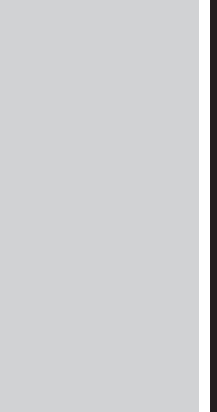


Public Private Partnership and Public Education in Pakistan

Can PPP benefit Public Education?





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This research explores the emerging phenomenon of Public Private Partnerships in education in Pakistan. It analyses primary and secondary data based on interviews with major stakeholders to share key findings over the issue.

Established in 2005, Pakistan Coalition for Education (PCE) is committed to the improvement of quality education in Pakistan. The Coalition works in 65 districts across Pakistan and has over 200 members from local Community Based Organizations (CBOs), Non-Government Organisations (NGOs), Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), education reporters associations (Members of the media) and relevant government education departments.

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Disclaimer

This is an exploratory study is conducted on basis of secondary research and interview of key persons. The views expressed in this publication are those of the author's and do not necessarily reflect those of Pakistan Coalition for Education (PCE). While the contents of this document have been put together with utmost care and dedication, the publisher does not guarantee any claims based on this publication in terms of completeness and accuracy for a specific purpose.

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1 Introduction

The term Public Private Partnership (PPP) is being applied to various arrangements of partnership between the public and the private sectors. The debate on PPP simultaneously raises positive and negative sentiments. The positive side believes that PPP pools in both public and private resources to benefit the citizens particularly the disadvantaged communities. The negative side believes that PPP is a disguised way of promoting privatization, which may seem positive in the beginning but ultimately leads to more inequitable distribution of opportunities. The PPP arrangements are being applied in a number of social services including health, transport, infrastructure development, education etc.

This report deals with PPPs in education only. It is important to investigate this further, as the current education policy of Pakistan identifies it as an important strategy to advance educational indicators and has pointed at several areas in education where PPP would be encouraged. These include: school construction, textbooks development, libraries development including provision of supplementary reading material, teacher education, and transportation, food supplement to poor children, literacy programmes and information communication technology (NEP, 2009, p. 18).

There is a continuous debate about PPPs in education across the globe, its triggers, manifestations and impact. In order to have more on-the-ground understanding ASPBAE in cooperation with the PCE planned to carry out the research on a pertinent PPP related issue in Pakistan. The field of PPP is continuously growing having various facets and it is not easy to zoom into any specific area. Keeping in view the time and resources a sharper-focused though limited-scope research was carried out and reported here.

The PPP initiatives in Pakistan are generally perceived positively by the government and are being promoted under the support of bilateral and multilateral donors like DFID (e.g.: Education Fund for Sindh) and the World Bank (PPP schemes of SEF and PEF). An initial search reveals that the evidential basis of the effectiveness of PPP is still not very clearly established, yet it is being promoted. For example, the Sindh education department recently carried out a review of PPP Act to make it more relevant for the service sector including education. An advertisement has also been placed on the newspaper for finding the key person to spearhead the PPP programmes in Education. The Punjab Education Sector Plan also identifies it as an important strategy to promote educational goals.

Before we move further on the PPP in education, it is important that we understand the educational context of Pakistan, which would help us understand the peculiarities of PPPs as it is being observed in Pakistan. Table 1 shows the basic information about the public and private schools of Pakistan across various levels.

Institution Type	Sector	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
Pre- Primary	Public	-	-	-
	Private	841	854	505
		100%	100%	100%
	Total	841	854	505
Primary (Grades 1-5)	Public	138,886	136,672	135,937
		89%	88%	88%
	Private	17,739	17,969	18,208
		11%	12%	12%
	Total	156,625	154,641	154,145
Middle (Grades 6-8)	Public	15,795	15,722	16,157
		38%	38%	39%
	Private	25,545	25,869	25,788
		62%	62%	61%
	Total	41,340	41,591	41,945
High (Grades 9-10)	Public	10,341	10,555	11,267
		42%	42%	39%
	Private	14,460	14,654	17,388
		58%	58%	61%
	Total	24,801	25,209	28,655
Higher Sec/ Inter Colleges (Grades 11-12)	Public	1,330	1,392	1,527
		40%	41%	34%
	Private	1,999	2,043	2,988
		60%	59%	66%
	Total	3,329	3,435	4,515
G. Total	Public	166,352	164,341	164,888
		73 %	73 %	72 %
	Private	60,584	61,389	64,877
		27 %	27 %	28 %
	Total	226,936	225,730	229,765
Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2011 -12, NEMIS				

The aggregate analysis shows that the current ratio between public and private schools is 72:28 and it has remained almost same for last three years. The trend can be seen in the following graph.

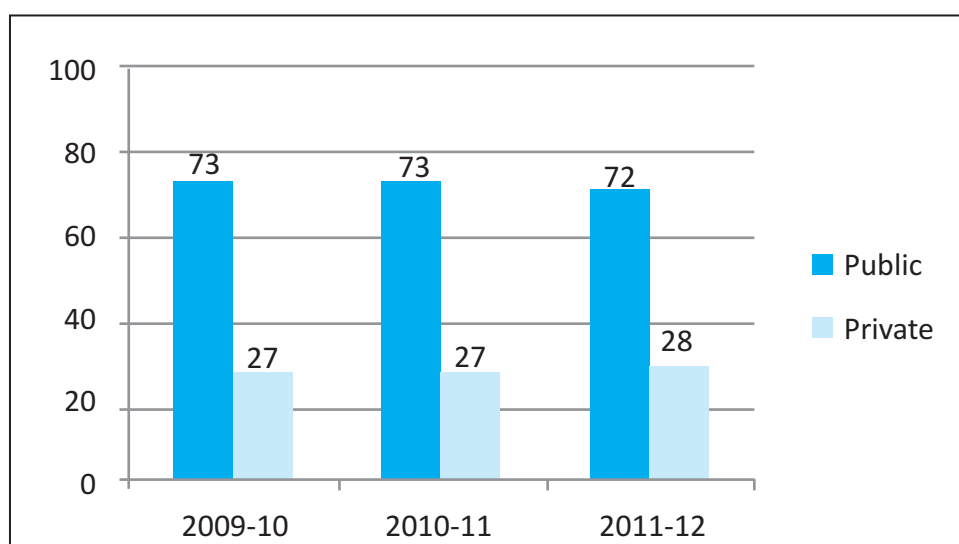


Figure 1 : Trend of Public and Private Schools (%)

In order to display comparison over the years, it is important to show the data coming from the same source. The researcher could only extract 3 years of data for this purpose. This however is unable to show the trend of public and private composition over a longer duration. Below we share the data compiled by the Institute of Social and Policy Studies (I-SAPS, 2010) utilizing different sources from years 1999 through 2008. This is presented to show the changes in the composition of private and public schools over the years and one can clearly see the rising trend of privatization over the decade.

Year	Public Schools	Private Schools
1999 – 2000	152,373 (82%)	33,238 (18%)
2005	143,653 (72%)	54,510 (28%)
2007 – 2008	165,235 (75%)	56,150 (25%)

Source: Compiled by I-SAPS from Census of Private Educational Institutions 1999 – 2000, National Education Census 2005 and NEMIS reports for 2000 and 2007-08 (I-SAPS, 2010).

Note: These figures only include the data of levels: Primary, Middle and High. It does not include data of: Pre-Primary, Higher Secondary, and Degree level, Technical and Vocational and Deeni Madaris.

In addition to the number of schools the figures related to enrolments are also important. The comparative table and a graph showing the trends over the last three years as per official statistics are presented below (see and). Note that, while there are around 28% private schools in 2012 (and above), the percentage share of private schools during the same year is 36% (Table 2). This means that compared to the share of schools the private schools' share in students' enrolment is higher.

Table 2 : Public and Private Enrolment across levels

	Sector	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
Pre- Primary	Public	4,261,259	4,502,102	4,648,340
	Private	3,660,463	4,051,705	3,864,658
	Total	7,921,722	8,553,807	8,512,998
Primary	Public	11,999,006	11,664,450	11,465,905
	Private	5,182,288	5,229,783	6,101,676
	Total	17,181,294	16,894,233	17,567,581
Middle	Public	3,730,451	3,848,927	3,958,640
	Private	1,708,159	1,727,507	1,994,191
	Total	5,438,610	5,576,434	5,952,831
High	Public	1,800,083	1,833,569	1,844,721
	Private	723,239	735,159	846,874
	Total	2,523,322	2,568,728	2,691,595
Higher Sec/ Inter Colleges	Public	940,826	954,723	1,111,948
	Private	183,790	190,826	139,839
	Total	1,124,616	1,145,549	1,251,787
G. Total	Public	22,731,625	22,803,771	23,029,554
		66 %	66 %	64 %
	Private	11,457,939	11,934,980	12,947,238
		34 %	34 %	36 %
	Total	34,189,564	34,738,751	35,976,792

Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2011 -12, NEMIS

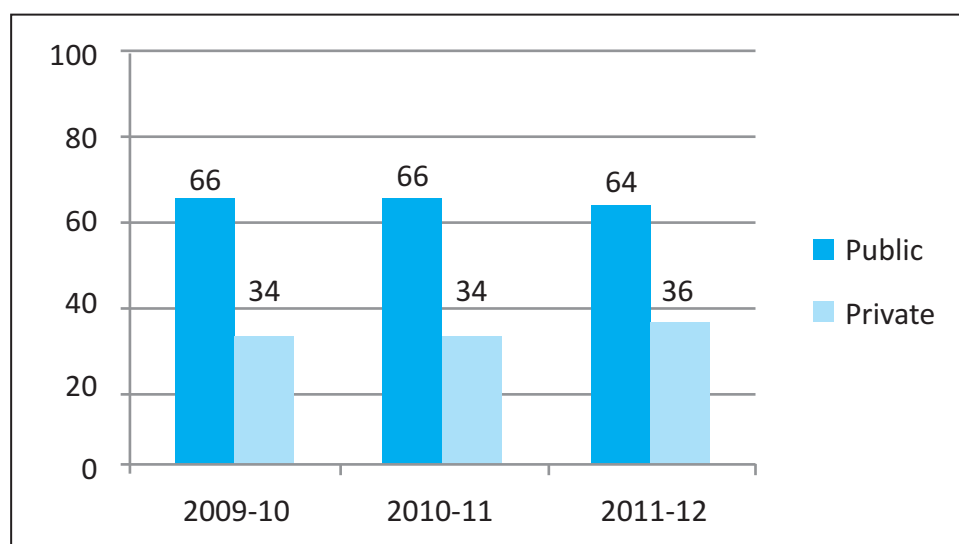


Figure 2 : Trend of Public and Private Enrolment (%)

In order to have a longer historical perspective to see changes in the enrolment of students across public and private sector the following table is compiled based on I-SAPS (2010) report.

Year	Public Enrolment	Private Enrolment	Total
1999-2000	16,865,511 (75%)	5,759,834 (25%)	22,625,345
2005	15,789,148 (68%)	7,476,902 (32%)	23,266,050
2007-08	17,572,962 (70%)	7,444,285 (30%)	25,017,247
Source: Compiled by I-SAPS from Census of Private Educational Institutions 1999 -2000, National Education Census 2005 and NEMIS reports for 2000 and 2007-08 (I-SAPS, 2010). Note: These figures only include the data of levels: Primary, Middle and High. It does not include data of: Pre -Primary, Higher Secondary, Degree level, Technical and Vocational and Deeni Madaris.			

Another important statistic that needs to be described is about teachers and their spread across public and private schools. This is shown below (Table 3 and Figure 3). It is interesting to note that the share of teachers among private sector is quite high i.e. 48% as opposed to 52% in public sector during 2011-12.

Table 3 : Public and Private Teachers across levels

	Sector	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12
Pre- Primary	Public	-	-	-
	Private	3,555	3,595	2,423
	Total	3,555	3,595	2,423
Primary	Public	347,761	345,477	337,565
	Private	90,382	91,451	87,383
	Total	438,143	436,928	424,948
Middle	Public	126,723	127,358	123,063
	Private	204,741	207,626	228,318
	Total	331,464	334,984	351,381
High	Public	186,092	188,353	196,203
	Private	204,476	207,356	262,452
	Total	390,568	395,709	458,655
Higher Sec /Inter Colleges	Public	35,138	38,451	42,426
	Private	42,110	42,732	55,207
	Total	77,248	81,183	97,633
G. Total	Public	695,714	699,639	699,257
		56 %	56 %	52 %
	Private	545,264	552,760	635,783
		44 %	44 %	48 %
	Total	1,240,978	1,252,399	1,335,040
Source: Pakistan Education Statistics 2011 -12, NEMIS				

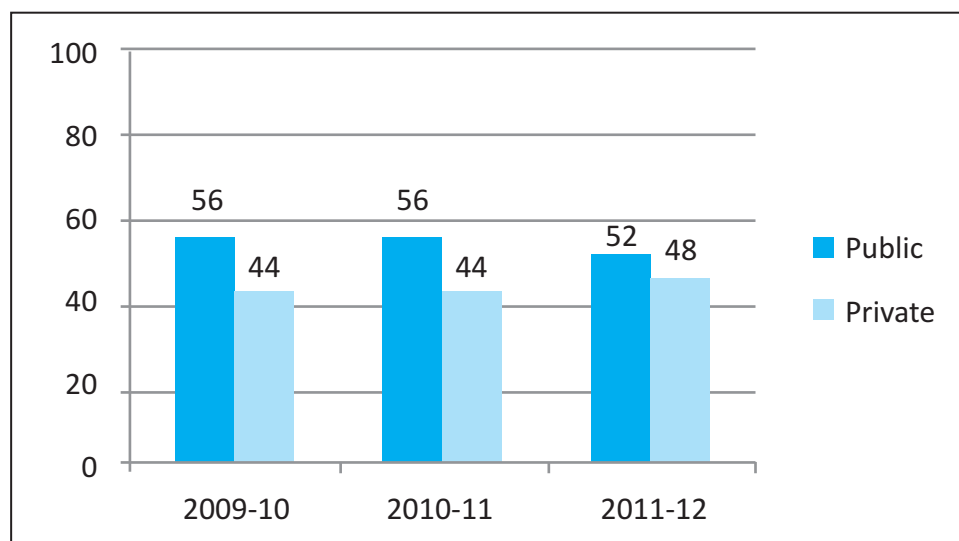


Figure 3 : Trend of Public and Private Teachers (%)

More teachers joining in the private sector is consistent with the rising number of private schools. I-SAPS (2010) calculate that 57% of expenditures made by private educational institutions go towards teachers' salaries. Hence, low teacher salary is the single most crucial component that could make low fee private schools a viable option for any entrepreneur. Thus teachers' salary is an important consideration for a private school.

