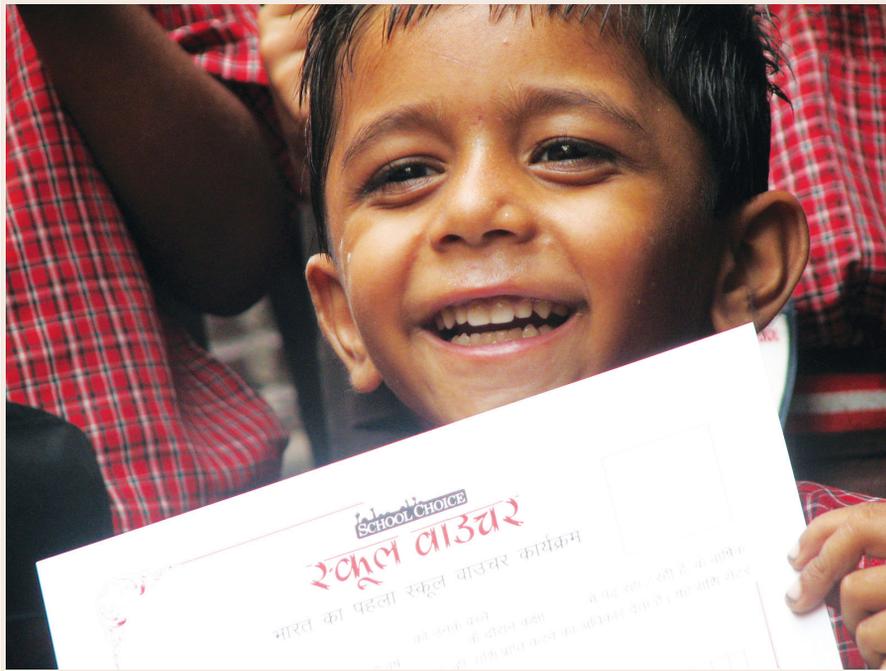


Fund Students,  
Not Schools!





## Right to Education of Choice

School Choice Campaign is an initiative of Centre for Civil Society (CCS), a public policy think tank advancing personal, social, economic and political freedoms. CCS aims to steer India's education system towards a school choice model that brings affordable and quality education of choice to all children.

The Centre aims to bring an intellectual revolution that encourages people to look beyond the obvious, think beyond good intentions and act beyond activism. We seek to promote choice, competition and community based policy reforms. Through research, advocacy and outreach, the Centre is reinvigorating civil society and rightsizing political society.



# About School Choice Campaign

School Choice Campaign (SCC) is an award winning program for improving the education system in India, where all children receive quality education of their choice. Through research, proofs of concept, policy advocacy, mass mobilisation, stakeholder engagement and legal action, SCC is promoting efficient use of public, spending and equity and quality in education through competition and private participation.

The Campaign uses a 2-pronged approach to influence policy reform:

## Efficient Use of Public Funds

- ♦ School vouchers, conditional cash transfers and other voucher-like schemes
- ♦ Convert all state funding to per student basis
- ♦ Pedagogical and operational autonomy to government schools
- ♦ Failing state schools given on learning contract
- ♦ Link principal and teacher pay to student performance

## Promote Equity & Quality through Liberalisation

- ♦ Delicensing of entry and decentralisation of curricula, textbooks, exams and school management
- ♦ Support for budget private schools through a credible affiliation board, independent performance assessment, and microfinance
- ♦ Legalisation of for-profit schools

Our team delivers evidence-based research on learning outcomes, parameters of parental choice, and public and private expenditure and performance in education, to assist parents in improving their choice when it comes to educating their children and support government policy decisions.

