

The LEAPS Report: Insights to Inform the Policy Debate

Tara Vishwanath (World Bank)
Lahore University of Management
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What is the LEAPS Report

- *A comprehensive* look at the primary education sector
 - Primary Schools
 - Primary Teachers
 - Households
 - Primary Educational Outcomes—enrollment and learning
- Brings together the *full learning environment* of the child to form a complete picture
 - One of the first such attempts, in either high or low-income countries

Congratulations

- The LEAPS surveys follow 112 villages in Punjab for 4 years (2003-2007) with
 - Full cooperation from government on questionnaires
 - Full cooperation in access to schools for surveys and testing
 - Full independence in production of research
 - This is in contrast to the experience in other countries, where the data are usually not generated (SSA)
- Will eventually tell us what happens in the context of a large scale education sector reform program

Congratulations

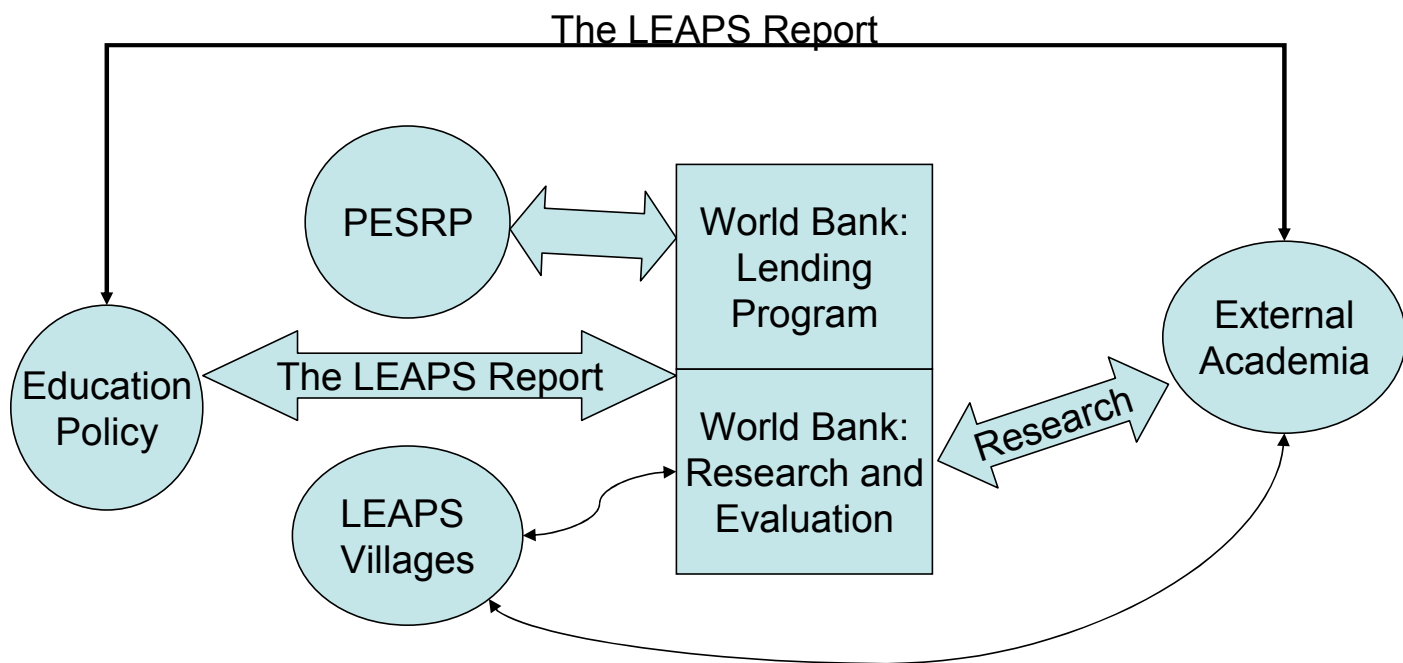
- The LEAPS surveys have helped build a setting for further experimentation and evaluation
 - Detailed knowledge of 112 villages and what has happened in them over the last 4 years
 - A dedicated and excellent survey team with expertise in testing and educational surveys
 - Collaboration with FBS on household surveys and database design

We only truly fail when we fail to
learn

Forward Looking

The LEAPS surveys guarantee that a lot will
be learnt from the previous 5 years

The “Knowledge” Bank: A Business model that worked



The credibility and the independence of the LEAPS report is guaranteed both by separating the education sector from the rest of the Bank and also by using external academics as integral members of the team rather than as consultants.

