to inform them.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

R: FA

FK: what about your husband?

R: foreman, he works. Before I was married I worked as a teacher.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme? How do you view the voucher scheme?

R: I think as a community we all benefit. Our schools is getting extra funding. Our teachers are getting paid on time. Our children are getting a good education. Our society is progressing. A lot of people in different ways are benefit. I hope this voucher scheme does not finish.

Parent 29

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

I: We could not afford to pay fees

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

I: Neighbours told me about it

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

I: I have two children who are both on the voucher scheme. They both study here.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the

voucher?

NK: no everything is the same. It is good. And both my sons get very good marks.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

I: I like this school. There is not a government school near us so my children have always studied here. I do not know anything about government schools because I've never had to enrol my children there.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

I: Yes of course. Because there are parents that cannot afford it so it helps a lot.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child too? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

I: of course then we would send them to a government school, but there is not a government school near us so that will be hard too.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

I: All schools are the same, they all give education at the end of the day.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

NK: Yes my children are doing well. One of my sons, since playgroup has up until now has always come first in his class.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

NK: just a little not a lot, until five class.

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

NK: yes I am benefiting a lot

FK: How do you view the voucher scheme?

NK: it is very good. Beginning I was not able to afford the fees but now it is no worries.

Parent 30

FK: Why did you choose to enrol your child into the EVS?

S: We moved here from outside the city and it was near our house. It is because of pay reasons. We moved to get a better job and we pay rent for our house etc. Everything adds up.

FK: How did you hear about the scheme?

S: well when you live in a community, people talk and inform each other of what is happening.

FK: How many children do you have? How many of your children receive a voucher?

S: 2 of my children are on vouchers and 1 I pay fees.

FK: Have you noticed or think there is a change in attitudes towards teaching due to the voucher?

S: no everything is equal. Two of my children are voucher students and one I pay fees for, so I can tell there is no difference.

FK: How do you view private schools and government schools? Do you think private schools provide better quality than government schools, or not?

S: the previous school they studied was a private school, but the fees were more expensive. I've never enrolled my children in government schools so I'm not sure what they are like.

FK: Do you think the voucher should be extended throughout Pakistan?

S: Yes. It is better to get an education than no education at all. Especially those parents who cannot afford.

FK: If vouchers did not exist which type of school would you send your child to? And if the voucher was taken away what would happen?

S: I would not let them work. We would do whatever we could to enrol our children into school. Private or government.

FK: How do you, as a parent, judge the difference between a bad and good school? How do you make decisions when offered with school choice?

S: Every parent does not do whatever they can for their child. The schools which take proper care of the students that is what I class as a good school.

FK: Have outcomes improved for your child?

S: Yes it depends on the child too. I do tuition myself so I can tell where a child is weak in something. So a lot of it has to do with the child and what the parent or teacher can do.

FK: What is your highest level of education?

S: FA and then I got married

FK: How do you as a parent benefit from the scheme?

S: Yes of course. My children have been here over two years now and I am still at this school and with the scheme so obviously there are benefits. Yes I mean if something works, it works. No point changing

