

**Vouchers: An Instrument of Education Choice**

**A THESIS**

**Presented to the University Honors Program**

**California State University, Long Beach**

**In Partial Fulfillment**

**of the Requirements for the**

**University Honors Program Certificate**

**Jacob Sherman**

**Spring 2016**

**I, THE UNDERSIGNED MEMBER OF THE COMMITTEE,**

**HAVE APPROVED THIS THESIS**

**VOUCHERS: AN INSTRUMENT OF EDUCATION CHOICE**

**BY**

**Jacob Sherman**

**Andrea Mays**

**Economics**

---

**Advisor's Name**

**Department**

**California State University, Long Beach**

**Spring 2016**

## Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explore the effects that an education voucher system can have for students and allocation of resources for primary and secondary schools in the United States of America. More specifically, to what extent can education vouchers provide a more efficient system of education delivering higher quality of education and better use of government expenditures than our contemporary, state funded system? Can a voucher education system alleviate the current shortcomings our education system is experiencing? This paper will analyze education vouchers as a whole, through freedom of choice by the individual, the partial privatization of education, and the economics of education vouchers. The methodology that will be used will evaluate empirical studies, along with facts from other sources to help support an organized analysis of all the implications of education vouchers.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....3

Table of Contents.....4

Body.....5

Epilogue.....20

Bibliography.....23

“Alright, we have a \$7,500 voucher for this year to send our child to either Oakland Technical High School or College Preparatory High School, which one should we choose?” A middle class mother asked to her husband, regarding which institution they should send their eighth grade son to the following year, either a public or private school. Both high schools have their advantages and are equal distances from the family's home in the Oakland Hills; however, Oakland Tech is an inner city public school, while College Preparatory High School is an elite private school. Without the use of an education voucher, the choice would be to send their child to Oakland Tech because College Preparatory is a private school, where parents would have to pay twice for the education services: once in the form of taxes and once in the form of tuition. However, the parents have an education voucher where they are free to choose where to send their son and to which high school or secondary school to give the subsidy. An education voucher is a certificate of funding distributed by the government to a parent or guardian of a primary or secondary school student to cover some or the entire cost of tuition for an entire school year or semester. Aside from freedom of parental choice, education vouchers have numerous benefits to recipients—increased competition among schools, increased quality of education, lower government expenditures, and improved incentives for all of these factors between the institution and the parents—that can provide improved results. A partially privatized education system has a plethora of advantages compared to our contemporary, state-funded system and education vouchers are an instrument that can provide the catalyst to help combat this change.

Education vouchers are an innovative reform system that allows market forces to determine the correct amount of funding and education standards that students will be allocated, as increased competition among schools can help improve performance among primary and secondary institutions. Through a partially privatized education system with vouchers as the instrument, schools public and private, would be forced to compete for students in order to receive the subsidy or voucher by making their institution a more attractive commodity. Open enrollment also plays a key role, as parents make the decision on which school for their children to attend, rather than being assigned one. The idea of competition from outside sources promotes innovative reform, as it does in any industry. "It is not just in schools; it is in any area. Reform has to come from outside. It has to come from competition."<sup>1</sup> Milton Friedman is considered the grandfather of education vouchers, as he and other neoliberal advocates argue that this mechanism can create competition and subsequent reform for our grade school education system.

Neoliberal proponents of education vouchers believe competition will produce optimal results, as all parties involved in the transaction are accountable for their efforts.

To the extent this is so, moreover, they are probably transmitting the right kinds of incentives to participating schools, which are put on notice that they need to do their job well if they are to attract parental support.<sup>2</sup>

Terry Moe argues in *Private Vouchers* that institutions that face voucher competition have an incentive to raise their standards of education and quality in order to attract

---

<sup>1</sup> Friedman, Milton. "MILTON FRIEDMAN ON VOUCHERS." *Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice*. N.p., 24 Mar. 2003. Web.