Edenred, ARK and CCS have invested in these pilots. The pilot area in terms of opportunity is, least said, huge. Estimates by McKinsey & Company say that payments between the

# SUPERMARKET EDUCATION

**“Our objective is to tell the authorities that here is a model that is working. The question is can we scale up this model and meet Right Education targets”**

Teaching vulnerable kids, one voucher at a time

by Rohit Viswanath

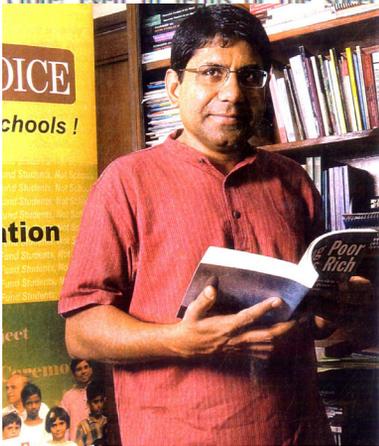
**E**leven-year-old Arshi Khan wants to be a doctor when she grows up. “I will treat people for free,” she says. Two years ago, the little girl couldn’t have dreamed of being a doctor. She dropped out of school because her father could not support a family of eight on

lower costs and improve accountability. More than 80 percent of all children go to government schools. The voucher system wasn’t a viable alternative to a government school network, they said.

But Shah was sure they were wrong. Four years ago he noticed a number of

government and individual households—in the form of direct cash transactions, subsidies and public services such as education and healthcare—amounted to ₹13.3 lakh crore (about ₹11,200 per capita, which is less than a fourth of the average per capita income of India). The total value for subsidies, including that for food and fertilisers alone, was about ₹1,34,000 crore! Even in terms of the sheer

## How to fulfil the RTE promise



### CAMPAIGN FOCUS

#### FUND STUDENTS NOT SCHOOLS

**WHO'S SPEARHEADING IT?** Parth Shah, president, Center for Civil Society in Delhi. The government brought into his idea and started the Pahal scheme in Uttarakhand, under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.

**WHAT ARE THEY TRYING TO DO?** Get vulnerable students enrolled in private schools.

**WHAT'S NEW ABOUT THAT?** No funds are disbursed to either the schools or the students. Instead the school is given educational vouchers that can be redeemed to cover the cost of students' education.

**WHY ARE THEY GOING THE SUPERMARKET WAY?** Under the Pahal scheme, per capita spend on a student is ₹s. 3,000 a year. In comparison, the government used to spend more than ₹s. 10,000 per child in government schools. There is also less chance of funds getting misused.

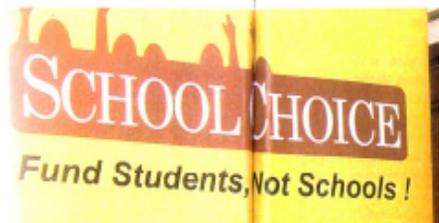
**IS IT LIMITED TO UTTARAKHAND?** Orissa, Jharkhand, UP and Rajasthan are adopting similar programmes.

states, but let them identify who needs help

schools that have taken place over the last two years on this provision, there are certain ideas that should help fulfil this promise of inclusive education.

First, the central government must directly pay for the 25 per cent opportunity costs instead of relying on

accountability works both ways. Contracts signed with schools for Rs. 3,000 per child in three installments are linked to the student's performance. The first instalment is released after one week of enrolment. The second depends on attendance and performance, which is evaluated by an external agency. The final instalment is released on the basis of higher achievement in the annual examination. Getting the kids to school



Members of Asha, an NGO, campaign for children's right to study in a school of their choice at Albert Ekka Chowk in Ranchi on Friday. Picture by Prashant Mitra

liberals do not oppose RTE based on prejudice; they oppose it primarily because of its focus on centralized statism. RTE is first and foremost against private property and free association. The question is should individuals in an ostensibly free country be allowed to select unaided schools for their children, even if based on apparent class prejudice? Should

# Mass Mobilisation

## Fund Students, Not Schools!

To introduce the concept of school choice in India, CCS launched an extensive 7-state mass campaign in 2007-08 in Delhi, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu and Bihar.

Using various communication tools like street theatre, rallies and demonstrations, the campaign organised over 1.27 Lakh parents across India to demand for school choice.



For the first time in India, parents from Economically Weaker Sections came together to advocate education of choice for their children. As parent participants increased, CCS hosted over 1,200 workshops on parental choice and partner with over 250 local NGOs to help parents

build pressure on state governments for policy reforms.