This Report

- Three Major Focuses
 - Focus on inputs *and* outcomes
 - Focus on enrollment *and* learning as outcomes
 - Generate debate, not policy advocacy (using facts to build policy)
- One undercurrent
 - To look at policy for the *future*, we have to look at villages where there are private schools

This Report (II)

- Builds on excellent previous work on education in the country
 - Shahrukh Khan and others
 - Zeba Sathar and others
 - Harold Alderman and others
 - Tariq Rahman (Denizens of an Alien World)
 - Pervez Hoodbhoy
 - Haris Gazdar
- Insights from these works have been critical for design of the LEAPS surveys

This Presentation

- The context of private schools
- Introducing the LEAPS villages
- Questions on spatial and temporal relevance
- Good Policy and Good Politics
- Spotlights on
 - ASER Report, India; Girls' stipends; Providing Information; Vouchers

The Context of Private Schools

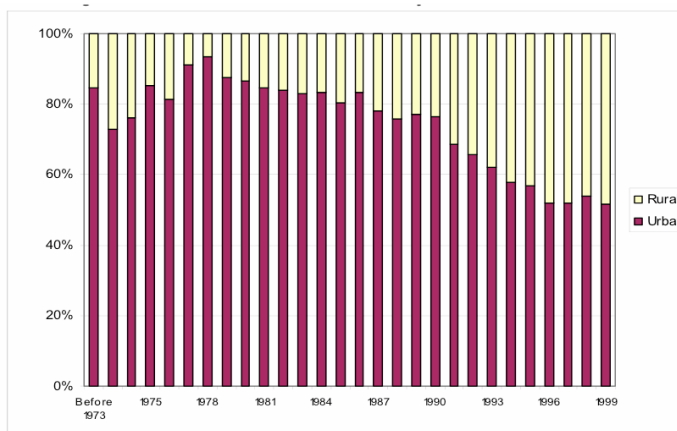
- Two perceptions related to private schools
 - They are urban
 - They are costly and for the rich
- Therefore, the *only* alternative to government schools is religious schooling

The Context of Private Schools (II)

The reality about private schools

- ½ set up in rural areas every year
- Relatively cheap: Rs.100 per month on average
- Used by the poor: 20 percent of the poorest rural children in private schools

Private School Location
by Year of Formation



3000 private schools in
1983, 32000 in 2001,
47000 in 2005

The Context of Private Schools (II)

- Main alternative to government schools are *mainstream, for-profit, coeducational* private schools
 - Religious schooling accounts for 1-3% of all enrollment (less than religious schooling in the US!)
 - Private schools enrollment share increased from 12 to 29 percent

The Reality about Private Schools: A LEAPS Village



A village in Faisalabad. Private schools are marked with \$ symbols, government schools with flags, and businesses with carts.

Why Everything Changes

- Policy: Ensure every child leaves school with sufficient knowledge to participate actively in society
 - *Regardless* of whether they were educated in a government or a private school
- With villages that look like the preceding picture
 - Policies should not be about increasing enrollment in government schools, but in all village schools
 - Information required on all schools to make policies
 - Government sector should complement, not compete with private sector

Introducing the LEAPS villages

- 112 Villages in 3 Provinces of Punjab randomly selected from list of villages with *at least 1 private school*
 - Attock in the North
 - Faisalabad in the Centre
 - Rahim Yar Khan in the South
- Followed
 - All 823 schools—government, private and NGO (only 14)—in these villages
 - 5000 teachers
 - 12,000 children with tests in Urdu, Math and English
 - 1800 households

Introducing the LEAPS test

- Extensively piloted test in Urdu, Mathematics and English
 - Developed with educationalists from Pakistan and other countries
- Test designed to understand what *every* child know
 - Not whether children can “pass” or “fail” a curricular standard
- On average curricular standards are too high to yield any information on low performers