<sup>2</sup> Moe, Terry M. *Private Vouchers*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1995. Page 60. Print.

students to their school. Parents want to maximize their utility or satisfaction for their child's education, as they are rational consumers who will allocate their funds to the institution of their choice that best meets their needs. As a result, schools are forced to compete for these students and institutions will do a better job with their education endeavors in order to obtain the voucher from the parents of the student. A partially privatized education system will implement market forces, achieving the desired outcome for both the parties involved in the transaction.

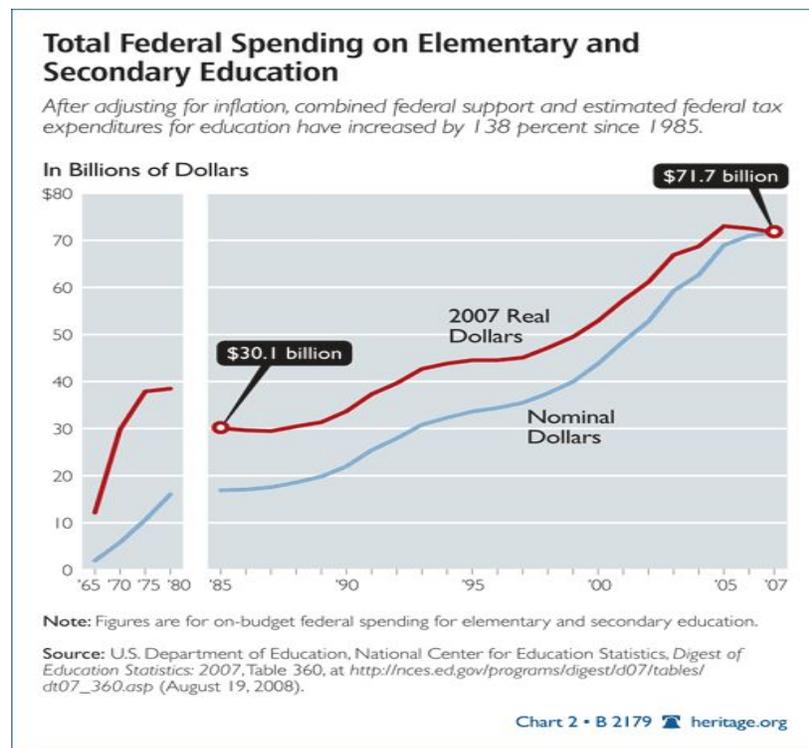
Competition promotes innovation, as a voucher system can influence student performance, as well as allocating tax dollars towards education in a more efficient manner. Friedman highlights in his article *Why America Needs School Vouchers*, that schools participating in voucher programs in Cleveland and Milwaukee performed better than non-voucher schools in standardized tests and the quality of education students were receiving, as well as providing education at half the cost per student.<sup>3</sup> Empirical studies for vouchers have seen similar results in all parts of the country, as government subsidies for education will receive optimal resource allocation due to the advent of competition forcing institutions to produce the most desired commodity. Competition, as in any market place, provides incentives for institutions to focus on minimizing costs and produce the best product, as parents will try to obtain their highest utility.

Our current state funded education system has produced numerous unwanted results, as primary and secondary public schools are not performing to a high enough standard, while the cost of education spending has increased at an unprecedented rate.

---

<sup>3</sup> Friedman, Milton. "Why America Needs School Vouchers." *Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice*. N.p., 28 Sept. 2000. Web.