With great demand for parental choice, CCS introduced a petition seeking policy reform for improved public spending —**public funds to be given to students, rather than schools.**

Through our signature drive, grassroots workshops and policy advocacy, we counteracted the policy insouciance of bureaucrats, empowering parents and children to be the ultimate decision makers when it comes to their education interests.

2,739,383  
Signatures for  
School Choice!



## My Vote, My Choice!



In 2009, School Choice hit the streets of Delhi with the election campaign My Vote, My Choice Campaign, with the slogan:



If we can  
choose our governments,  
why can't we  
choose our schools?

The campaign targeted over 200 sitting Members of Parliament and highlighted the impact of school choice and alternative public spending, bringing these concepts into mainstream political discussion. The campaign gained significant traction as the Jaago and Bharat Punanirman Dal Parties voiced support for the School Choice

Campaign. Among the national parties, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) East Delhi candidate, Chetan Chauhan, made a national commitment to work for education of choice for the underprivileged.

The campaign received widespread media coverage in 14 leading national and regional dailies.

*"School Choice is a very good idea. Poor and underprivileged children should enjoy equal rights when it comes to choosing the best schools for themselves. I support this idea and initiative and no matter what the outcome of the elections, I will work towards getting quality education of choice for the underserved community."*

— Mr Chetan Chauhan, BJP Candidate (East Delhi)

# Stakeholder Engagement

SCC is challenging conventional wisdom in India by advocating for alternative economic and political practices we believe will improve the education sector, enabling education providers to be better responsive to the needs of students, parents and teachers.

We aim to impact and influence opinion leaders and policymakers in India, by offering critical analysis and understanding of current education policy through policy reviews, data and legislative analyses, and policy recommendations.

Our Student First Magazine and newsletter keeps civil society informed on the latest education policy decisions in India and around the world.

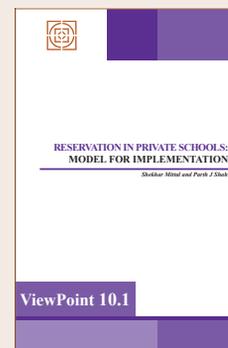
**We do not just identify problems. We offer solutions!**



To bring our analyses to centre stage, we host the annual **School Choice National Conference**, a public platform to deliberate and discuss education policy.

In 2009, with the introduction of the Right to Education Act (RTE), CCS launched the RTE Portal ([www.righttoeducation.in](http://www.righttoeducation.in)), India's leading online resource centre for details and conditions and implementation processes underlined in the Act.

8. (g) ensure good quality elementary education conforming to the standards and norms specified in the Schedule;	8. (g) ensure good quality elementary education conforming to the standards and norms specified in the Schedule and assessed through regular or at the minimum annual independent evaluation;
9. (h) ensure good quality elementary education conforming to the standards and norms specified in the Schedule	9. (h) ensure good quality elementary education conforming to the standards and norms specified in the Schedule and assessed through regular or at the minimum annual independent evaluation
29. (h) comprehensive and continuous evaluation of child's understanding of knowledge and his or her ability to apply the same.	29. (h) comprehensive and continuous evaluation of child's understanding of knowledge and his or her ability to apply the same, which is also judged through an independent regular assessment



Through our publications, we provide improved models for efficient use of public spending, new processes for enforcing accountability on education providers (including government), and community based solutions to improve access to affordable and quality education.

To bring our analyses to centre stage, we

# Policy Advocacy



We are committed to bring our research studies and market based solutions to the forefront of policymaking. SCC connects with policymakers and educationists at the central, state and local level, to advocate for reform.

We have conducted over 250 policy meets and workshops for Members of Parliament, state ministers, governors, senior officials as well as educationists, to inform them on alternative education delivery tools (such as vouchers) and per child funding models.

Through a growing network of school choice champions we are proposing to reform policies that are stifling the education sector, preventing innovation and quality education outcomes.



SCC launched the National Independent School Alliance (NISA) in 2011. NISA is India's first national platform fighting for the voice of low-fee and budget private schools in the country.