There are different statistics available as far as teachers' salaries are concerned. The most cited report on private schools in Pakistan – Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools (LEAPS) – showed that the average salaries of teachers in rural Punjab was PKR 1250 per month for a private teacher and PKR 6185 for a government teacher (Andrabi et. al., 2008). This would be equivalent to PKR 2125 for private teacher and PKR 10,515 for a government teacher in today's terms¹. The preliminary results of a recent survey of schools across Sindh show that in private schools the median salary of primary school teachers is PKR 2000-5000, while the median salary of secondary school teachers is PKR 5000-10,000 (Ali, forthcoming). In contrast to the private sector, the base salaries of government teachers in Sindh are Rs. 6200 for Primary School Teachers (PSTs); PKR 8000 for Junior School Teachers (JSTs) and PKR 8500 for High School Teachers (HSTs) (Sindh Teacher Recruitment Policy, 2012). Further allowances like house rent, transport and special adjustments are added to this base salary. Personal communication with a government teacher suggests that the initial pay for a primary teacher would be somewhere around PKR 15000 per month. The salary comparisons between public and private schools in LEAPS study shows that government teachers earn almost five times higher compared to private school teachers. The current data from Sindh shows that the difference would be between three to seven times for primary school teachers. It was shown by Andrabi, Das and Khwaja (2006) that private schools in Pakistan will grow as long as they have low wage teachers (mainly qualified females) available and willing to work. This is still quite sensible to assume that any private or public-private-partnership school could viably operate, charging low fees, only as long as it manages to have low wage teachers.

Coming to the comparative analysis of the three statistics – schools, enrolment and teachers

¹ LEAPS reports the exchange rate as US\$ 1 = PKR 60. The current prevailing rate is US\$ 1 = PKR 102.

(Tables 1-3 and Figures 1-3 above) – together, it becomes apparent that the share of private schools in terms of numbers is lesser compared to public sector but their enrolment and teachers' share are relatively higher. This means that private sector carries more teachers and enrolment proportionate to its share in numbers of schools. The pupil-teacher ratio (PTR) for year 2011-12 was 32.93 for the public sector and 20.36 for the private sector. This shows a significant difference of PTR between the two sectors whereby private sector appears better off.

2 Pakistan's Progress over EFA goals

Pakistan is signatory to the Education for All (EFA) goals and aims to achieve the EFA targets by 2015. However, the performance over these targets so far is quite weak and the current EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) presents a bleak picture of Pakistan. The EFA debate is quite relevant to the discussions over PPP, particularly the goal-2 that requires the provision of universal primary education. The private and non-governmental sectors are considered a helping hand for the government to achieve this goal. In the lines below, a snapshot of the achievement of Pakistan over EFA goals is provided as a context; this will inform the discussion over findings of this research and help readers view the PPP in larger context of EFA as well. This snapshot is also important as PPP are often seen as a strategy to achieve EFA goals in Pakistan.

Goal 1: Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.

The Table 4 below shows that there has been steady rise in the enrolment of children in pre-primary classes in the public sector schools during last decade. Although there is some decline observed during 2012-13. The trend suggests that there may be further improvements in the enrolment but it might be difficult to achieve the target by 2015.

Table 4 : GER in Early Childhood Education (Pre-Primary/ECE) programmes (Public Sector only)

	2001/02	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13
Total Population (3-<5 years)	8,190,386	8,434,350	8,414,151	9,005,883
Total (GER)	28.2%	60.4%	70.5%	66.4%
-Male (GER)	29.0%	62.1%	73.3%	70.3%
-Female (GER)	27.2%	58.5%	67.4%	62.2%
Source: Ministry of Education and Trainings & Standards for Higher Education, 2014				

Goal 2: Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

The Table 5 shows that there have been improvements in the primary net enrolment rate, however, it is still far from reaching the goal by 2015. It is further difficult for females to achieve the target due to existing disparities.

Table 5 : Net Enrolment Ratio (NER) in Primary Education

	2001/02	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13	Target (2015)
Total Population (5-9 years)	20,444,203	21,008,860	20,662,928	21,406,642	
Total (NPER)	57.0%	64.1%	68.7%	68.5%	100.0%
-Male (NPER)	66.0%	70.3%	73.4%	73.4%	100.0%
-Female (NPER)	47.4%	57.5%	63.6%	63.2%	100.0%
Source: Ministry of Education and Trainings & Standards for Higher Education, 2014					

Goal 3: Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes.

The Table 6 below shows that the illiteracy among youth is on decline. However, we still will not be able to achieve the target by 2015.

Table 6 : Percentage of Youth (15-24 years) by Educational Attainment

	2001/02	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13
Total Youth Illiterate (%)	36.9%	34.6%	30.1%	28.4%
Male	25.1%	25.1%	21.6%	20.6%
Female	49.5%	44.8%	39.2%	36.6%
Source: Ministry of Education and Trainings & Standards for Higher Education, 2014				

The enrolment of youth into vocational and skills training centres has also increased during past years but it has been very slow as can be seen from the Table 7 below.

Table 7 : Number of Young People & Adults Enrolled in TVET & Skills Training Centres

	2001/02	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13
Total	–	238,687	272,531	298,952
Source: Ministry of Education and Trainings & Standards for Higher Education, 2014				

Goal 4: Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

There is improvement in achieving literacy targets; however, it does not seem to be on track to be achieved by 2015. Further, the disparity between male and female continues, which makes the target achievement for females further difficult (Table 8).

Table 8 : Percentage of Adults (15+ years) by Educational Attainment

	2001/02	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13	Target (2015)
Total Adult Illiterate (%)	57.0%	48.3%	46.0%	43.8%	34%
Male	43.0%	35.0%	33.1%	31.5%	
Female	71.0%	62.4%	59.5%	56.5%	

Source: Ministry of Education and Trainings & Standards for Higher Education, 2014

Goal 5: Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

Table 9 : Females enrolled as % of Total Enrolment by Level of Education

	2001/02	2005/06	2009/10	2012/13	Target (2015)
Pre Primary	43.6%	43.4%	44.8%	44.4%	50%
Primary	40.3%	43.3%	44.5%	44.4%	50%
Lower Secondary	39.4%	41.2%	42.5%	43.0%	50%
Upper Secondary	41.5%	43.9%	41.9%	37.3%	50%

Source: Ministry of Education and Trainings & Standards for Higher Education, 2014

Goal 6: Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.

There are improvements in the gender parity but the target is still away. It might be possible to achieve this target if further concerted efforts are made in towards achieving this target (Table).

The Figure 4 shows the dismal condition in which the children acquire their education. 28% of public schools do not have toilets and that makes it difficult particularly for females to go to school without such basic facilities. 11% of the schools buildings are considered dangerous.

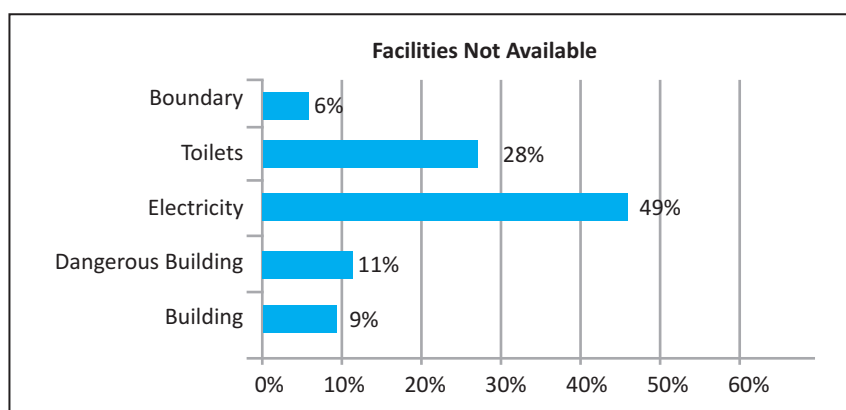


Figure 4: Basic facilities not available - public schools

As far as the learning achievement is considered, the figures are equally discouraging. The National Assessment 2006 shows the following results (four subjects, grade 4, 127 districts):

- Language: 24% students scored greater than the scaled mean score;
- Mathematics: 19% students scored greater than the mean score;
- Science: 33% students scored greater than the mean score;
- Social Studies: 43% of students got a mean score;

A recent survey of ASER in 2013 also shows that the achievement of children is quite low as can be seen in the figure below. Although the results of private schools appear better in a relative sense, they are not appreciable on an absolute scale. This apparent private advantage is quite contested. There is little research available in Pakistan's context to substantiate this discussion further; however, a research carried out in India suggests that when family characteristics are controlled there appears to be little private school advantage (Kingdon, 2008). Further a research in Pakistan indicates that private school children are more likely to attend private tuitions (Khan & Amjad, 2013). This means that the private advantage is not only the result of school factors but is further enhanced by the additional support that these children would receive outside the schools. Hence, the apparent private advantage is still debatable. Nevertheless, the assessment figure shows that the overall quality of education in public and private sectors is still far from desirable condition (Figure 5).

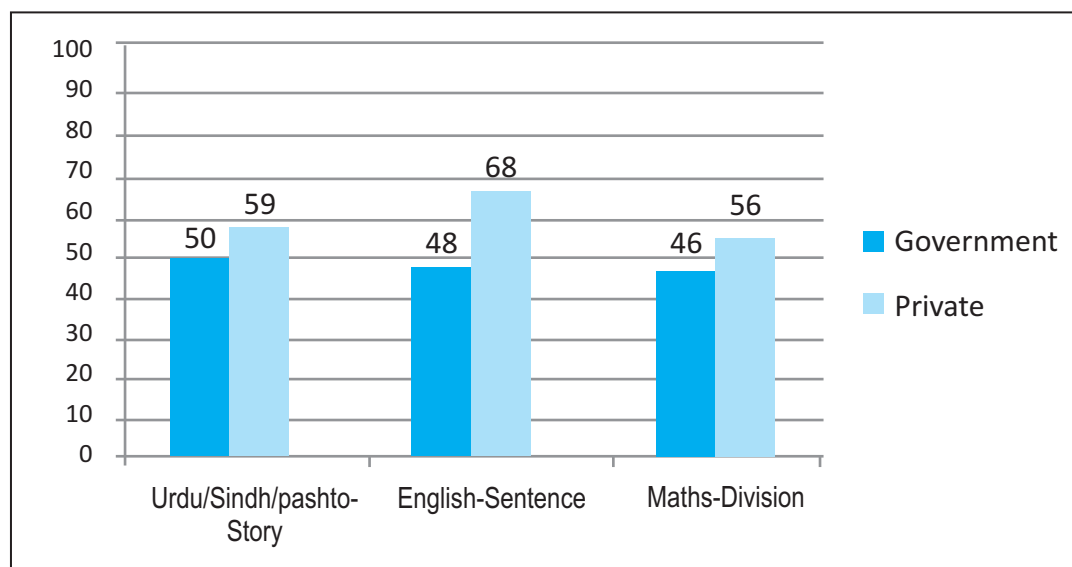


Figure 5: Achievement scores - ASER 2013

3 Literature Review

3.1 What is PPP?

During 1980s the welfare state notions were severely dented by the pro market policies followed particularly in the United Kingdom and United States under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Regan respectively. The main arguments emerging in favour of this move suggested that state should not take heavy burden of service delivery as it is incapable and inherently inefficient to do that. Thus state should take the role of policy maker and regulator and get the services delivered through market forces. These ideas are referred to as neo-liberal ideas, which are opposite to the welfare-state ideas. In 1997, the World Bank produced a seminal report titled 'The State in a Changing World', which argued that state should not get involved in service delivery, rather assume the role of a facilitator and enabler (World Bank 1997) . The changing role of state was reflected in various areas of public service delivery including education. Thus we see a rising trend of private provision of schooling in various countries since 1990s. Savas (2000) defines privatisation as,

'The act of reducing the role of government, or increasing the role of the private sector, in an activity or in the ownership of assets' (p. 3).

The call for achieving Education for All (EFA) goals of universal primary education by 2015 further enhanced this trend as governments in developing countries encouraged private sector to partner in education delivery as they felt budgetary constraints to ensure EFA goals through their own resources. The trend of privatisation raised the concern of equities as private providers tend to concentrate mainly in urban areas and relatively affluent localities. This led to the ideas of Public Private Partnerships 'PPPs', which proposed to work out various partnership arrangements between the public and private sectors for improved service delivery that also mitigate against the inequities. The PPP is generally understood as follows:

'A PPP arrangement exists when a government agency assigns a traditionally public responsibility to a private company in an attempt to improve delivery efficiency and lower costs, increase customer satisfaction, and attract private funding' (Mouraviev, Kakabadse, & Robinson, 2012, p.410, cited from Hofmeister & Borchert (2004)).