Empirical studies conducted by the Heritage Foundation show that low performing grade schools use similar amounts of government funds as above average performing grade schools, even with increased funding to education. U.S. spending on education is at an all-time high, as education expenditures has increased 138 percent since 1985, accounting for roughly four percent of the U.S. Gross Domestic Product at \$553 billion.<sup>4</sup>



5

Primary and secondary schools are receiving more funding, but some institutions are performing far better than others for a variety of reasons. The goal with any venture is to minimize cost and produce the best product for consumers and our contemporary public education system is doing the opposite. The problem could be mitigated by implementing a reform that focuses on how the funds are distributed to each school,

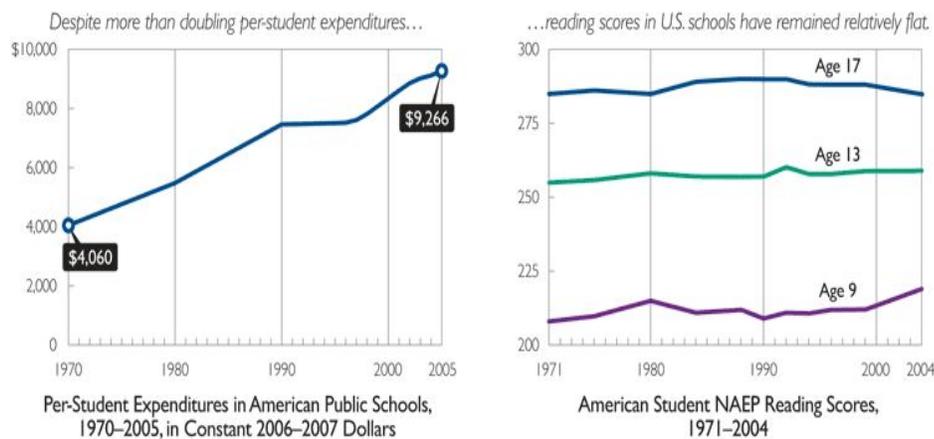
<sup>4</sup> Lips, Dan, Shanea Watkins, and John Fleming. "Does Spending More on Education Improve Academic Achievement?" *The Heritage Foundation*. N.p., 8 Sept. 2008.

<sup>5</sup> Imbd, Lips, Watkins, and Fleming

which would improve cost structures and quality of education, so every school can get more value from every dollar spent.

Government expenditures for education have been rising at an unprecedented rate annually, however the gross amount spent on education does not produce similar results on student performance. Empirical studies conducted on education spending and student performance indicate that there is no correlation between institutions receiving more subsidies and subsequently improving the quality of education.

### The "Link" Between Education Spending and Student Performance



Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress, "National Trends in Reading by Average Scale Scores," updated July 6, 2005, at <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/ltt/results2004/nat-reading-scalescore.asp> (April 14, 2008), and *Digest of Education Statistics: 2007*, Table 174, at [http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/data/digest/dt07/tables/dt07\\_174.asp](http://nces.ed.gov/ipeds/data/digest/dt07/tables/dt07_174.asp) (August 19, 2008).

Chart 4 • B 2179 6

Education expenditures per student have more than doubled since 1970, however, student performance in education has seen constant results.<sup>7</sup> The solution is not to increase expenditures and hope school performance runs parallel, but to implement an external reform that fixes these shortcomings. A partially privatized education system with education vouchers can help alleviate these differences and create incentives, as

<sup>6</sup> Imbd, Lips, Watkins, and Fleming

<sup>7</sup> Imbd, Lips, Watkins, and Fleming

this mechanism will force schools to improve performance in order to keep receiving funding from students or close up shop if they cannot meet the standards that the market is demanding. Voucher reform is designed to improve how institutions spend money, as well as boost student performance, without having to increase government spending on education.

Reform in education must be an external solution instead of an internal solution, as education vouchers create competition and put parents in the situation to choose the best school for their child, instead of bureaucratic decisions influencing this. A partially privatized education system using this mechanism is an alternative for eliminating bureaucracy effects on parents or guardians for school choice, while at the same time creating education opportunities for students, filled with incentives to achieve the highest possible education standards.<sup>8</sup> Neoliberal proponents for education vouchers believe that if parents make this decision, it will increase their participation, responsibility, and involvement in their children's education. Humans are conscious consumers when they are given information on the value of commodity and when competition surfaces in a market place, parents or guardians will be more inclined to do their homework and make the best choice.