NISA advocates with the government, amplifying the voice of budget private schools through access to the media and academia, highlighting the better quality of their outcomes compared to many government schools and the threat posed to them by regulations.

In a short span of time, NISA has a representation of over 5,000 budget private schools from 12 Indian states. To know more, visit [www.nisaindia.org](http://www.nisaindia.org).

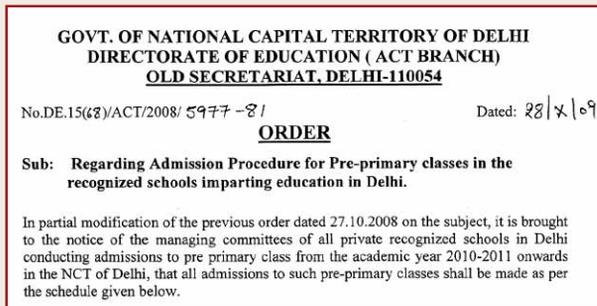
# Legal Action

To provide support to our advocacy efforts, CCS files Public Interest Litigations (PILs) which seek the judiciary's intervention to ensure access and equity in education for all sections of society.

In 2007, CCS filed a PIL pleading with the Delhi High Court to demand a uniform admission schedule for all private schools. The PIL was filled through Action for School Admission Reforms (ASAR)—a Delhi initiative launched by SCC to help parents take their complaints to the authorities.

The Campaign achieved its first policy win in 2008 with the Directorate of Education issuing a **Common Admission Schedule** for admission to pre-primary classes in private recognised schools of Delhi. The Parents' Charter prepared by ASAR

Our PIL was accepted and the apex court's ruling on 12 April 2012 said, "The State is also expected to first weed out those schools which are non-performing, or under-performing or non-compliance schools and upon closure of such schools, the students and the teaching and non-teaching staff thereof should be transferred to the neighbourhood school."



expressed that this policy win was a very important reform to make the admission system time-bound and fairer.

In 2011, CCS filed another PIL in response to the Right to Education Act (2009) recognition norms, section 18 and 19. The PIL was filed before the Supreme Court requesting the recognition provisions in the RTE Act, requiring private schools to meet set norms and standards for recognition (by filling Form 1), also be applied to government schools.

Currently, the government is enforcing all infrastructure and other norms for fee paying students accessing private schools and not for poor children accessing government schools.

# Vouching for School Choice



The School Choice Campaign believes that quality education is possible by ensuring accountability in our school system. School vouchers are one such tool for efficient use of public funds, empowering parental choice and challenging education providers to improve their quality of education.

To prove voucher schemes are a possible alternative for Indian education, SCC introduced India's first voucher program, the Delhi Voucher Pilot (DVP) testing ground implementation of a radical concept.

DVP launched in 2007 awarded vouchers worth up to Rs. 3,600 per year to over 400 students in 68 selected wards in Delhi. Students in Class VI or below enrolled in government schools were eligible for the program.



We received over **1 Lakh applications from parents requesting school choice**. To remain fair and transparent, SCC used a lottery system to select the 400 students who went on to receive the DVP vouchers to complete 1 more year of elementary education.

Vouchers were awarded to the winners on 26 July 2007 by Delhi Chief Minister Sheila Dikshit, Education Minister Arvinder Singh Lovely and School Choice Ambassadors Gurcharan Das, Nafisa Ali, and T K Mathew.

*"Centre for Civil Society is playing an important role in guiding policy reforms in the field of education. I particularly appreciate their concept of 'Fund Students, Not Schools' which holds great potential for ensuring quality education for India's children."*

— Arvinder Singh Lovely, Former Delhi Education Minister

# Voucher Pilots

Upon the success of DVP, CCS launched the School Vouchers for Girls (SVG) pilot in 2009 for minority girl students of 32 state-run schools, between the ages of 6 to 14 who have graduated Class I. Each year, SVG provides an annual stipend of Rs. 4,000 to cover tuition fees for 1 academic year. The voucher pilot is designed to help a girl complete her elementary schooling, proving vouchers to be an effective tool to bring affordable and quality education.