LEAPS Villages: Some Features

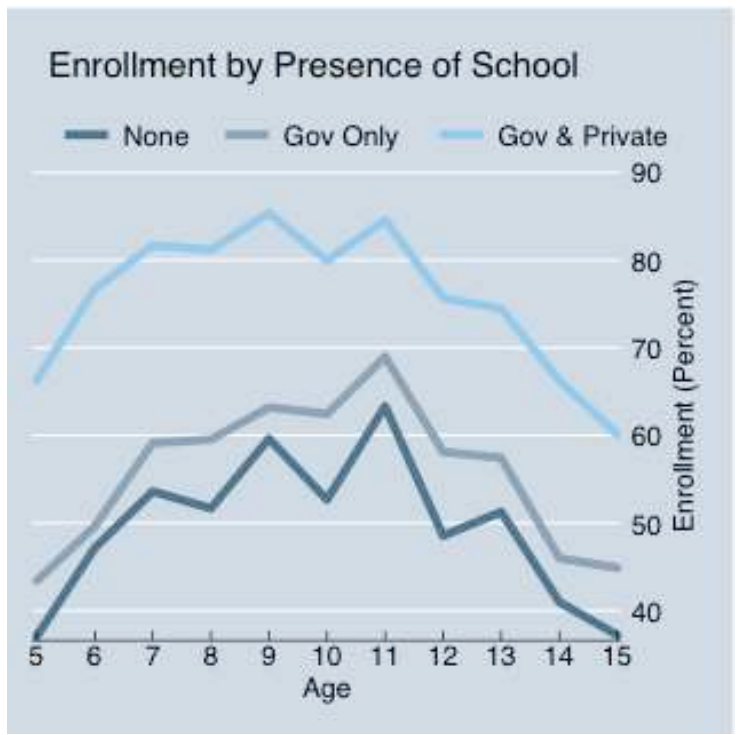
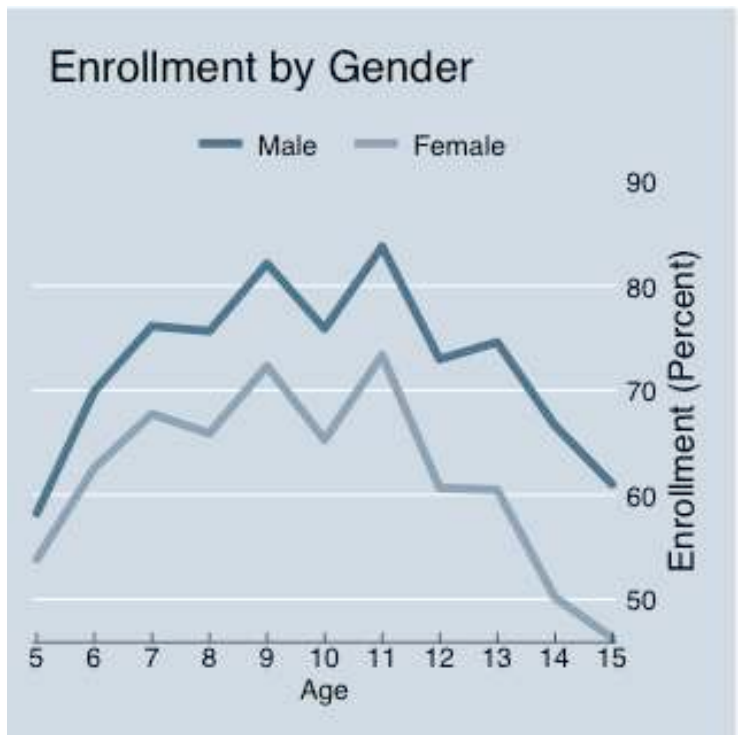
Village Characteristics		District		
		Attock	Faisalabad	Rahim Yar Khan
Household Per Capita Expenditures		Rs.2345	Rs.2890	Rs.1449
Percent with Primary Schooling	Male	42%	42%	26%
	Female	12%	19%	11%
Percent with Secondary Schooling	Male	4%	6%	3%
	Female	1%	2%	1%
Percent who can read (Self-Reported)	Male	61%	56%	41%
	Female	26%	34%	19%
Percent who can count (Self-Reported)	Male	92%	96%	96%
	Female	51%	97%	86%