In other words, when parents have to pay for educational services as they would with any product, they operate far more responsibly and effectively as consumers of education than when the government controls and organizes their choices.<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Weil, Danny K. *School Vouchers and Privatization: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA:ABC-CLIO, 2002. Page 87. Print.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*, 91

Due to the funding of grade schools being in the hands of the parents with the voucher and not bureaucratic decisions influencing this, government expenditures should be more efficient as the correct amount of spending will be allocated to each institution. As with any market, when individuals are making the decision, they will be more involved in their final decision and this rationale has the potential to produce inevitable change to the character of our current, state funded education system.

A partially privatized education system through vouchers provides an abundance of incentives for the primary or secondary schools to attract these students; however, the way education vouchers are distributed can produce either terrific or adverse effects. Moe examines the data compiled from the Milwaukee voucher program, specifically the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program (MPCP) in 1990-1991 and Partners Advancing Values in Education (PAVE) in 1992-1993. He concludes from looking at scores on Milwaukee's Iowa Test of Basic Skills that students performed far better academically in the PAVE program than their non-voucher counterparts in math and reading, but worse in the MPCP than their non-voucher counterparts in reading and marginally better in math.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> *ibid*, 61

	PAVE Students <sup>a</sup> (%)	MPCP Students <sup>b</sup> (%)	Milwaukee Public School Low-Income Students (%)	All Milwaukee Public School Students (%)
<b>READING</b>				
Percent at or above 50th percentile <sup>c</sup>	63.2	16.7	24.9	29.9
Median (NPR) <sup>d</sup>	58.5	26.0	30.0	32.0
Mean (NCE) <sup>e</sup>	55.5	37.2	38.8	40.9
Standard deviation (NCE) <sup>f</sup>	24.7	15.6	16.9	18.0
	(n=106)	(n=398)	(n=1,212)	(n=1,443)
<b>MATH</b>				
Percent at or above 50th percentile	60.4	28.3	29.5	35.0
Median (NPR)	57.5	32.0	32.0	36.0
Mean (NCE)	54.1	42.2	39.9	42.7
Standard deviation (NCE)	28.4	17.6	18.9	20.2
	(n=106)	(n=395)	(n=777)	(n=984)

11

To account for the differences in academic performance between the two voucher programs, in the 1990-1991 school year, approximately 750 students were involved in the MPCP, opposed to 2,370 students participating in the PAVE program in 1992-1993. The striking difference between the two programs, however, is that the MPCP provides students with low income a government funded tuition voucher to attend about twelve nonreligious private schools. The PAVE program, on the other hand, is a privately funded choice program for low-income students to enroll in 102 different private schools that could be religious or nonreligious. Moreover, during this time, PAVE was the largest privately funded voucher program in the country to operate next to a school choice program that is supported by the government. The distribution, funding, and organization of education vouchers plays an important role in how the school choice program will evolve, as the PAVE program showed better outcomes than the Milwaukee Parental Choice program.

---

<sup>11</sup> *ibid*, 61

How education vouchers are constructed can influence the performance of the program; however, vouchers can be designed as a threat to public schools to increase their academic performance in order to provide better quality of education to students. In a Manhattan Institute study, *When Schools Compete: The Effects of Vouchers on Florida's Public School Achievement* evaluates all of the implications surrounding Florida's A + voucher program. This program is an aggressive and controversial reform, as Florida will offer vouchers to any student at a public institution which is performing at an F grade to use at a private school of their choosing. The study examines the improvement of results from standardized tests that are nationally recognized, such as the FCAT and Stanford-9, regarding institutions that are threatened by voucher competition and institutions that are not. Due to public schools being forced to compete with private schools where the students have an education voucher to attend, mixed with the fear of losing students these students; the affected schools have incentives to improve their quality of education in order to keep and to attract as many students as possible.<sup>12</sup> The evidence of the study demonstrates that when low performing schools face competition through education vouchers, these schools increased their reading and math standardized test scores compared to non-voucher schools that did not face similar competition.