Another definition of PPP is forwarded by the Canadian Council of Public Private Partnership, which is as follows:

'A cooperative venture between the public and the private sectors, built on the expertise of each partner, that best meets clearly defined public needs through the appropriate allocation of resources, risks and awards'. (<http://www.pppcouncil.ca>)

IMF defines the PPP as follows:

The set of arrangements “in which the private sector carries out the role of supplier of infrastructure of assets and services that have traditionally been provided by the government”.

Allan (1999 p. 8) reviews several definitions of PPP and notes the following common features across definitions: shared objectives, mutual benefits, risk sharing and associated value for money, joint investment of resources, and the sharing of authority between the public and private sectors. He further distinguishes between the three closely related terms: contracting out, privatisation and public private partnership. The contracting out involves the service delivery by a private contractor that was previously provided by the public sector with little transfer of responsibility, control and role in decision making. The PPP involves some transfer of control, authority and role in decision making. In PPP both public and private partners can bring in their capital assets and get involved in service delivery. However, PPP differs from privatisation because under PPP arrangements 'the public sector retains a substantive role, whereas, in case of privatisation subsequent government involvement is minimal unless regulation of the post-privatised entity is necessary' (Allan 1999 p. 9).

The government of Pakistan defines PPP as follows:

'The financing, development, operation and maintenance of infrastructure by the private-sector which would otherwise have been provided by the public sector. Instead of the public sector procuring a capital asset and providing a public service, the private sector creates the asset through a dedicated standalone business (usually designed, financed, built, maintained and operated by the private sector) and then delivers a service to the public sector entity/consumer in return for payment that is linked to performance.'

(Pakistan Policy on Public Private Partnerships (Approved by the Economic Coordination Committee of the Cabinet, 26 January 2010, pp. 2-3)

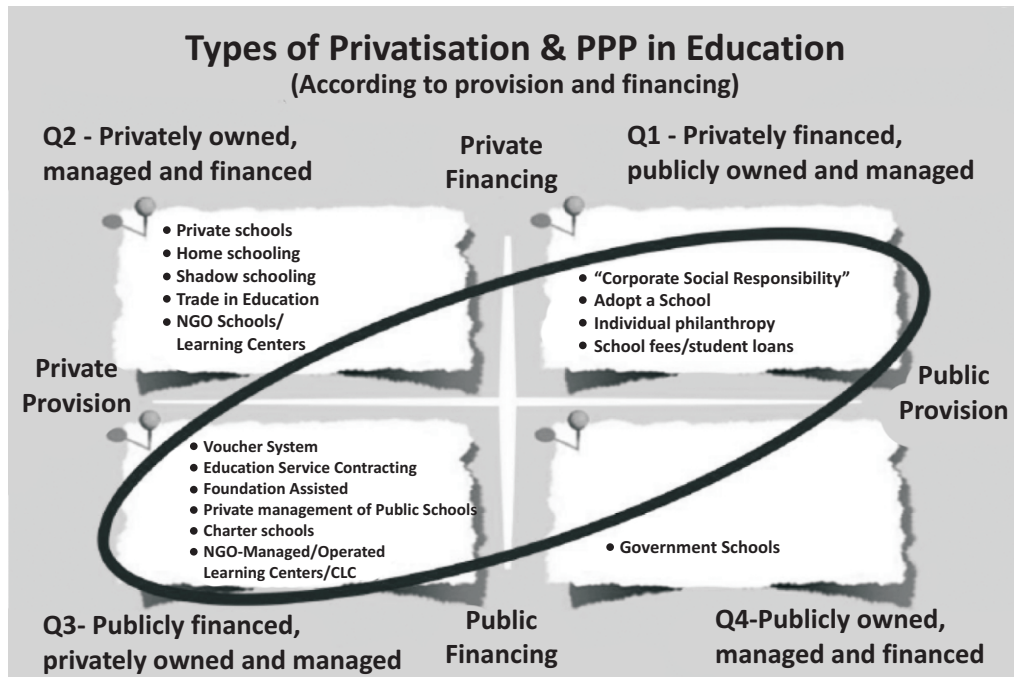
3.2 Types of PPP in Education

Norman LaRocque (2008) reviewed a range of PPP types that are in operation across the world. He presented seven types of partnerships involving different arrangements between public and private sectors. These types include:

1. Private sector philanthropy
2. School management contract
3. Government purchase of education services
4. Voucher or voucher-like initiatives
5. Adopt-a-school programmes
6. Capacity building initiatives
7. School infrastructure initiatives

The ASPBAE's primer on PPP in education presents a helpful matrix of PPP in education developed on provision and financing (Figure 6). The quadrant 1 and 3 (Q1 and Q3) in the matrix provide various PPP options.

Figure 6 : The four Quadrants in the Public-Private mix



Source: Adapted from Verger (2012) and Patrinos (2009)

The OECD distinguishes between the public, private and public-private-partnership on the basis of risk that is borne by the public or the private sector. The OECD states that "the distinguishing feature that determines whether a project is defined as traditional public procurement or a PPP should be whether or not a sufficient amount of risk has been transferred" (OECD, 2008 cited in Education International, 2009, p. 15). This was elaborated through the Figure 7 below

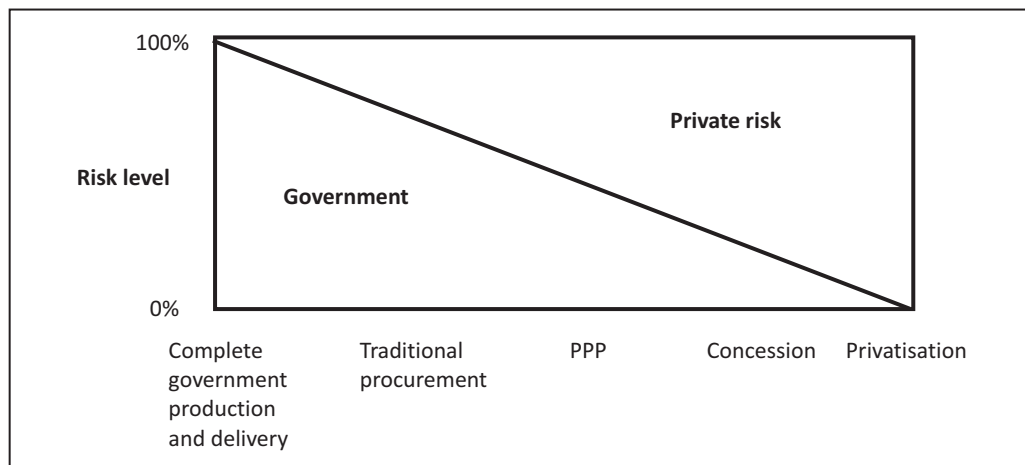


Figure 7 : The spectrum of combinations of public and private participation, on the basis of risk

3.3 Reactions to PPPs in Education

The debate on PPPs has at least attracted three kinds of reactions - three camps among scholars – advocates, sceptics and pragmatist. The advocates highlight the lack of capacity and resources available within public sector and argue that to achieve the goals of EFA it is imperative that we use the resources available with both public and private sectors in some kind of partnership arrangements (Tooley & Dixon, 2007). The sceptics like Green 2005 feel that PPP is a sugar coated term for privatisation of education, which is politically more acceptable. The Education International argues that in case of education, it is the government which takes ultimate responsibility to provide education to its citizens, hence sharing that responsibility and risk attached to it with private sector is questionable (Education International 2009). The pragmatists highlight the futility of both arguments and call for focusing on the outcomes and delivery of services in an equitable way by utilising the capacities and resources of both the sectors (Muzafar & Bari 2010).

4 Research Methodology, Question and Limitations

This objective of this research is to consolidate the discussions around PPP, strengthen the evidential basis of this debate in Pakistan and inspire future researches on the subject. The research aims to provide background research with primary and secondary sources to help understand various claims of PPP in education in Pakistan against available evidence. It will help assess such claims including assertions like PPP helps in improving access, attendance, physical environment, pedagogy, outcomes, affordability and governance. Secondly, it aims to learn the key lessons from some of the experiments of PPP being carried out by prominent organizations in Sindh and Punjab provinces. Thirdly, it aims to interrogate key government officials to know how (if at all) the lessons learnt from PPP initiatives in the country are incorporated in the education policy. Thus it sets out the following guiding research questions:

1. What evidence is available to support highlighted PPP claims? Does the available evidence sufficiently establish the claims?
 - a. What is the difference between the government and civil society stance over the benefits of PPP? Is government using PPP to escape from its commitments by overblowing the success of PPP? Is government's subsidy to private sector justifiable?
2. What are the main characteristics of a prominent PPP initiative such as – PPRS? How is it being funded and executed?
3. What are the key lessons from prominent PPP initiatives like PPRS (Promoting Private Schooling in Rural Sindh) – positive & negative – in terms of provision of public education through private sources?
4. Will various PPP models – particularly PPRS - remain sustainable in longer run without external support in terms of: scaling up; expansion to post primary; quality of education; and efficiency of delivery?
5. Are lessons learnt through PPP experiments – particularly PPRS – being incorporated in the public policy – positive/negative?
6. What are the overall implications of PPRS and other models of PPP that are being experimented in Pakistan in terms of equity and strengthening/weakening of public education system?

4.1 Research Methodology

The qualitative research methodology was chosen to carry out the research. The qualitative methodology focuses more on understanding the processes and seeking explanation of the phenomenon (Robson, 1999). Looking at the research questions, this was considered more suitable. The research has also benefitted from available quantitative datasets such as NEMIS and ASER wherever they supplement the research findings. In addition other secondary sources

have also been utilized which responds to the research questions. Nevertheless, the research is aimed to consolidate the discussions around PPP in education in Pakistan so as to understand it better in light of available evidence so far. This will hopefully provide ground for further researches that are critically needed. Some of the research questions may appear extensive, but in order to consolidate the debate they need to be articulated as such and hopefully this research would provide a spring board for other researchers to pursue them further. The following research design was utilized:

Research Question	Focus areas	Instruments	Sample/ Sources
1. Evidence vis-à-vis PPP claims	Claims related to: access & equity, attendance, physical environment, pedagogy, learning outcomes, cheapness and better governance	Literature Review Documentary Analysis	Journal Articles Donor Reports Civil Society Reports Government Reports Other Research Reports Data from NEMIS Data from ASER
1a. Stance of government and civil society over PPP	Stance of PPP of government Stance of PPP of Civil Society Is government using PPP as escape Is government subsidy to private justifiable	Interview	Organizational heads/concerned persons from concerning organizations from Sindh and Punjab
2. Characteristics of PPP initiatives like PPRS	conception, funding and execution	Documents, Interviews	Govt. of Sindh, World Bank, SEF, PEF
3. Lessons from PPP initiatives - PPRS	Factors that facilitate/ hinder partnership. Best PPP arrangements in financing, governance and quality improvement. Outcomes of PPP Limits of PPP Future of PPP	Interviews, Documents	Organizational heads/concerned persons from following relevant organizations in Sindh and Punjab
4. Sustainability of PPP models without external assistance - PPRS	Sustainability of PPP models in terms of: expansion to post-sec, quality, efficiency	Interview, Documents	Organizational heads/concerned persons from following relevant organizations in Sindh and Punjab
5. Lessons' incorporation into education policy;	Key messages that government has learnt. Policies that reflect incorporation of such lessons. Current programmes on PPP. Place of PPP in future Policies and plans that are changed in light of PPP lessons	Interviews, Documents	Government officials and key informants

6. Implications of PPP – PPRS on public education system in terms of equity and strengthening/ weakening of public education system	Analysis of gathered evidence to measure strengths and weaknesses of PPP for public education system	Interviews, documents and analytical remarks	Researchers' analysis
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4.2 Fieldwork

The research team comprised of the consultant and a research assistant. The research assistant supported the basic research work including: literature search, data management and interview transcripts.

The data collection took place in three stages:

- Stage 1: Secondary sources and literature review
- Stage 2: Interviews with representatives of prominent organizations in Sindh
- Stage 3: Interviews with representatives of prominent organizations in Punjab

The interviewed persons represent key voices in the education field particularly related to PPP in education. The cross section of these interviewees also represents various stakeholders including members of the civil society (CS), academic researchers (AR), and government officials (Government). Readers are advised to use caution when drawing conclusions based on the results of these interviews, considering the small sample of interviewees. Nevertheless, as is the nature of qualitative research, the explanatory power of the evidence gathered through interviews (which is then further strengthened through secondary sources) is seen with more credibility.

Stakeholders Category	Person contacted for the research
Members of Civil Society (CS)	5
Academic Researchers (AR)	4
Government Officials.	3
TOTAL	12

In order to further strengthen the findings, a national consultation was organized in Islamabad based on the preliminary findings of the research, attended by national and international researchers, civil society representatives, academics and donors. The findings were met by critical acclaim by the group. The suggestions/ comments that were made by the group of experts were included in the final report, which have improved the credibility of the report and its findings.

4.3 Data Analysis

After carrying out the interviews, they were transcribed and coded. The data analysis included

theme generation pertaining to each research question (see the research design above, under heading Research Methodology). The themes were then expanded and enriched through data obtained from various secondary sources. The analysis was carried out through using the 'NVivo Software' for qualitative data analysis. The interview data was supplemented through documentary analysis. Furthermore, quantitative data obtained through secondary sources was also utilized to support the analysis.