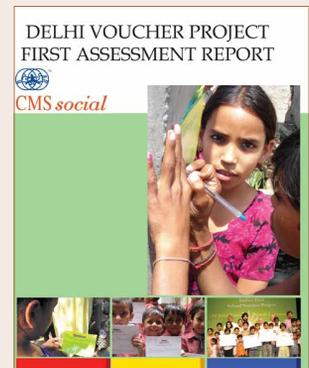
## Impact on Children

- ✓ Increased proficiency in English
- ✓ Increased learning outcomes in English, Hindi and Mathematics
- ✓ Increased reporting of weekly and monthly tests
- ✓ Increased reporting from children that learning was fun
- ✓ More students were promoted to the next class following 1 year of study in private school

## Parental Response

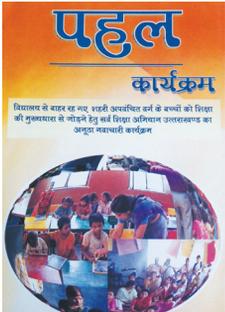
- ✓ Increased parent aspiration for their children
- ✓ Increased satisfaction with learning progress & discipline of wards and, teacher performance
- ✓ Increased parent teacher interactions and reporting
- ✓ Increased willingness to spend more on education

CCS has further signed on as a knowledge partner with Absolute Return for Kids (ARK-India) to launch ENABLE (Ensure Access to Better Learning Experiences). Enable is a voucher pilot for over 900 underprivileged out-of-school or public-attending-school children between the ages of 5-7 in Shahdara (North East and East Delhi) coming from families earning less than Rs. 100,000 a year. ENABLE provides access to quality low cost primary private school for 5 years of elementary education.



# Voucher Schemes in India

Progressive state governments in India have started adopting School Choice ideas to devise innovative solutions to specific problems in their states.



## Uttarakhand: Pahal

Pahal provides education vouchers to urban deprived children (6-14 yrs) in 3 districts of the State. A child becomes eligible for the voucher if she/he has never been enrolled or has been a drop-out for at least a year. The Pahal scheme began in Dehradun a pilot in 2007–08 and later extended to Udham Singh Nagar and Haridwar demonstrating a successful Public Private Partnership (PPP.)

## Madhya Pradesh: Paraspar

Inspired by the success of voucher and PPP models in other places, the Madhya Pradesh government introduced Paraspar which is set to benefit urban deprived children of four cities: Bhopal, Jabalpur, Indore and Gwalior. Under this scheme, the government will proportionately compensate private schools for mainstreaming out of school children.

## Rajasthan: Gyanodaya and Shikshak Ka Apna Vidyalaya

Gyanodaya facilitates opening new PPP schools for classes VI to XII on a BOO (Build, Operate & Own) basis. Shikshak Ka Apna Vidyalaya aims to enhance the access to and quality of primary schools by encouraging trained unemployed teachers to adopt government run one-teacher primary schools, or open new schools in PPP model in rural and backward areas of the state.

*“There is an urgent need for the government to provide vouchers to parents from the economically backward section. That way they can choose to enroll their children in private schools instead of the government-run schools, which are in a pathetic state.”*

— Nandan Nilekani, Chairman, New Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI)

## Our Voucher Girl, with a Dream!



Meet Muskan. She is 10 years old and studies near the Welcome Colony in the Selampur Area of East Delhi. Muskan wants to become a teacher. Luckily, she has been given the opportunity to study in an English medium private school through the School Vouchers for Girls (SVG) project.

Muskan is among the millions of poor children in this country whose parents have taken it upon themselves to provide the best education they can afford for their children. SVG has given Muskan's parents a chance at better quality education for their daughter, and hopefully opportunities for a better life for their entire family.

Her parents tell us they have seen a visible improvement in her grades and overall personality ever since she joined the private school 4 years ago.

"I have 5 children, 2 girls and 3 boys. Both my girls are studying in the Private school and my sons are in the Government School. Though the boys receive mid day meals and free education and we get money from the Schools to keep them there, I am worried that they can barely even write their names in English. Muskan who is the second youngest in the family gives tuition to her elder brothers in the house. I hope the School Voucher Project becomes a scheme through which I can teach my sons in these schools too." – Shakeel, Muskan's Father.