Public schools currently facing voucher competition or the prospect of competition made exceptional gains on both the FCAT and the Stanford-9 tests compared to all other Florida public schools and the other sub-groups in our analysis.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup> Greene, Jay, and Marcus Winters. "When Schools Compete: The Effects of Voucherson Florida Public School Achievement | Manhattan Institute." *Manhattan Institute*. N.p., 24 Aug. 2015.

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*, Greene and Winters

Voucher eligible and threatened schools for both standardized tests conducted saw significant improvements in test scores due to competition for school choice and increased accountability between institutions to provide the highest quality of education for students.

Florida’s A + voucher program argues that when low performing schools were not faced with voucher competition, the incentive to improve the school’s performance went away and the institution did not change its performance.

Table 2: FCAT Math Test	
Improvements Relative to Other Florida Public Schools	
Voucher Eligible Schools	9.3***
Voucher Threatened Schools	6.7***
Always D Schools	2.2*
Ever D Schools	-0.3
Formerly Threatened Schools	-2.2
Reported in Mean Scale Scores	* = statistically significant at p<0.1
Number of Schools: 2504	** = statistically significant at p<0.05
	*** = statistically significant at p<0.01

Table 3: Stanford-9 Math Test	
Improvements Relative to Other Florida Public Schools	
Voucher Eligible Schools	5.1***
Voucher Threatened Schools	3.0***
Always D Schools	0.8
Ever D Schools	0.2
Formerly Threatened Schools	-2.1***
Reported in Percentile Scores	* = statistically significant at p<0.1
Number of Schools: 2493	** = statistically significant at p<0.05
	*** = statistically significant at p<0.01

The Manhattan Institute study conducted gives evidence that institutions who were formerly threatened from voucher competition showed decreased improvement compared to voucher eligible and threatened schools. As a result, these schools did not improve their performance due to a lack of accountability and incentives to provide a higher quality of education. Conversely, voucher eligible and threatened schools in Florida’s A + voucher program demonstrate higher math test scores relative to

---

<sup>14</sup> ibid, Greene and Winters

non-voucher schools, as seen by Florida's FCAT and Stanford-9 tests. Competition, coupled with the fear of institutions losing students, promotes incentives for schools to provide the highest quality of education in order to compete in the geographical market for education and attract as many students as possible.

Market forces influence competition, as seen in the Florida's A + program and Milwaukee's voucher programs, as the inefficiencies of inner-city public schools can be mitigated with the use of education vouchers. This mechanism provides the tool for families in lower socioeconomic levels to break out of poverty by giving parents the choice on where to send their child to school. Parents may choose to send their children to the local public school, but if they are not satisfied with the institutions performance, they can use their voucher to send their children to a public or private school that better meets their needs. Education vouchers have the potential to solve the shortcomings of our contemporary education system, especially with enormous advantages in urban public schools.

Regarding social mobility, the voucher resonated with the ideal that the state would provide opportunities for the deserving students hailing from families striving to use the welfare state to escape poverty rather than relying on the state to languish at the bottom of the social structure. The education voucher was an optimistic, innovative reform, in the conservative view, since it stood to solve the heretofore intractable problems of urban public schools.<sup>15</sup>

Institutions in urban areas that were facing voucher competition, improved their performance by providing increased education standards than the latter, as seen in the

---

<sup>15</sup> Carl, Jim. *Freedom of Choice: Vouchers in American Education*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011. Page 16. Print.

Milwaukee and Florida voucher programs, in order to keep and attract students to their school. The contemporary inefficiencies of urban public schools in these areas were influenced with an education voucher, as the reform produced competition and provided better results than without the use of education vouchers to these groups of people.