4.4 Research Limitations

Readers should keep in mind the limitations of the research before drawing any conclusions. The scope of the research was limited to the provinces of Sindh and Punjab only, as a result of time constraints with regards to the time allowed for the research (2 months for conceiving, conducting and reporting). The budget allocated for data collection was also quite limited which further limited the scope of the evidence gathering and data collection that informs the findings.

5 Research Findings

5.1 Understanding PPP

The civil society and government representatives did not share their understanding and definition of PPP in education and felt comfortable with the general prevalent understanding. However, the academic researchers felt a need to engage in the discussion and decide on a conceptual understanding of PPP as it is applied in Pakistan, which they consider essential for the PPP debate to move forward. Two key points emerge from gathered data in that regard:

1. The meaning of the word 'partnership' needs to be understood as different from its widely used definition. When discussing partnership in PPP, further questions need to be asked, such as whether partners under PPP modality stand on equal ground, as well as what 'partnership' entails, and what the rights and responsibilities of partners are.
2. A working definition of PPP was forwarded by an interviewee who suggests that PPP involves some degree of collaboration of private and public in varied forms. Moving beyond the two extremes (public and private), anytime you have systematic involvement of one or the other through some contractual arrangements, then it is PPP. Under this definition the School Management Committee (SMC) is not a PPP. The PPP arrangements in education work under the heads of management, pedagogy, ownership and finance.

5.2 Is PPP Privatisation?

Below are the responses by various stakeholders that show that majority feels that PPP is not privatisation, though participants tend to agree that it does have potential to lead to privatisation. Interview participants believe that PPP is not privatisation because of the following reasons:

- Privatisation takes place through market forces and with profit motives, whereas PPP arrangements are spearheaded by the public sector in Pakistan.
- The state is not pressing for rampant privatisation, and instead desires a balance between PPP and privatisation, according to one government official surveyed.
- All PPP in education models involve both public and private actors. These involve state functionaries in various arrangements in the form of provision of teachers, facilities, campus or management. It is not privatisation until the state withdraws completely.
- The PPP models are being initiated in response to educational crisis and not as a move to retrench on public sector education. The proposed strategy to ameliorate the crisis is to collaborate with both the public and private sectors.

Despite the understanding that there are distinctions between PPP and privatisation, academic researchers believe that the PPP has limited utility and it would not avert the education crisis unless the public sector improves its own provisions, particularly concerning quality of education. A representative surveyed quoted the following:

'I am happy for privatisation if I am convinced that the quality issue is taken up through this route in a meaningful way. However, I am not persuaded that it will solve anything. In fact, the problems of equity and access will worsen. Privatisation leads to private schools charging fees that few parents can afford, resulting in grave equity implications as education becomes a commodity, decreasing access to quality education for the population..' (Academic Researcher)

Another academic researcher points out that the confusion between privatisation and PPP is taking place because the issue of privatisation and PPP is not being defined properly by the state. Teachers unions across Pakistan are alarmed by the rise of privatisation and PPP. Academic researchers believe that despite the fears, the state has no fixed policy to deal with privatisation or PPP. A comment by a representative of the academia is as follows:

'I don't think the education will be privatised. In the 1980s it was a heyday for educational privatisation. Now the argument for privatisation of education has been passed after 25A and also internationally recognised. State can say that we can build the PPP argument having role of both - partnerships of state and society [that can lead to] efficient delivery and effectiveness.' (Academic Researchers)

5.3 Types and models of PPP

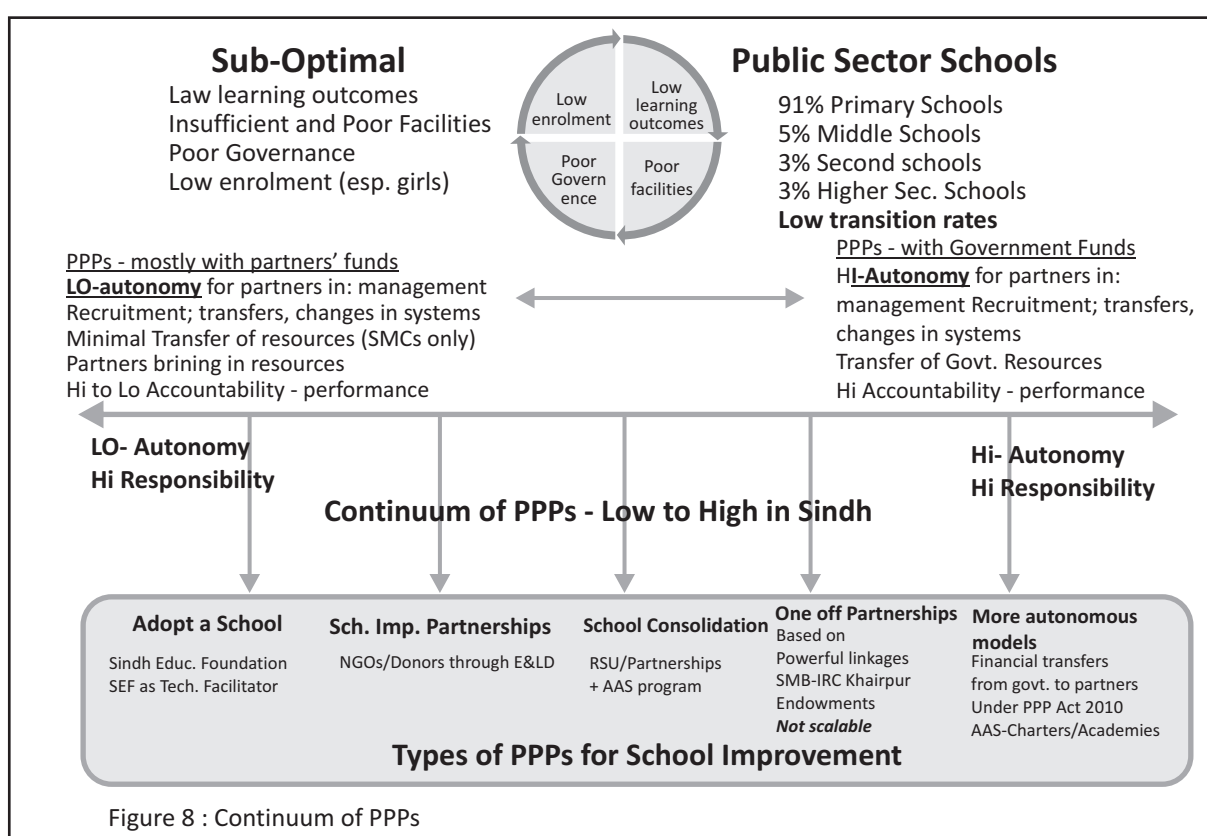
The researcher found a range of models that are in operation in Sindh and Punjab, which include:

- Adopt a School: Whereby a philanthropic organisation or individual adopts a government school and tries to improve its infrastructure and quality of education. E.g.: Sindh Education Foundation (SEF)
- Vouchers: A voucher handed over to the student to utilise it for his/her fee at a low fee private school. e.g.: Punjab Education Foundation (PEF)
- Foundation Assisted schools: Low-fee private schools that are assisted by the PEF on a per-child subsidy basis.
- Supporting Private Entrepreneurs: Low-fee private schools newly opened by entrepreneurs through the support of foundation – SEF.
- Supporting intermediary organisation: An interesting category seems to be emerging, such as EFS – a Civil Society organisation registered as a Company – that supports intermediary organisations such as TCF or BRAC to provide education to the disadvantaged. Additionally, they may provide vouchers to needy students to study at low fee private schools.

Based on these various experiments, a continuum may be developed, keeping some minimal variables in context, such as the financing, management and operations of schools.

Model	Financing	Management	Operation
Adopt a School	SEF	Government + Adopter	Government + Adopter
Vouchers	PEF	Private + PEF	Private
Foundation Assisted	PEF	Private + PEF	Private
Entrepreneurs	SEF	Private + SEF	Private
Intermediary Orgs	EFS	Private + EFS	Private

The following model (Figure 8) was shared in a full day workshop on PPP and Adopt a School programme jointly organised by the SEF and Education and Literacy Department, Government of Sindh on 01st April 2014. The model presents a continuum of PPP that runs from the end of Low-Autonomy / Hi-Responsibility to Hi-Autonomy / Hi-Responsibility. It suggests the methods by which PPP may be reconceptualised from an ineffective policy option to an effective one.



5.4 Evidence vis-à-vis PPP claims

One of the questions set out in this research was to find out evidential support for various claims made by PPP proponents. Such claims include the following:

- PPP programmes help in increasing access and enrolment for all.
- PPP programmes help in increasing the attendance of both students and teachers.

- PPP programmes help in improving the physical environment of schools.
- PPP programmes help in improving teachers' pedagogical skills.
- PPP programmes results in improvement of higher learning outcomes for children.
- PPP programmes provide cheaper education when compared with public provision.
- Schools under PPP programmes demonstrate better governance practices.

The primary data gathered through the research shows that there is not a strong evidential base available that informs the debate on PPP in education. The reference to international researches and experiments are generally quoted as examples of success. The CS representatives feel that though there is not much research evidence available on experiments carried out on a larger scale and over a longer duration, the health sector does provide some insights. The PPPs in health have had successful results in the context of Pakistan.

The government representatives concede that the research and evidence basis that informs the debate on PPP in education remains weak. When asked about the research evidence, they generally referred to project reports that are prepared by the implementation team. At best, a third party evaluation and results of students learning outcomes in PPP schools is gathered by the government but not for the purpose of research. There seems to be better coordination among various arms of the government education system in Punjab as compared to Sindh. The prime reason for that is the personal interest by the Chief Minister (CM) Punjab through his 'Educational Roadmap' program. In Sindh, the SAT assessments carried out for the education department do not include the schools run under SEF, which illustrate poor coordination. These evidences inform (not regularly) the programmatic decisions by the government.

The academic researchers and civil society representatives also shared that there is very little research work done on the theme of PPP and whatever data is available is also less empirical. The evidence, where available, were mainly produced by researches sponsored by donor agencies, who overwhelmingly encourage PPP interventions.

In order to address these questions, the researcher tried to dig out secondary sources that may help in responding to some or all of these claims, particularly from a Pakistani context. The gathered evidence has been presented below, and has been divided into two main categories: access and quality:

Access

- A study was carried out jointly by researchers belonging to the World Bank, RAND and Columbia University to show the effect of PPP on expanding enrolment of children in rural Sindh. Their findings suggested that PPP had significantly improved enrolment in the sample schools and also reduced gender disparities. The study adopted an experimental model.
- The World Bank compilation report on the Role and Impact of PPP in education also includes the results of Baluchistan. The study, carried out by Kim, Alderman and Orazem

(1999) shows that there was positive impact on girls enrolment, which rose 22% from the baseline of 56% enrolment .

- iii) A research study under the DFID funded RECOUP research consortium explored whether girls are worse off in terms of choice of schooling – public and private . The results suggest that indeed girls get an inequitable share of relatively better quality private schooling. Though the study was not on any PPP schools, the anecdotal experience suggests that wherever the schools provide better quality education (whether fully private or PPP), there is always a danger of marginalizing girls.
- iv) Looking at the private education institution data and Population Census data, the study concludes that affordable private schools are an increasing phenomenon in rural Pakistan, which also tend to enrol a high percentage of girls . There was no mention of PPP schools, but looking at the current developments at SEF and PEF and their support to low fee private schools, this could very well be applicable to PPP schools.

Quality

- i) One of the most significant research in the context of Pakistan was Learning and Educational Achievements in Punjab Schools (LEAPS) study, which looked at the learning achievements among children of rural Punjab in both public and private schools . They concluded that the performance of private school children was significantly higher than the public sector children. While the research did not look at PPP schools in particular, it carries significant weight in the PPP debate and is often quoted as an example of private schools showing better performance than government schools in rural localities.
- ii) Using ASER data, a research study suggests that there is clear difference between private, public and PPP schools in terms of children's achievement. However the difference between the performances gets significantly reduced when factors other than schools are accounted for. In fact, they argue that all three types of schools perform low against the national curriculum benchmark.
- iii) The World Bank report on role and impact of PPP in education gathers research studies from around the world. The report compiles research evidence on the outcomes of PPP initiatives that involve vouchers, private management of public schools and subsidies . Overall the report shows positive outcomes of PPP schools in terms of higher achievements and increase in enrollment.
- iv) A working paper looks at the comparative wage advantage of graduates of public and private schools in Pakistan and Bangladesh based on secondary sources – household survey data. The analysis found no significant advantage of private school graduates over public school graduates in Bangladesh. However, the private school graduates in Pakistan were found to have a greater advantage over public school graduates. The author considers the difference of public policy towards private schools as the most plausible reason for this difference. There was no particular reference made to PPP schools but there are lessons that inform this discussion.

Analytical Remarks

Two of the research studies under 'Access' illustrate a positive effect of PPP on improving access to education, including greater access to girls. Interestingly, both of these research studies were sponsored by the World Bank. Another study under the 'Access' heading above shows a rising trend of private schools in rural localities due to a common perception that they offer better quality education than their public counterparts. However, Aslam's (2007) study cast doubt on some of these claims by suggesting that girls are disadvantaged in accessing relatively better quality private schools. In terms of quality, the cited researches above mainly show that the performance of both private and PPP schools was better than public schools. However, the research by Amjad and MacLeod (n.d.) alerts that the cause of the difference is attributed mainly to factors other than schools. The data presented by ASER, if looked critically, also shows that 'private school advantage' is not good enough on its own as the children's expected achievement is quite low. Further it shows that children who attend private schools are also more likely to take private tuitions, and thus, their relatively better performance against children who attend public schools may not completely be attributable to in-school factors only. A recent research by Khan and Shaikh (2013) also attests to the higher occurrence of private tuitions among children who attend private schools. They suggest that private tuitions have important contributions towards the educational performance of children and thus, it isn't simply the type of school that determines the success of a student.