LEAPS Villages: Some Features

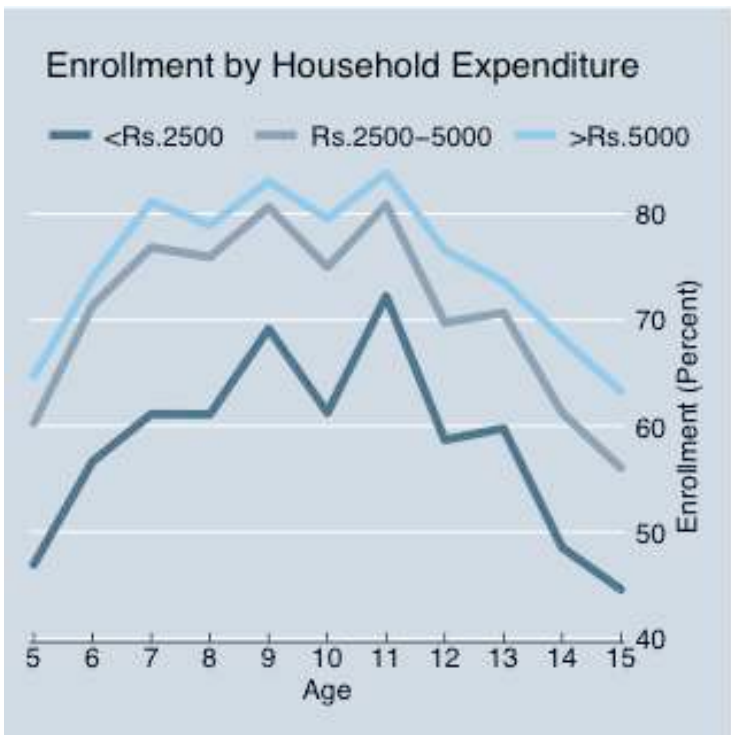
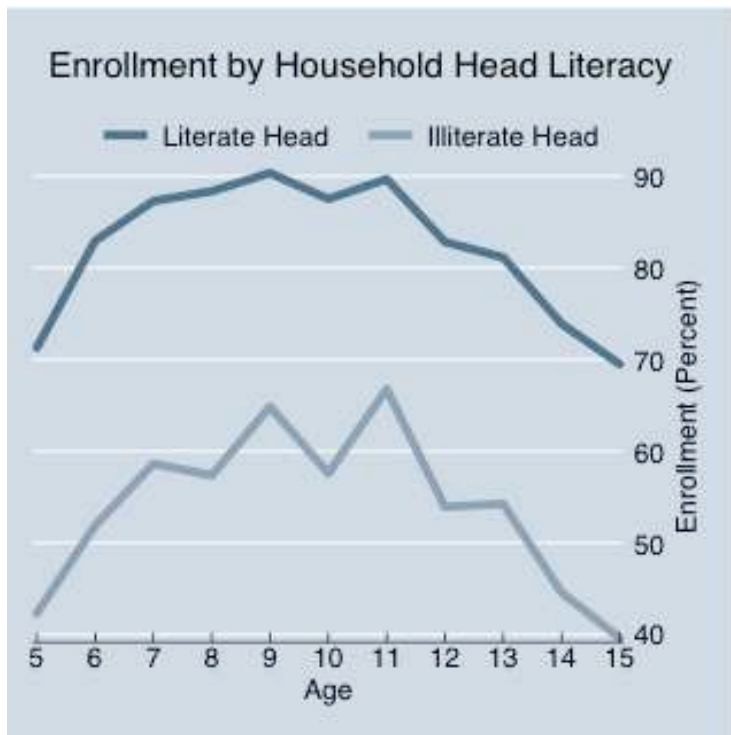
Percentage of Children Enrolled by Gender, Village Literacy Level, and Wealth

Village Wealth		Village Literacy		
		Low	Medium	High
Poor	Male	56	75	83
	Female	38	65	75
Middle	Male	82	77	88
	Female	62	66	80
Rich	Male	73	82	84
	Female	53	73	82