Today there is a feeling of liberation and sense of empowerment in parents with the availability of education of choice. Muskan's father is one among the hundreds of parents who now have greater aspirations for their children to pursue higher education, and perhaps even have a professional career of their choice. Vouchers for them is the beginning to greater self discovery and prosperity.

# Support School Choice

“Vouchers are providing us with the opportunity for quality education. I can select a school according to my wish. Because of the vouchers, I did not have to send my children for tuitions. If it weren't for vouchers, I would have had to send my children to government school, where I would have needed money for their tuition fees.”—Nawabuddin, Father of Isha.

The dreams of these children and their parents would not have been fulfilled, if it were not for the generous support of our donors. We welcome all contribution. We would be extremely grateful for a minimum donation of Rs. 4,000 to ensure 1 child like Muskan receives the chance to complete 1 more year of her elementary education at the school of her choice. Please [visit www.ccs.in](http://www.ccs.in) to read more about School Vouchers for Girls.

Your donations will ensure 1 girl's education for 1 full year!



## SCHOOL CHOICE CHAMPIONS, ACT NOW!

Yes, I wish to help the children by contributing: (Please select one of the following)

- Rs 1,00,000/- to ensure that 25 children in one program area receive education vouchers to go to a school of their choice for 1 full year.
- Rs 40,000/- to ensure that 10 children receive education vouchers to go to a school of their choice for 1 full year.
- Rs 12,000/- to ensure that 3 children receive education vouchers to go to a school of their choice for 1 full year.
- Rs 4,000/- to ensure that 1 child receives an education vouchers to go to a school of their choice for 1 full year.
- Amount of my choice Rs \_\_\_\_\_.

## PERSONAL INFORMATION (FILL ALL BLANKS):

Name : \_\_\_\_\_ State : \_\_\_\_\_  
Address : \_\_\_\_\_ Pin : \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone : \_\_\_\_\_  
City : \_\_\_\_\_ Email : \_\_\_\_\_

**Cheque/ Demand Draft in favour of 'Centre for Civil Society'**

Cheque/ DD Account: \_\_\_\_\_ Bank : \_\_\_\_\_  
Cheque/ DD Number: \_\_\_\_\_ Email : \_\_\_\_\_  
Cheque/ DD Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature of Account/ Card Holder \_\_\_\_\_

- > All donations to Centre for Civil Society are eligible for tax exemption under section 80G of the IT Act.
- > Donations go into a common pool of funds which is later assigned towards a cause depending as per need on the ground.
- > Please use the following address to send your contribution; Centre for Civil Society, A69, Hauz Khas, New Delhi - 110016
- > Please call 011 2653-7456, 2652-1882 in case you require support filling the donation coupon.

[www.schoolchoice.in](http://www.schoolchoice.in)

## School Choice Ambassadors

## School Choice Scholars



Ajay Shah



Jerry Rao



Andrew Coulson



Jeffrey D Greene



Lisa Snell



Anu Aga



Madhav Chavan



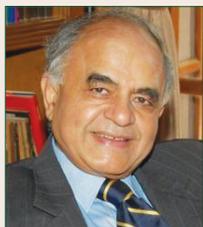
Geeta Kingdon



John Witte



Michael Kremer



Gurdharan Das



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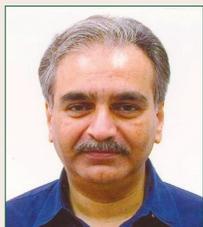
Ila Patnaik



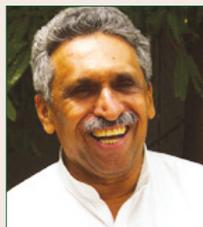
Karthik Muralidharan



Pauline Dixon



R Dholakia



T K Mathew



James Tooley



Lant Pritchett



Michael Latham

Visit [www.schoolchoice.in/people](http://www.schoolchoice.in/people) to learn more about our School Choice Champions!

# For the Right to Education of Choice!

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