In the Indian context, Kingdon (2008) argue that the private school advantage significantly reduces once the family characteristics of students are controlled. These are significant findings, which alludes that inequities in the social system get reproduced through education. The level of parental educational qualification, for example, demonstrates a pronounced effect on the performance of students in three types of school more than simply the school in question. The research by Asadullah (2008) also shows that the relatively better wage advantage of private school graduates over public school graduates in Pakistan can be better explained by the policy environment in which the schools operate. In Bangladesh, where there is more community accountability of public schools and more stringent policies applicable to private schools in terms of teachers' salaries, private school graduates show no advantage over public school graduates. In contrast, private schools in Pakistan are very minimally regulated by governmental policies, while public and community engagement in public schools is minimal. This contrast suggests that private schools are not essentially better than public schools, but that the policy that governs them and the contextual socio-political and economic features that surround them serve better to explain the relative advantage of public, private or PPP schools. The evidence presented here also suggests that there is still no conclusive settlement over the PPP advantage in Pakistan, apart from the researches sponsored by the World Bank (which has also funded a majority of the PPP initiatives in Pakistan); there is a dearth of further studies. There is a need for further independent researches to investigate the perceived advantage of PPP over other type of schools. This is also reflected in the gathered qualitative data shared in the beginning of this heading. This research hopefully will contribute to this gap.

5.5 Stance of Government, Civil Society and Donors

5.5.1 Stance of Government – A Historical View

In order to understand the historical development of the government's stance towards public private partnerships, a historical policy analysis was carried out (see Appendix). The analysis charts changes in the states policy towards the private and non-governmental sector over the years. The analysis shows that the government's stance towards private sector remained quite positive in the beginning of the nation's history, as is clear in the policy of 1952. However, the government felt educational provision to be its main responsibility while seeking assistance from the private sector in discharging it. The 1970 and 1972 policies were quite averse to the private sector and considered it a cause of social stratification that could only be curtailed through nationalization. The 1979 policy re-initiated the earlier stance of the government prior to 1970 towards private sector and provided tax incentives to the private sector to shoulder some of the educational responsibility of the government. The 1992 policy went further and established Education Foundations in each of the provinces and at the Federal level to encourage the involvement of private sector in the provision of education.

It was not until 1998 that we hear the reference to PPP as a recognized term in education policy context in Pakistan. It is referred as the partnership among government, private sector and NGOs. The policy is quite explicit about the participation of private sector in educational provision and provides various incentives to the private sector for encouraging their involvement. The policy also refers to the regulation of private sector as well as the inclusion of marginalized children in private schools to bridge inequalities. The Education Sector Reform (ESR) 2001-2006 was actually an action plan to further the policy objectives of 1998 policy. It was very explicit about PPP and suggested various strategies and incentives to bring the private sector and NGOs in the fold of educational provision. These incentives included a 50% tax rebate and provision of utilities on non-commercial (residential) tariffs. The current policy, the NEP 2009, shows some sensitivity towards the parallel educational system – public, private and madrassas - and their effects on society. It recognizes that educational provision is the responsibility of the state, but that the state may partner with private and NGO sectors to deliver such services. Thus, this policy furthers the policy objectives of previously continued policies since 1998, which include the provision of tax incentives. The policy also proposed the establishment of a regulatory authority to ensure greater accountability of the private sector.

In addition to the policy documents (as summarized above), it is possible to consult other resources to understand the current stance of the government towards PPP and the private sector. The current government seems to be aggressively pursuing privatization across various fields. It has established a Privatization Commission to sell various state-run institutions and assets, including airlines, steel mills, banks and railways that the state is finding difficulty running in a commercially profitable manner. There is an act of parliament towards PPP that was passed in 2010 – PPP Act 2010; and recently the government is finalizing its vision 2025 document that explicitly favours private sector participation in all fields and services, including education and health. It is worth mentioning that the PPP Act 2010 is under revision and a group of educational experts coming from various sectors have been participating in this revision. The

major change that has been proposed relates to the inclusion of services sector within the ambit of the Act, which seems to focus more on infrastructure projects.

Coming to the geographical focus of this research – Sindh and Punjab – the current stance of the government in both Sindh and Punjab is quite welcoming for the PPP initiatives. In Sindh, we see various PPP initiatives launched under the Sindh Education Foundation for quite sometimes including Adopt-a-School Programme, Foundation Assisted Schools. The recently concluded WB financed programme was titled Promoting Private Education in Rural Sindh (PPRS) that was part of larger Sindh Education Reform Programme (SERP). The SERP-2 has also been launched with further expansion of PPRS programme. The Sindh Education Sector Plan also has highlighted the role of partnerships in educational provision. The current Education Secretary has shared on public forums that he wants to include the private sector in the educational provision and also quite keen on the policy of PPP. It is under his leadership that Education and Literacy Department in Sindh has recently advertised for the position – PPP Node – in education department that can spearhead the PPP initiatives in the department (see).

In Punjab the PPP portfolio of PEF is on rise under its various programmes – foundation assisted, vouchers, and new school. In 2004 the PEF was working in seven districts with 28000 students, which is increased to 36 districts with 3400 schools and 1.3 million students. There are further expansions planned in the current and coming years. The CM Roadmap to Education Reform is also giving more prominence to the PPP role of PEF.

The stance of the government towards PPP initiatives is positively aggressive, whereby new schemes and model are being promoted. The government claims that PPP addresses various issues that education in Pakistan continues to face:

- Access and Equity: through PPP new schools even in poor localities through government subsidy are being opened to improve access. Through PPPs the inequities of class, gender and geography are being addressed by ensuring equal participation of all.



**GOVERNMENT OF SINDH
EDUCATION & LITERACY
DEPARTMENT**

Dated: 16.01.2014

POSITION VACANT

1. The Education & Literacy Department, Government of Sindh, intends to recruit Project Director, for Public Private Partnership Node (PPP Node) having strong leadership and management experience to lead an organization and to effectively deliver its mandate in support of PPP Node from open market. The main objectives are as under:
 - i. Lead the process designing PPP Node Project proposals according to the law and best national and international practices and manage all PPP projects.
 - ii. Coordinate between Finance Department, PPP Unit-FD, lenders and other Government of Sindh agencies to design and execute efficient PPP projects.
 - iii. Oversee the work and provide guidance to Transaction/ Financial Advisors, Legal Experts and other staff of PPP Node-ELD.
2. The ideal candidate shall have:
 - a. A minimum of 10 years experience in education sector.
 - b. Master degree in Education or similarly relevant Master Degree.
 - c. Minimum 05 years experience in design and implementation of PPPs.
 - d. High competency in spoken and written English.
3. **Desirable:**
 - Post Graduate degree from a foreign reputable university.
 - Experience of working with bilateral and multilateral foreign agencies.
 - Experience of working with public sector.
 - Age 35 to 60 years.
4. A competitive remuneration and benefits will be offered as per terms & conditions based on the qualifications and experience of the candidate.
5. Curriculum vitae with full details of experience, achievements, qualifications and the names and contact details of three references should be sent to the office of Section Officer (Admin), Education & Literacy Department, 1st Floor, Tughlaq House, Sindh Secretariat No. 02, Kamal Attaturk Road, Karachi upto **11.02.2014** during office hours, only shortlisted candidates will be called for interview.

SECTION OFFICER (ADMIN)

INF-KRY No. 154/14

Figure 9 : Advertisement for PPP Node - Sindh

- Quality: through monitoring and students' assessment the quality education is being promoted with is generally more difficult to ensure in bureaucratic structures of government schools. For example PEF carry out students' assessment and link students' performance with disbursements.
- Governance: new models of improved governance can be applied by semi-autonomous government structures. Third parties are involved and that also infuse modern practices and learning in the government sector. New instruments of financial management are learnt by the government sector.

5.5.2 Stance of Civil Society

As far as the stance of Civil Society (CS) and Academic Researchers (AR) is concerned, it appeared mixed based on the data gathered for this research. On the one hand it is being considered as taking advantage of best of both worlds, on the other hand it is also being seen as an attempt by government to move away from its responsibilities. Some specific elements of CS and AR responses that were shared during the interviews were as follows:

Favourable

- PPP bring out the best of both worlds – private and public
- Government cannot fulfil its commitment under 25A and it is necessary that private and NGO sector should share some responsibilities.
- PPP's legal instruments safeguard the interest of private, public and community
- After the passing of 25A the profit motive from education from grades 1-10 are out, therefore PPP provides education to all without charging user fee

Sceptical

- PPPs are quasi-market instruments
- Education is a prime responsibility of the state and education has to be free at the point of delivery.
- The capacity of government to monitor private and PPP initiatives is limited, so PPP might lead to privatisation
- The PPP experiments are good and deliver results when they tried at a particular number. The same results cannot be guaranteed at the scale. So we have to set optimal limits to the share of public, private and PPP schooling options.

Although the interview data shows both favourable and sceptical responses that were shared by the civil society representatives, in general the stance of civil society groups such as PCE towards PPP is quite critical. While the government highlights all the positives of PPP, the civil society argue for treating education as a fundamental human right as well as the constitutional right. The recently added Article (Article 25A) in the Constitution of Pakistan declares education to be free and compulsory for all children aged 5-16 years. Thus civil society advocates quite

vigorously ensuring that this article is put into action by the government. In this connection several cases have been filed in provincial High Courts for the adjudication of this constitutional right.

5.5.3 Stance of Donors

The data reveals that donors are a very influential group that heavily influences the education policy in Pakistan. Some of the most influential donors include: United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Department for International Development (DFID), The World Bank (WB) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). In order to look at their stance towards PPP, analysis of their published work in the form of report or website was carried out. A summary of their current programmes in education is produced below to demonstrate their position and influence towards promoting the policy of PPP in Pakistani education sector.

Donor Agency	Project related to PPP	Estimated investment	Expected outcome related to PPP
USAID	Sindh Basic Education Program	\$ 155 million	Improved school Management through PPP
DFID	DFID Operational Plan 2011-2015 considers PPP as an important strategy for education sector; DFID has supported Education Fund for Sindh for improving Low Cost Private Schools	£ 645,620 (Overall education sector)	Improved enrolment and completion rates for primary and lower secondary levels
ADB*	Enhancing Public Private Partnerships in Pakistan (Provincial Support) Project, Government of Sindh	\$ 100,600	
WB	Second Sindh Education Sector Project	\$ 400 million (Overall Bank's commitment + 2300 million by GoS)	DLI 8 is about PPP, provides funds for PPRS program being implemented by SEF (More detail in later section)
	Punjab Education Sector Project	PKR 4.5 billion (Allocation for vouchers)	Financial support for students in low cost private schools – vouchers that are being disbursed by PEF
	Second Punjab Education Sector Project	\$ 350 million (overall Bank's commitment + \$ 3.8 billion by GoP)	DLI 9: vouchers for 250,000 students to study in low cost private schools in 36 districts

* Project is not directly related to education but has links to education

Sources: Websites of USAID, DFID, WB and ADB accessed 22nd August 2014

The list of above projects shows a consistent commitment by all influential donors towards promoting the policy of PPP in education. The World Bank is clearly the leading investor to

support PPP initiatives in Sindh and Punjab province through various schemes. The Sindh Education Foundation (SEF) in Sindh and Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) in Punjab – both semi-autonomous entities, implement these schemes. It is quite clear that donors are quite actively pushing the government to introduce and sustain the PPP policies in education.

5.6 Characteristics of PPP Initiatives

Sindh Education Foundation (SEF) and Punjab Education Foundation (PEF) are the two semi-government organizations that have experimented with various PPP models in education in Pakistan in their concerned provinces. The PEF operates three major initiatives of PPP, which are titled: Foundation Assisted Schools (FAS); New School Program (NSP); and Education Voucher Scheme (EVS). The SEF operates two major PPP initiatives titled: Promoting Private Schooling in Rural Sindh (PPRS) and Integrated Education Learning Program (IELP). All of these programs feature partnership of public and private sector in various ways. Using LaRocque (2008) classification of PPP in education, apart from EVS, all programs fall under the category of 'government purchase of education services'; while EVS falls under 'voucher or voucher-like initiatives'. Below I will describe the main features of each of these programs and then discuss in detail the PPRS program of SEF.

5.6.1 Foundation Assisted Schools (FAS)

The FAS is considered as the flagship program of PEF. Under this program, the PEF provides finances to the private schools against children's enrolment – Rs. 350 per child at elementary level and Rs. 400 at secondary level. The schools are selected on the basis of openly shared criteria. The private schools assisted under the FAS scheme agree to be monitored by the PEF monitoring team. The PEF also carries out the Quality Assurance Tests (QAT) of the FAS school and the continuation of assistance is contingent upon the performance of school over QAT.

5.6.2 New School Program (NSP)

The NSP was launched in 2008 by PEF to help private sector open schools in remote localities, where it does not do it otherwise. There are around 200 schools that operate under this scheme at PEF. Under this scheme, the financial assistance is provided to private operator towards developing initial infrastructure along with initial grace period to overcome teething problems. The other aspects of the NSP are similar to FAS; Rs. 350 per child subsidy is provided and continuation of scheme depends on success at QAT.

5.6.3 Education Voucher Scheme (EVS)

Under the EVS program the PEF issues vouchers to deserving students, who can enroll in any PEF partner private school of their choice. The value of voucher is Rs. 350 and they are redeemed to the school. The EVS program started in 2006 and is now functional in 17 districts of Punjab. The criteria for selection of students under EVS include those children who are out of school, are poor and live in difficult circumstances of being a child of widow, single parent or are orphans. The partner schools are also selected on the basis of quality criteria and their continuation of the program depends on good performance on QAT.