LEAPS Villages: Familiar Enrollment Patterns



LEAPS Villages: Familiar Enrollment Patterns

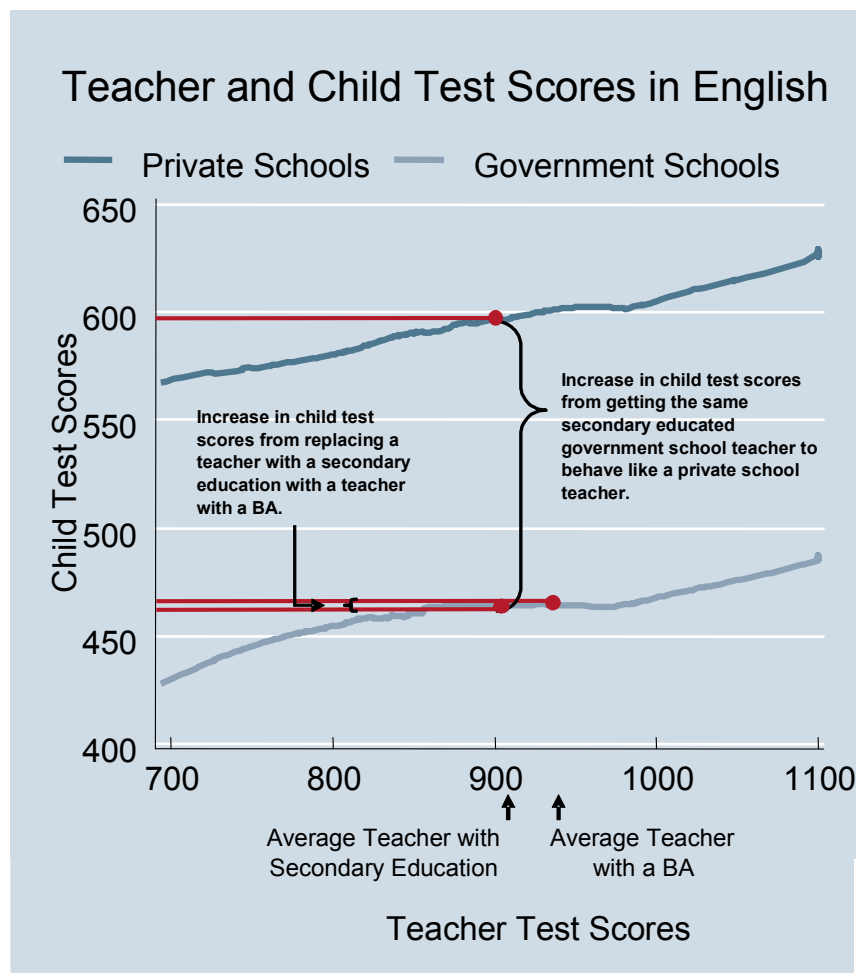


Facts from LEAPS report will show

- Introducing learning as an outcome often changes the insights from enrollment alone
- That a “household” lens can alter the way we think of policy, even for enrollment
- That every policy comes with its weaknesses and strengths
 - What is best is ultimately a choice

Two examples of Evidence Based Policy

- Problem of poor teaching quality always thought of as problem of *competence*
- To get better teaching, have to get more *educated* teachers
- What do the data say?



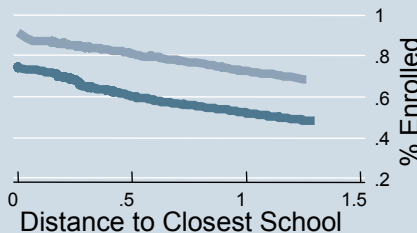
Two examples of Evidence Based Policy

- Girls are less likely to attend when schools are farther: enrollment drops 20% points every 500m
- What policy can help reduce this?
- There is no easy solution: gradient is similar for all different categories