Florida's and Milwaukee's voucher programs have seen an excess amount of empirical studies in order to gauge an objective analysis of publicly and privately funded voucher schools compared to non-voucher schools. Even though these studies are conducted through a small sample size, they show a correlation of increased quality of education and higher student performance because of schools competing for students.<sup>16</sup> As a result, institutions participating in the education voucher program in both studies raised their standard, which had a direct correlation with students achieving higher test scores and learning more. However, Moe and other neoliberal proponents of education vouchers view this claim as ambiguous because much of the data compiled for the Milwaukee voucher program, as well as other voucher programs conducted in the United States, is biased due to the authors using data that is limited.

We don't know, for example, how much of the difference in performance between PAVE students and public school students is attributable to what students learned in the private schools or what they learned before entering the PAVE program... any voluntary program automatically introduces a selection bias... Because of these limitations in the research and analysis of the PAVE data, we can only present preliminary conclusions. Additional research and analysis are needed to clarify some of these questions.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>16</sup> *ibid*, 61

<sup>17</sup> *ibid*, 60

Due to these voucher programs being voluntary, with limited data, statistical bias is featured in many forms. Cross-sectional data, where observations for specific school years can be compared between different voucher programs, is the most prevalent empirical research done when judging the success of different voucher programs; however, there are limitations due to the nature of this research. Longitudinal data, where observations on the success of voucher programs are judged over a long term period of time for specific data samples can produce optimal results in research, but it is very difficult to construct this data due to many complications that surface over time. In essence, rational conclusions must be drawn from inferences in data research in order to obtain significant knowledge on the success of these programs.

Drawing inferences has the potential to produce bias empirical data in order to judge the advantages and disadvantages of an education voucher system; however, adverse conclusions taken from data could potentially stem as a result. Barry Parr, an English and Journalism teacher at Livermore High School believes a partially privatized education system through vouchers could fix many shortcomings our education system currently experiences, but a mechanism must be put into place in order to alleviate potential problems that may arise. The goal of vouchers--more competition between schools, higher quality of education, and better use of government tax dollars--is the carrot that should be achieved; however, the stick or a consequence must be implemented in order to promote these results. Vouchers have the potential to create adverse social effects on the masses of our population and could create "Old Boy" networks where the rich would get richer and poor get poorer. To curb these negative

externalities that may arise, the government should create a regulation aimed at the institution, implementing a mechanism or consequence when schools fail to deliver the goals they set out to pursue.

The government has an interest in the citizens it raises, as children are the future leaders and decision makers of the country; however, an unregulated education voucher system has the potential to create negative social effects. For example, if a mechanism or regulation is not implemented on a voucher system that can influence its results, highly politicized institutions may surface and fail to teach children the principles of American government. Institutions may promote their own agenda for education, where social costs are not considered and the ideologies of groups who operate schools may not be concerned with the survival of the nation from the education they provide. As a result, radicals could take over various forms of government and tyranny may surface due to the lack of education provided by schools. This is an extreme example of what could potentially happen with an unregulated voucher system, but it could very well be a reality and voucher proponents must be aware that institutions may teach a curriculum that does not put the interest of the nation at the forefront. Negative externalities, such as the failure to teach the foundations of American government, have the possibility of occurring in every market and in a market for education, these failures could snowball into a bigger problem than originally thought possible. Some mechanism must be implemented through regulation in order to keep adverse effects of poor results in public education at bay, so that the maximization of utility and welfare of society can be achieved.

An education voucher system that is regulated through a mechanism can be a valuable tool to fix the United States contemporary shortcomings in primary and secondary school education. Incentives through competition are put into place, as parents of the student and the institution act as rational players to receive the most bang for their buck. Government expenditures in education over the last forty-five years have been increasing at an unprecedented rate, while empirical research has shown that student performance has remained relatively constant. Voucher programs conducted in an efficient manner, such as the PAVE program in Milwaukee or Florida's A + voucher program, have shown a plethora of advantages in the improvement of the quality of education, as well as better allocation of resources in these geographical areas and especially in urban public schools. In addition, standardized tests conducted--Florida's FCAT, Stanford-9, and Milwaukee's Iowa Test of Basic Skills math and reading exams-- demonstrate improved test scores due to voucher influence. Education vouchers are an instrument for reform to improve the United States current, state funded education system, as a partially privatized education system can produce optimal results for the parties involved and thereby combat the shortcomings in an efficient manner.