5.6.4 Integrated Education Learning Program (IELP)

The IELP program has been launched by SEF in all the districts of Sindh, particularly focusing on more deprived areas with weak education profile. The scheme supports private schools of various kinds through per child subsidy model, whereby an amount of Rs. 350 per child is provided to a private school against the provision of education services. There are certain criteria that schools need to fulfill that pertain to unavailability of schooling in nearby area, teachers' salary and fulfillment of quality indicators. The IELP aims to support around 1300 private schools in Sindh that either already exist or newly created. It is supported by the educational budget of Government of Sindh. Students are assessed bi-annually to assess the quality of educational provision and the outcomes are used to support school as well as to monitor their continuation.

5.6.5 Promoting Private Schooling in Rural Sindh (PPRS)

Under this research we tried to focus more on one major PPP initiative to understand its characteristics and outcomes in detail. The PPRS was chosen as the program has been in operation for last 5 years. The researcher has also been able to extract some evaluation of the program that can help further investigate it in detail.

5.6.5.1 Characteristics of PPRS

This is a SEF led PPP initiative which is supported by the World Bank and Reform Support Unit of Education and Literacy Department of Government of Sindh. The program was initiated in 2008-09 under the Sindh Education Reform Program 1 (SERP1) and is now further extended under SERP2. The World Bank financing of \$300 million each has supported both SERP1 and SERP2. The PPRS aimed to support the opening of 1000 private schools in deprived localities in 10 districts of rural Sindh. In this way it aims to touch some 250,000 children. The program is launched in districts with following features:

- High number of out of school children
- Higher gender disparity
- No government primary school in the vicinity
- Interested entrepreneur
- Availability of female teachers and proper space

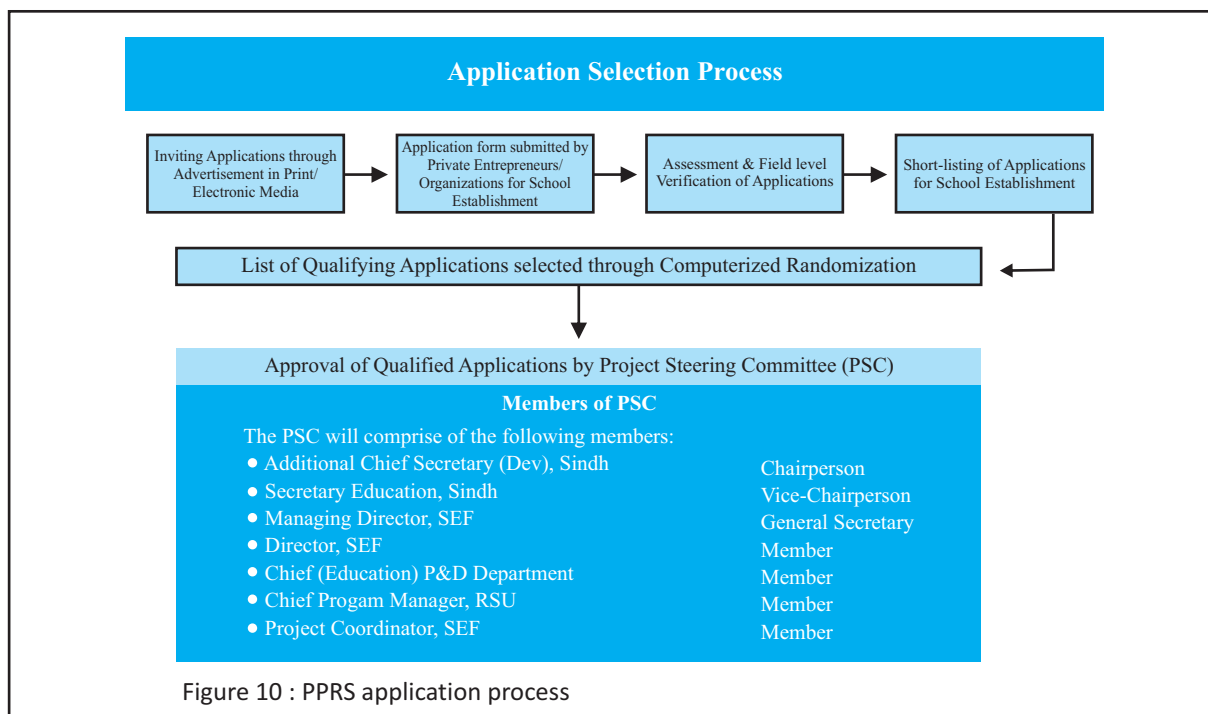
5.6.5.2 Initiating a Private School

The SEF advertises to invite prospective entrepreneurs to apply for consideration to open up a private school where there is no government primary school in the vicinity. The entrepreneurs have to establish school and get it registered under the Private School Directorate of the Ministry of Education, Sindh. Once shortlisted the entrepreneurs are supported by SEF to start up the school, ensure quality and develop teachers (see below). The school cannot charge fees from the students; they are reimbursed against the enrolment of children. In order to decrease gender disparity SEF has introduced a segregated model of reimbursement, whereby school is

provided subsidy of Rs. 350 against an enrolled boy and Rs. 450 against an enrolled girl.

5.6.5.3 Supported by SEF

In addition to fee subsidy SEF also provide additional support to PPRS schools to improve quality



aspects. The enhancements include the following:

- Professional development of teacher to improve their pedagogical skills
- Capacity building of entrepreneurs to enhance their leadership and management skills
- Provision of supplementary learning material
- Conduct of bi-annual assessment of students
- Enhancing parental and community involvement
- Regular monitoring of schools and research

5.6.5.4 Outcomes of PPRS

A World Bank sponsored research evaluated the effects of PPRS intervention on child enrolment. The research was carried out in 263 localities across 10 districts of Sindh where PPRS was operational. Two treatment groups were studied, one where flat subsidy of PKR 350 per child was given, and second where differential subsidy of PKR 350 for boys and PKR 450 for girls were introduced. The control group consisted of 63 localities. The funds were provided by the SEF through the support from the World Bank and the Government of Sindh (sustainability of funding is discussed below under 7.9). The study made following conclusions:

- The PPRS intervention under which the government paid private entrepreneurs a per-

child subsidy for operating school proved to be highly effective in improving the enrolment rates among primary age children.

- The enrolment in the villages where SEF schools were located showed an increase of 51% in enrolment. The increase is observed during the years 2010-2011 when baseline and follow up surveys were conducted for the study. The research attributes these positive effects on enrolment to the presence of SEF's school running under PPRS program.
- The differential subsidy showed greater enrolment gain for girls compared to boys but it was not statistically significant, perhaps due to an already high effect of flat subsidy.
- The gender gap appeared negligible where an SEF school was present.

The representative of SEF who was interviewed for this research shared that their ultimate focus is not simply on quantitative expansion but on provision of improved quality. The representative showed satisfaction as far as effects of SEF on access is concerned but shared that reaching the goals of quality is still at a distance as is shown by their internal assessment system. There are also some continuous challenges that the intervention has to deal with which include: teachers' turn over; need for specialist teachers from third grade, and students' drop out in higher grades. Elaborating on the point of students' drop out the representative shared,

'It is easier for school operator to get admission in Katchi and grade 1. This is the age when parents send child to school, school serve as a nursery. When children grow up, parents prefer them to work rather than sending to school'. (Interview with SEF representative)

Despite the challenges the representative shared that the PPRS model has potential to meet the objectives of access and quality. He said:

'At this point, I cannot say that the model is successful or not but it is a promising model. If we have proper accountability, better support system in place, and if we are consistent with our input then we think we can get better results. There are three very important objectives to this model. One is access: the children should have actually access to school. School should be available in locality where they live. Second is the quality, that it should be better than the public school and better than low cost private school. Third is cost effective. So it has potential to actually meet all three objectives.' (Interview with SEF representative).

The extensive literature review did not reveal any other research that focused on assessing the impact of PPRS on access or quality. As the research that shows positive outcome is World Bank sponsored, which is also a sponsor of PPRS, there is need to have independent researches to assess the impact of intervention.

5.7 Lessons from PPP Initiatives – PPRS focused

The lessons that were shared by the interviewees can be categorized mainly into positive and negative categories. First the positive lessons are as follows:

- Innovation: the models of PPP encourage implementers to develop innovative

solutions to problems that continue to arise.

- Can penetrate far-flung areas: the experiments with PPP demonstrate that their models can penetrate in far flung areas and low socio economic strata.

The concerning lessons that have tendency to jeopardize the PPP interventions are as follows:

- Uphill battle: the implementation of PPP models, dealing with partners and ensuring desired outcomes is an uphill battle that continues. The PPP tries to address both access and quality and that makes the task enormous.
- Strong Monitoring and Support: PPP interventions need strong monitoring and support at the same time. It was the most recurring theme that was pointed out by several interviewees. Lack of monitoring can make PPP interventions as bad as any other bad performing school.
- Human Resources requirements: One of the biggest challenges for scaling up any model of PPP is the requirement of quality human resource. Thus for example, managing the portfolio of PEF with 250 people is a tough task. PEF claims that in order to overcome this challenge they are constantly innovating and involving third parties to outsource their tasks, for example testing students.
- Low government baseline: One of the key academic researchers shared that lessons from PPP show that how low the government baseline is. PEC results show that private is producing results better but the difference is only few % points higher. Achievements of both are low; the learning is low in both sectors. Even LEAPS study show that rote learning is ripe in private schools. Private sector will not be able to bail out government in this hour of crisis.
- Hybrid organisation – the hybrid organisations like SEF and PEF that were created by the government have to struggle with their dual role. These organisations are financed by and have line-reporting relationship with the education department that brings in inefficiencies of the government's bureaucratic structures. Since the organisations are also autonomous, their employees enjoy better pay scales and more independent work environment.

In addition to these primary sources, the lessons that have emerged from secondary sources are shared below:

- A World Bank research estimates the causal effect of the Foundation Assisted Program (FAS) of PEF in Punjab province. The findings of the impact of program are different for different phases. In phase-4 of the program, researcher found a significant impact of the program on increase in number of students, teachers, classroom and blackboards. Further, the research found out that the FAS program to be quite cost effective and was amongst such interventions that cost cheapest for the required enrollment gains. The research findings are however silent on how this cost effectiveness is achieved and whether it is the result of low teachers' salaries, which is quite often the case for such schools (see Andrabi, Das, & Khwaja, 2005).

- Another World Bank sponsored research shared above under 7.6.5.4 evaluates the impact of SEF's program PPRS . The research shares that the presence of PPRS schools in the locality has resulted in increase of enrolment by up to 51 percentage points (see above heading 7.6.5.4 for details).
- A research based background paper prepared for the Global Monitoring Report 2009 surveys various PPP models operating then in Pakistan and makes critical observations . The paper shares some critical concerns regarding PPP's viability for Pakistan to achieve EFA goals. Firstly, the PPP programs are still quite minimal to address the enormity of challenge that Pakistan finds itself in. Many of these interventions are also strongly supported by donors and their long-term sustainability is still going to be a challenge. Second, the success of PPP model depends on the strength of the respective foundations based in each of the provinces as well as the NGOs involved with the foundation in partnership. The variation in these creates variations in the outcomes of various programs and schools. Thirdly, the suspicion that exist between the government and private sector over their engagement, relative authority and accountability. Fourthly, an over emphasis and support by the donors for PPP initiatives makes it an imported technology to overcome educational issues of Pakistan. The donor emphasis of donors during 1990s faced with negative outcomes and this new emphasis therefore raises concerns too. The support by international agencies can sort out the problem of education at micro level but cannot sort out the structural problems of educational inequities that run underneath the debate of PPP in Pakistan.
- A qualitative research study focusing on Punjab and KPK province of Pakistan showed the gendered nature of PPP in Pakistan . Based on qualitative interviewing and other data sources compiled under the RECOUP project, the researchers show that PPP interventions need to take particular care of females particularly at post primary levels.

5.8 Concerns over PPP

The stakeholders who participated in this research ranging from equity to quality and state responsibility raised many concerns. For each of the concerns opposing arguments were also forwarded. The comments are thematically presented in the following lines:

Equity

The major concern cited by majority of the stakeholders was concerning 'equity'.

Concerning comments	Counter arguments
PPP will create various kinds of schools based on locality, quality and economic status of community	Poor safeguarded through social net, no fees to the user
Leaving education to the private sector has very dire consequences for equity	Education has to be free at the point of service delivery and PPP and vouchers could be instrument for this
The privatisation and PPP has tendency to initiate various curriculum, hence various world views, leading to disjointed citizenry	
The school owners may apply some exclusionary policies to screen less able students in order to show better results	

State escaping from its responsibility

Concerning comments	Counter arguments
Low cost private schools being promoted by donors will it lead to positive outcome – positive on limited scale, private sector does contribute. But the issue is of scale and government has to find the will and resources from within, if government see it as a lifeline it is wrong, the private sector in no way can do anything better than government at the scale. PEEL study tested teachers and higher number of teachers of private schools failed the test compared with government.	Government escaping from its responsibility - Not Punjab government but they have Champions who push. Sindh, things are not working properly. Government should create companies to improve governance in PPP. If there is vision, the capacity can be inducted
In desperate situation the role of private – private has a role but it cannot replace the state. If the state cannot provide education and health to its citizens then what is the rationale of its existence.	Response to neo-liberalism - State to be problematized in developing Countries - makes it intelligent state thru partnerships. Frame it within the context of Pakistan. We never had welfare state
PEF – How much can you achieve by going this route? Quality of scale is not possible through this route.	State in Pakistan has been historically protecting the private interest. Neoliberalism here is a conceptual confusion; it is a different story here. In Pakistan there has always been a neo-liberal situation in Pakistan.
Withdrawal of elite/middle class – their children are out and they have moved out of the general debate of education.	