Distance and Enrollment For Girls

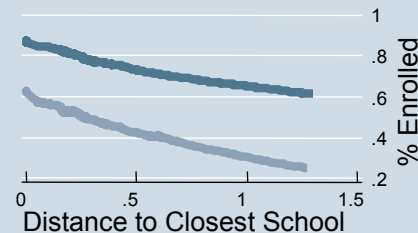
By Intelligence

— Above Average — Average or Below



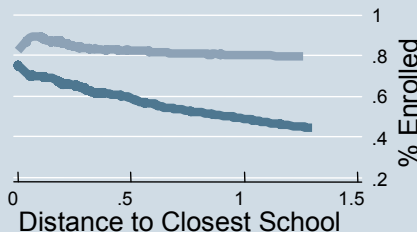
By Age

— Ages 5-12 — Ages 12-15



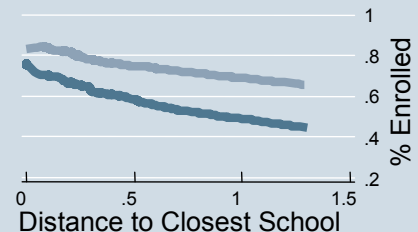
By Mothers Education

— No Schooling — Some Schooling



By Household Wealth

— Poor — Non-Poor



...and why there are seldom clear answers

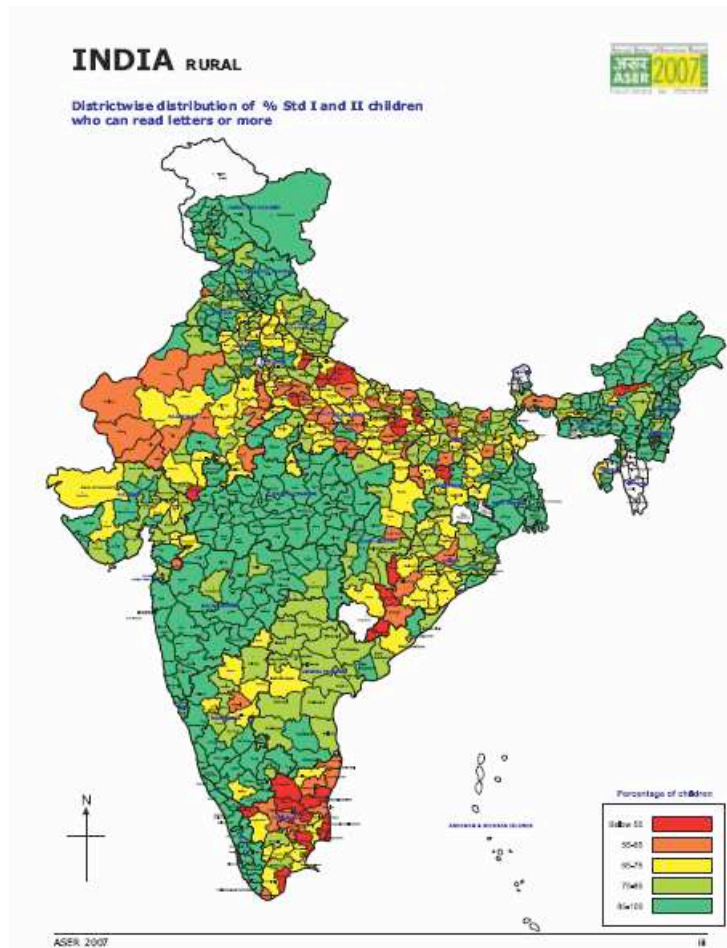
Spotlight on the Female Stipend Program

- Rs.200/month for girls attending Grades 6-8
- Rigorous Evaluation (Chaudhury and others 2007) shows that
 - Program increased enrollment by 10% for girls
- *But* all girls receive the stipend
- So, the cost *per* additional female enrolled is $\text{Rs.}200 \times 12 \times 10 = \text{Rs.}24,000$ per year
- *Benefits: Additional Female Enrollment of 10%*
- *Costs: Additional cost per female enrolled of Rs.24,000 per year*

A Modified Role For the Government

- Policy should ensure that every child leaves school with basic competencies
- Requires government to act as a *complement to* not in *competition with* the private sector
- Three components
 - Provision of Information for accountability and to empower households to make better choices
 - Complementing the private sector to protect vulnerable children
 - Innovating and evaluating “out-of-the-box” reforms

Providing Information for Accountability



- Spotlight on ASER: The picture that bought learning on the Indian landscape
- Huge volunteer effort organized by NGO Pratham
- Led to the recognition of learning as an issue