Donor Orchestration

- Donor play - Too much donor intervention. Donors are given space for innovation, not govt.
- Donor support – sometimes we need WB's name to take advantage in local support

(For further discussion on donors' involvement towards PPP policy see the discussion and table under heading 7.5 above)

Problematic Assumption

- PPP in post 2015 scenario – It is common discourse that government has failed and that private is a response. Underlying assumption is that private quality is superior, however it is not unproblematic. It is wrong. Except small band of elite and high end private schools around 2/3 provide no quality at all. So how privatisation will improve, where existing don't deliver quality.
- Finance by government and management by government – Private higher insecurity of teachers that affect professionalism and higher teacher's turnover. The quality improved at the lower spectrum of education e.g. attendance or basic education. Counter point of teachers' insecurity will be that they switch over if paid 500 more. Switching to private will marginally improve but not a panacea.
- PPP as sugar coated term for privatisation – Happy for privatisation if the quality issue is convincingly taken up through this route in meaningful way. Actually it is not resolved and the problem of equity and access remain. The decent private school will charge the fees that parents cannot afford. Grave issue of equity. Education can change life trajectory and if access to quality depends on paying capacity then the equity will further worsen. Private will be out of reach of a great majority.

5.9 Sustainability of PPP models without External Assistance

In terms of sustainability we can think about three kinds of PPP models and their possible sustainability issues.

The first one is the PPRS schools under SEF or New School Program under PEF. These programmes are financed through joint financing of government and donors. In the interview with government official in Sindh this aspect was elaborated. The representative shared that these PPP initiatives like PPRS are fully sustainable through government resources even if the donor (WB) withdraws. The official further explained that the total financing for the SERP-2 is \$2600 out of which the World Bank is only contributing \$400. Considering that government has committed \$2200 million it can also plug the gap if World Bank withdraws. However, a CS representative argued that the government's contribution is also a loan coming from the same source, that is to say that though it shows huge investment by the government, it has to borrow from the bank to make its contribution. If that is the case it might create issues of sustainability if the donor withdraws. The SEF representative also showed hope towards the continuation of the PPRS programme on longer terms as it has now been shifted from development budget to recurrent budget.

Another recently launched model that needs thinking about sustainability is the Education Fund for Sindh. It is registered as a company with its board of directors. The initial funds for the company are provided by DFID to support three kinds of PPP programmes: Vouchers, a version of Adopt-a-school, and support to intermediary organisations like TCF and BRAC. The EFS wishes to gain attention of business community and other sources of funds during the initial period when it is financed by the DFID. If it is able to achieve that goal it would be a very unique model that supports the low fee private schools through partnerships.

The sustainability of PPP also raises a bigger question about governmental commitment to education. Why can it not increase educational expenditures and continue to find ways of cheaper solutions like PPP towards improving access to education. The government of Pakistan's tax to GDP ratio is very weak, which means that wealthier population, including parliamentarians, do not pay their taxes to increase the available purse of the government. This in turn leave little amount for the government to spend on competing demands; education being one of them. The non-insistence of parliamentarians and power-centres towards educational investments indicate their non-interest towards improving public education, they seem to be content as they have access to high quality private education. In fact this inequity goes to their disadvantage. An illiterate or poorly educated child has little chance of upward mobility compared to someone better educated in the country.

Education Budget as % of GDP and as % of Total Government Expenditures									
	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09
Edu Exp as % of Total Expenditures	7.9%	8.0%	8.7%	10.2%	10.5%	10.1%	9.0%	8.0%	7.7%
Edu Expenditures as % of GDP	1.4%	1.5%	1.6%	1.7%	1.8%	1.8%	1.8%	1.7%	1.5%
Source: UNESCO Pakistan (2011)									

The table shows that the actual education expenditures by the government of Pakistan have never moved above 1.8% of GDP throughout the decade of 2000s. Against this backdrop, if we look at the educational commitments, the National Education Policy 2009 wants an allocation of 7% of GDP for education by year 2015. This is estimated to be around 35% of total government expenditures and seems quite unlikely in the presence of expenditure requirements for defence, debt servicing and other sectors such as power and irrigation (UNESCO Pakistan, 2011). This commitment gap somewhat explains the casual attitude of government towards public education. This lack of educational spending from the government on public education has created a vacuum, which is filled in by the private sector. The question for the government is that why it continues to commit such a low investment in education and continue to encourage private sector to shoulder its responsibility.

Further analysis of the education finances reveal that around 80-90% of educational expenditures during the period 2000-2009 have been made towards recurrent expenditures and very little spared for development side (UNESCO Pakistan, 2011). Interestingly a significant amount of donor support is available with the government of Pakistan to fill in this development gap. A research estimated that in 2011 there were some 97 donor supported projects were active of different size and in different provinces and areas (Mujahid-Mukhtar, 2011). While it needs to be questioned that why donor community is complacent at low government expenditures and continue to fill in the gap, it can be argued that since the education development agenda is mostly financed by the donors, they also have significant say in setting up the educational priorities for Pakistan. In our discussion under heading 7.5 above it is shown that PPP is being pushed by the donors as a viable mode to improve public education commitments. This needs to be critically looked at and improved upon by the government as after the 18th Constitutional Amendment the educational provision to all children of 5-16 ages is free and compulsory. It is to be further added that not only that education should be free but it has to be of competitive quality so that there are less equity issues.

5.10 Lessons incorporated into Education Policy

It was really challenging for the interviewees to clearly share examples where they could clearly see some lessons learnt through PPP have been incorporate into the mainstream public policy or planning process. The best response came from PEF where the representative shared that PEF has recently come into limelight and now they are more into meeting and listened to and recognised. Their monitoring practices are being learnt, they train differently, have different interaction with private owners, which are being taken note of by the public authorities. The impact is recent. The lessons from PEF may not be compared to school education, as the size is hugely different. Despite these assertions the representative was not sure whether the lessons have been learnt or not.

Looking at the policies and plans of the governments it seems that PPP has taken a prominent space within the government policy and planning. In Sindh the PPP Act 2010 is being revised to accommodate education, which is a service sector and not adequately represented in the Act. The sector plan has also given space to PPP as an instrument that can assist government in achieving various targets that it has set for itself. The Education Sector Plans of both Sindh and

Punjab also indicate PPP as a prominent strategy to supplement government efforts in achieving basic objective of educational provisions and improved governance.

It is however, quite difficult to point that certain policies have been changed because of the lessons learnt by PPP experiments. Sometimes the donors' push makes policy changes instead of conscious learning by the government.

5.11 Implications of PPP on Public Education System

The research has studied various models of PPP that are being experimented in Pakistan including the models of PEF, SEF and EFS. The research focused on PPRS in greater detail, now we need to discuss the implication of these experiments of PPP towards public education system. But before we do that it would be important to recall the main learnings shared so far in this research.

- The discourse of partnership hides the unequal power relations between the partners. This means that donors who provide funds to support education have more say in determining objectives compared to recipient government.
- Although PPP is not privatization, it does have the tendency to increase the private contribution into education. Thus there is a need that government distinguishes clearly between privatization and PPP, and clarifies its positioning towards private contribution into education.
- There are various models of PPP that are being experimented in Pakistan mainly under the foundations like PEF and SEF. These models mainly differ in terms of finance, management and operation of schools.
- The interviewees in the research, including government officials and academics, agree that there is weak evidential base supporting the benefits of PPP. The research shares various secondary sources that provide evidence of PPP outcomes. The researches on effect of PPP on access to education and which show positive outcomes are found to be supported mainly by the World Bank (e.g. Barrera-Osorio et. al., 2011; Barrera-Osorio & Raju, 2011). A DFID support consortium RECOUP shared critical stance towards PPP effect on access particularly related to gender inequities and found that girls get lesser share of better quality education either offered by private or PPP options (Aslam, 2007).
- The effect of PPP on quality shows mixed outcomes from secondary sources. While there are certain studies, mainly sponsored by the World Bank, that shows increase in learning outcomes in PPP schools, there are other researches which found none or negligible difference among public, PPP and low cost private schools (see discussion under 7.4 above).
- The historical policy analysis of the government of Pakistan shows that since 1990s the government's stance towards private sector involvement in education has been positive. The current government aggressively pursues the policy of privatization in various segments and show very positive attitude towards PPP options in education. One example from Sindh is the appointment of PPP personnel in the Ministry of

Education to look after the PPP affairs pertaining to education. In Punjab the prominence of PEF in the Chief Minister's Roadmap to Education Reform also attest to very positive attitude of government towards PPP (see heading 7.5.1 above).

- The Civil Society representatives interviewed in the research show a mixed response towards PPP. Some consider it taking advantage of both worlds particularly in wake of a government that does not function well. Others consider it an invasion of market forces in the education sector in Pakistan and avoidance of state to fulfill its responsibilities.
- The prominent characteristics of various PPP experiments shared and PPRS in greater detail. They show the dominance of per-child subsidy model both at PEF and SEF. The World Bank and other donors also sponsor many of these experiments.
- The lessons learned from face-to-face interviews and secondary sources also show various lessons. The secondary researches mainly show positive lessons and outcomes of PPP. The interviewees however share that PPP experiments require a lot of care and effort during execution, which require adequate human resource to monitor, support and evaluate the program.
- The lessons also show that outcomes of both PPP and low cost private schooling are being measured against public sector schools, which already have low baseline. It would be interesting to see if the government manages to improve its baseline. The PPP models will face severe challenges when it comes to middle level schooling.
- The interviewees shared various concerns related to PPP that included: equity concerns; state's irresponsibility concerns; donor orchestration of education policy concerns; and a problematic assumption that private is essentially better in quality.
- As far as financial sustainability of various PPP models is concerned, the representatives of SEF and education department shared positive developments. As per their understandings the Sindh government has shown long term commitment to support PPRS and IELP programs from its regular financing. The Punjab government has also shown positive steps towards regularization of PPP models there. However, the donors still contribute strongly towards this policy agenda and actual government commitment will only been seen in actual once this donor support is actually withdrawn. It is also important that sustainability debate around PPP should also take care of the state's role in strengthening public education system and not simply replacing their inefficiencies with PPP models.

Having recalled the major findings of the research so far, it is imperative to engage with a central debate that this research wants to engage with, which is about the implications of PPP for the equity and strengthening/weakening of public education system.

5.11.1 Equity Implications

The equity concern demands to answer the question: whether quality education would be available to all irrespective of their class, gender and locality. We will take each of the factors in turn. The below shows these inequities more clearly.

Income Quintiles	GROSS PRIMARY LEVEL ENROLMENT RATE - 2007-08 PSLM					
	URBAN			RURAL		
	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
1 st	87	77	82	74	55	65
2 nd	98	93	95	92	70	81
3 rd	120	106	114	102	87	95
4 th	116	124	120	110	99	105
5 th	117	110	114	123	109	116
Source: PSLM 2007-2008						

It is important to note in the table above that the bottom income quintiles (1st and 2nd) have the lowest GER for both male and female in both rural and urban areas. This means that as the household income drops the chances of getting the children into school also drops. Further, the GER in rural areas is lower across all quintiles compared with urban areas. This means that rural children are worst off in terms of their chances of being in a school. Lastly, females, whether in urban or rural areas, are more disadvantaged than males, except the 4th and 5th quintiles in urban areas. That means females have lesser chances of being in school in rural areas and in lower income strata of urban areas.

Can PPP overcome the structural barriers that disadvantage certain categories over others? To answer this question we need to first understand the gravity of the task. According to different estimates there are around 25 million children still out of school in Pakistan. Those who are in the school face the kind of inequities shown above. The numbers of schools supported by SEF are 2,342 with 372,540 students; the numbers of schools supported by PEF are 3,400 with 1.4 million students; totalling 5,742 schools and 1,772,540 students (sources: PEF and SEF official websites, personal interviews). Looking at the numbers, the combined reach of the two foundations is quite impressive; however, they may not look that impressive if we look at the enormity of task. A latest estimate by UNICEF calculates the number of out of school primary-age children in Pakistan to be 6.6 million and number of out of school primary and lower-secondary age children in Pakistan to be 9.4 million (UNICEF (2014) Global Initiative on Out-of-School Children: South Asia Regional Study). Thus considering them as the panacea would be misplaced. At best they should be seen as supplementing the efforts of the regular government sector and keeping a positive push towards the system to perform.

Using the success of foundations and using this to support the argument for low cost private schooling could actually aggravate the equity matrix shown above if the government subsidy is withdrawn at some point in future. If the subsidy or vouchers that are now supported fully by the government through donor financing are removed or reduced some point in future, these schools will move to recover the cost from students. In that case the continuation of enrolment would become dependent upon the paying capacity of students. Those who are poor are already less likely to be in the school as shown in the table above and if they have to pay, many of them would withdraw. Girls may be further disadvantaged. In fact (Aslam 2007) shows that girls are worse off in receiving better quality private education. Further, the interviews also point to

the fact that PPP initiatives produce positive results at the primary level but are not equally successful at the post primary levels due to various factors such as specialist teachers, higher drop outs and higher costs.