Providing Information for Empowerment: The report card experiment



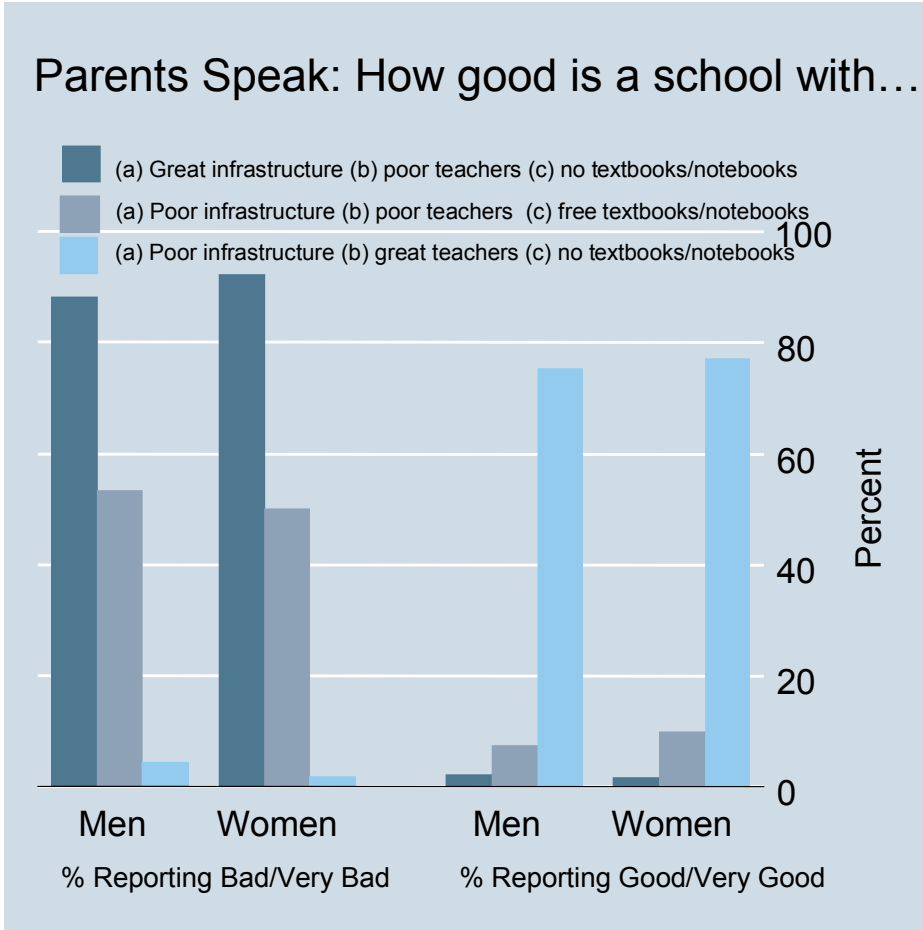
- What is the experiment?
 - Children tested in English, Urdu, and Math.
 - Teachers are provided with scores of their student, and with average village scores.
 - This allows parents to figure out how their child is doing.
- Initial results show that learning improves among initially poor performing kids

Complementing the Private Sector: Protecting Vulnerable children

- LEAPS report will identify two groups of particularly vulnerable children
 - Girls who live “far” from school
 - Children who do not receive necessary educational investments at home
- Second requires improving the quality of government schooling
 - LEAPS report will show that improving quality of government school is fundamentally about reforming teacher hiring and compensation

But, is good policy also Good Politics?

- When discussing teacher reform, first reaction always: “it is politically difficult”
- But, most voters are parents who don’t care about infrastructure of textbooks—they *only* care about the quality of teachers
- Even among teachers, current system is *anti-teacher*
 - Many government teachers try hard under difficult conditions, but earn the same amount as their less deserving counterparts.



Complementing the private sector: Evaluating new policy

- Government has to experiment and evaluate
- Key evaluations necessary for the next 5 years
 - Bringing in girls who live far from school to enroll
 - What is the constraint? We don't know
 - Reforming teacher pay and compensation
 - What is the right model? We have options, but no easy solution
 - Scholarships for children regardless of the school they attend
 - Similar to “vouchers” but requires careful, long-term evaluation (why?)

Good Evaluation is good politics

Spotlight on Progressa

- A conditional cash transfer program
 - Phased in slowly with rigorous evaluation
- Government change midstream
- Evaluations convinced new government not to discard program, but to continue under the new name of Oportunidades
 - Eventually led to widespread use of conditional cash transfers around the world to improve enrollment
 - Pakistan has the potential to be part of that catalyzing experience

FAQ's

- Spatial Relevance: “How is this relevant for the rest of the country”
 - At the time we started the survey, 50% of the population of Punjab lived in a village with a private school (now probably 60%)
 - The findings are relevant for this large population
 - Very relevant for rural Punjab and NWFP
 - Rural Sindh and Balochistan are different and need to be treated as such

FAQ's (II)

- Temporal Relevance: its 2008 now, not 2003
- Between 2000 and 2005, private enrollment share increased 7.3% points in Punjab (5.3 and 3 in NWFP and Sindh)
- Learning outcomes have remained static between spring 2004 and spring 2007
- Public-private infrastructure gap *widened* even as infrastructure in government schools improved
- This dissemination part of ongoing process
 - Multiple papers on topical issues available at www.leapsproject.org
- The overall context is as relevant today as it was in 2003