Even if we accept that the PPP models and low cost private schools address the access issue, they would certainly not address the quality issue particularly beyond primary level. The discussion with the representatives of SEF and PEF shows that maintaining quality requires heavy investments of time and human resources. Once the system is further scaled up it would face the similar challenge that the public sector is facing – low resource and corruption. Therefore, proposing PPP as a solution to all the ills of the public sector is quite misplaced. This however, does not mean that PPP be abolished, but the expectations for PPP should be right-sized. Andrabi, Das and Khwaja (2005) showed that private sector tends to open schools where they could find wealthier localities and where they can also find educated females close by who are willing to teach for lower salaries. If these two conditions are not met they affordability of a private school will become challenging for poorer households.

5.11.2 Whether PPP would strengthen/weaken the public education system in terms of Policymaking, Financing and Governance of Education?

This section demands the response to question: whether PPP would strengthen/weaken the public education system in terms of policymaking, financing and governance of education?

The PPP has potential to improve the public policy making process. The PPP models encourage the involvement of multiple stakeholders in policy making process and overseeing the implementation of public policy. One of the encouraging examples in this regard comes out from Sindh, where the recently approved Sindh Education Sector Plan (SESP) was developed with the involvement of various stakeholders belonging to academia, NGOs, donors and government. In fact a Local Education Group (LEG) has been formed to regularly consult on the development and further processes. This is however, in infancy and the future is still to be seen of this group's involvement. In addition, the power distribution within the group is still heavily tilted towards the government officials and donors.

PPP options also support the government financially in two ways. Firstly, it makes available additional financial support by the private sector as well as the donor agencies. Second, it reduces the cost of educating the child. As per the representative of the SEF the cost of educating the child at SEF supported PPP schools is much lesser compared with government schools? According to him the maximum cost of educating a child comes out at Rs. 950 per month that is around 2400 by the Government of Sindh. One of the downside of PPP experiments is that private school owners may start screen only high ability children, as schools are required to perform at a particular level on assessment scores of the children. Thus while the provision of education to all the children may be cheaper, the poorest and particularly the ones who need more instructional support at school may be left out. Proper mechanisms should be in place to safeguard against this.

Lastly, it also need to be assessed whether PPP initiatives and more participation of private sector in the education system has resulted in the improvement of governance in public

education system. Both SEF and PEF are established as semi-autonomous organizations with their own governing board. They are quite autonomous in their internal functions and therefore employ many norms of private sector management and governance. For example, the involvement of third-party evaluations, the cost-effective provisions, maximum utilization of human resource etc. They both are also located away from the mainstream education department. It is therefore, quite difficult to see whether the better considered governance has impacted the mainstream education department or not. At a different scale, the experiments of PPP and their promotion at the education department have created a positive discourse about the PPP policy. Thus both in Punjab and Sindh the ministries see PPP as a viable option to promote education to disadvantaged. In fact, the relative success of PPP experiments and positive discourse around it has created more negative environment for the mainstream public education system. At various forums, the politicians and bureaucrats openly criticize the mainstream education department, while appreciating the PPP experiments. It is however, not raised that why the mainstream education department is allowed to be ruined and corrupted. Why is it not being resourced and managed properly? Why the political interference, which has been referred a key hurdle not removed?

6 Conclusion

This research was carried out to investigate PPP in education in Pakistan particularly focusing in the provinces of Punjab and Sindh. The research wanted to look at various aspects of PPP such as its benefits, its success' evidential basis, its characteristics, its sustainability, its lessons and implications. The research, while focused on various experiments of PPP in Pakistan particularly looked more closely at the PPRS model of SEF. The research utilises secondary data extensively and supplemented it with interviews with key stakeholders belonging to civil society, foundations, government officials and academic researchers. The findings were shared in a seminar with a larger gathering and were further strengthened in light of that. It was found that there is some evidential support available to substantiate the claim that PPP improves educational access, however this does not automatically remove inequities. Additionally, the PPP initiatives have limitations of scaling up, if stretched beyond certain point it may develop the similar faults that are there in public system. As far as quality is concerned, there is no convincing research available to support extra ordinary performance of PPP school going children. There are also issues pertaining to the sustainability of the PPP experiments, particularly at post primary levels. The most prominent lesson is that PPP be considered as supporting initiatives towards achieving access to education but they cannot be seen as replacing the public education system. A warning was raised suggesting that PPP should not promote outright privatisation. The challenges for PPP in terms of public policy and governance remain.

In light of the findings of this research several recommendations emerge for key players concerned with PPPs in education: government, civil society, academics and donors.

The government needs to develop a holistic view towards educational provision in light of 18th Amendment, particularly pertaining to Article 25-A, which grants the right to each citizen for free and compulsory education. It is puzzling to see that the government is encouraging private sector development in education and promoting ways to introduce privatisation or privatisation like reforms within public education system despite having introduced the 'free and compulsory education act' (25-A). PPP initiatives are seen in that perspective and various stakeholders in this research raised concerns towards this stance of the government. Various researches have already shown that low fee private schools are also on rise, thus showing government's incapacity to provide quality education even to lower earning segments of population. If the government cannot provide the basic quality education to its citizens, it loses the ground to remain in office. The PPP initiatives must not be seen by the government as panacea to address all educational ills. This research argues that scaling up PPP experiments will face similar challenges that mainstream education system faces. Thus government has to strengthen and develop its mainstream education system. The PPP experiments can only be seen as innovative practices to address problems of education at certain communities only.

The civil society needs to develop a unified stance towards PPPs in education. This research has found that a common voice of civil society has still not shaped towards this issue. While some consider it a pragmatic solution towards reaching EFA goals, others see PPP as quasi-privatisation. The coalitions of civil society on education need to develop more awareness

amongst civil society representatives towards various aspects of this issue. The debate has to be research informed and geared towards developing common stance of civil society organizations towards PPPs in education.

The academics and researchers need to pursue more researches on different aspects of PPPs in education. There is a need to have more large scale independent researches that can demonstrate the effects of PPPs in education towards students' learning outcomes, teachers' working conditions and management practices. There is also a need to carry out critical researches keeping in view the equity issues that are triggered by privatisation of education including PPP experiments. Applied research is also needed towards diagnosing issues in public schools and exploring ways to address those issues; thus providing policy guidelines for governments to improve public schools. Researchers also need to engage with international researchers from such countries where similar PPP experiments are going on to develop comparative perspectives.

The donors as described above have been actively leading the agenda of PPP in education. They need to take a back seat and view PPPs within larger framework of public-private education. Concerns towards equity are fundamental; they need to see if they are contributing to aggravate educational inequities that are already quite deep rooted in Pakistan. PPP schools in Pakistan may create yet another type of schooling for yet another class of citizens. Donors need to contribute towards achieving the objectives of 25-A and the newly develop education sector plans in various provinces in order to strengthen the public education system. This will ensure hope for the poor to have quality education for their children and hope towards upward mobility based on educational achievements.

7 Appendix

Historical Policy Analysis – private sector involvement and PPP

1951	
Themes	Salient features
Private Contribution a historical reality	Citing the contribution of community and private the policy encourages community to shoulder government's burden. '... they [community] will come forward in a true spirit of patriotism to bear a share of the burden which the present plan imposes on us and, as far as primary education is concerned, provide free land, buildings and equipment. Unless this is done, the execution of the programmes of free, compulsory primary education which have been and are being adopted by the Provinces will be retarded.' (p. 11?) Regarding secondary education the policy is more demanding '...for every one secondary school to be established by the Government, there should be three private schools. It should be possible for the Government to contribute 50 per cent. Of the non-recurring cost as far as buildings and equipment for these schools are concerned and its contribution towards their recurring costs will be in the form of suitable grants-in-aid'. (p. 11?)
1970	
Private Regulation	'In order to bring all private institutions within the national system, they should be subject to rules and regulations to be prescribed by the Provincial Governments regarding admission of students, appointments and conditions of service of teachers, fees and fee concessions, curriculum, syllabus, medium of instruction and examinations, etc.' (p. 22)
1972	
Nationalisation	'As from the first day of September 1972, all privately managed colleges shall be nationalized. Privately -managed schools will, however, be nationalized in a phased manner within a period of two years beginning from 1stt October, 1972.' (p. 19)
Exemptions to nationalisation	'The Central Government may, by notification in the official gazette, exempt from the operation of all or any of the provisions of this Regulation any privately-managed college or privately-managed school in relation to which it is satisfied that it is run on a genuinely benevolent, philanthropic and non - commercial basis.' (p. 19)
1979	
Government cannot bear all burden, so need private support.	'In a country like Pakistan where the population growth rate is about 3% annually and only about 50% of the existing primary group children are in schools, the support of private sector is most needed to share this huge burden. Government alone cannot build and run all the schools required for this purpose' (p. 23)
Tax relief	'Income-tax relief will be allowed to individuals and organizations for donations to these schools' (p. 24)
1992	
Private Sector encouragement	'New incentives will be provided to Private Sector for participation in educational development at all levels. A liberal and simplified policy will be adopted to enable the Private Sector, especially, the philanthropic organisations to undertake the task of educational development with facility and ease ... A system of matching grants and loans will be devised to provide financial support to Private Sector organisations.' (para 16.2.1)

Establishment of foundations for PPP as strategy to attract Private	'Education Foundations will be established at the Federal level and one in each Province to provide grants and loans to authentic private sector organisations which will undertake the task of educational development. The Federal Ministry of Education will develop a strong mechanism for monitoring the activities launched by the Foundations' (para 16.3.1)
Incentives for Private Sector	'Educational institutions to be set up in the Private Sector will be provided (a) interest-free loans from the banks, (b) plots in residential schemes on reserve prices, and (c) rebate on income tax like industry' (para 16.3.9)
1998	
Government alone cannot provide so need private inclusion.	'13.1.4 Recognizing that the government alone cannot achieve the policy objectives, it is imperative to seek the involvement of the private sector in the expansion of education.'
Policy to increase private participation and PPP	'13.4.1 To strengthen the delivery of educational services through greater involvement of the private sector including the NGOs. 13.4.2 To accelerate the human resource development of the country through partnership among NGOs, private and public sectors. 13.4.3 To restructure and reorganize the National and Provincial Education Foundations in their targeting and resource mechanism in support of low fee private sector and NGOs initiative in needy areas.'
Regulation of private sector	13.5.1 There shall be regulatory bodies at the national and provincial levels to regulate activities and smooth functioning of privately managed schools and institutions of higher education through proper rules and regulations.
Tax incentives and loans	13.5.2 A reasonable tax rebate shall be granted on the expenditure incurred on the setting-up of educational facilities by the private sector. Grants -in-aid for specific purposes shall be provided to private institutions. 13.5.8 Liberal loan facilities shall be extended to private educational institutions by financial institutions. 13.5.10 Schools running on non-profit basis shall be exempted from all taxes.
PPP schools for rural areas	13.5.6 In rural areas, schools shall be established through public -private partnership schemes. The government shall not only provide free land to build the school but shall also bear a reasonable proportion of the cost of construction and management.
Inclusion of poor in private schools	13.5.11 Privately -managed institutions shall be bound under law to admit, free of charge, at least 10% of the talented students belonging to the low - income groups.
Curriculum uniformity of public and private	13.5.12 Curricula of private institutions must conform to the principles laid down in the Federal Supervision of Curricula, Textbooks and Maintenance of Standards of Education Act, 1976.
ESR 2001-2006	
Meeting education demand through PPP	2. Meeting the demand for education through public private partnership. (p. 52)
Strategies to involve private sector and PPP	• involvement of private sector in the management of underutilized public sector institutions • Provision of grants and soft loans through restructured Education Foundations. • Community public partnership (CPP) for school up gradation in afternoon shifts from primary to middle/middle to secondary and higher secondary levels (p. 52)

Incentives for private sector	• Provision of land: free or on lease or at concessional rates in rural areas and special dispensation for educational institutions located in urban areas. • Exemption of 50% income tax to private sector institutions for their faculty, management and support staff • Assessing of utilities on non-commercial rates • Extension of matching grants for establishing rural schools • Exemption of custom duties on import of educational equipment (p. 52)
2009	
Public-Private divide creating parallel system	NEP 2009 highlights various ways the public-private divide is creating parallel system of education. This is being created through 1) elite private schools 2) Deeni Madarassahs, 3) improper regulation of private schools, 4) problems of equivalence of private qualifications with public sector, 5) missing out on synergies between the two sectors
Provision of education is state responsibility but can provide through PPP	Provision of educational services is essentially a public function. The Constitution of Pakistan expects the public sector to take lead in performing this public function. The relative failure of the State's educational system has resulted in the emergence of the alternative education provider i.e. the private sector. The assurance of uniformity would remain the responsibility of the State. It can do so entirely on its own or can develop public-private partnerships to ensure that the uniformity in standards and purpose of education is not compromised.
Common Curricular framework	'A common curricular framework in general as well as professional education shall be applied to educational institutions in both the public and the private sector. Government shall take steps to bring the public and private sectors in harmony through common standards, quality and regulatory regimes' (p. 19)
PPP	'Where a private school already exists with additional admission space, the children shall be accommodated in it, through public financing and the public sector new school shall either be developed in separate vicinity or for different levels. Private sector schools shall be provided permission to operate on a need-cum-quality basis.' (p. 19) 'Transparent and clear procedures shall be initiated in the education sector to allow utilization of private sector inputs. Systems shall be developed through involvement of all stakeholders: the public sector, the private sector and the community; keeping in view Ministry of Education's document "Public Private Partnerships in Pakistan's Education Sector. (p. 19)
Regulation	'Provincial and Area Governments shall develop regulations for establishing and running private sector institutions that include transparent accountability procedures. Where such regulatory bodies have already been developed, those shall be reinvigorated.' (p. 19)
Tax incentives	'Non-profit educational institutions should be provided tax incentives.' (p. 19)

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