## Epilogue

Throughout this paper, I have explored the advantages of a partially privatized education system, using vouchers as the driving force. Education vouchers increase open enrollment, create competition, forces schools to allocate resources efficiently, and increase the quality of education that has direct benefits on students. This innovation on education in the United States reached its high point in the 1980's and 1990's; however, it has lost a lot of steam in recent years. This is due to public opinion, court cases, but most importantly the rise of charter schools throughout the country. Charter schools receive public funding and are operated privately, as they provide an alternative to public and private schools in given geographical areas. An education voucher system is different than charter schools because government expenditures on education are given to the schools and not to the parents of the student. Private schools do not receive any government funding as well because parents are not provided with an education vouchers to give to them, which essentially excludes them from competing for subsidies. In addition, many school districts throughout the country that feature charter schools have open enrollment, as parents have the choice where to send their children to school. Charter schools blend the best of both worlds between private and public schools, as they are funded exactly like our contemporary education system, but the curriculum that is taught is up to the institution's discretion. As a result, this creates competition in school districts, where institutions are forced to provide the highest level of education in order to attract students to their school. Charter schools mimic what an

education voucher system can accomplish, but are a far less aggressive measure than the implementation of this mechanism.

For the 2015-2016 school year, the United States currently has 6,800 charter schools in 42 states, with roughly three million students, which is up from approximately 500,000 students in the 2001-2002 school year.<sup>18</sup> Some charter schools feature a unique curriculum, while others focus on minimizing costs and providing a better quality of education than non-charter schools. In addition, charter schools receive relatively less funding than public schools from subsidies provided by the government, but charter schools have to abide by less regulations and rules than non-charter schools. School reform proponents believe the greatest advantage for charter schools is that they provide more competition to institutions, which has many direct and indirect benefits that have influenced the character of our education system in unprecedented ways.

The demand for charter schools has been steadily increasing in recent years, largely due to public opinion wanting better education and more school choice. The results that get produced from the presence of charter schools mirrors what an education voucher system can construct, also. Due to more charter schools surfacing, these institutions have created competition between public schools in the geographical area that forces public schools to improve their performance in order to not lose any of their students. As a result, the outcomes obtained by charter schools--more competition, school choice, better use of tax dollars, and increased quality of education for all schools in the area--mimic what an education voucher system can produce.

---

<sup>18</sup> "Charter Public Schools Serving 250,000 New Students in 2015-16." *National Alliance for Public Charter Schools*. N.p., 3 Feb. 2016.

Public opinion has influenced the development of charter schools throughout the country, as the shortcomings of our education system has been improved with greater charter school support. Even though a voucher system did not produce this, charter schools have impacted our contemporary education system in a variety of ways, as many problems have been eliminated. Competition promotes innovation, as the allocations of resources are used in a more efficient manner and the quality of education in a given geographical region has increased with greater charter school support. The rise of charter schools are unprecedented in our current, state funded education system and has helped contemporary inefficiencies by increasing student performance corresponding to rising government expenditures on education. Improving primary and secondary institutions in the United States is a prominent issue and the system used to develop these changes, whether a voucher system or through charter schools, influences change and a greater welfare among society.

Word Count: 4,360

## Bibliography

- Bedrick, Jason, and Lindsey Burke. "The Next Step in School Choice Publications National Affairs." *The Next Step in School Choice Publications National Affairs*. N.p., Winter 2015. Web.
- Carl, Jim. *Freedom of Choice: Vouchers in American Education*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2011. Print.
- "Charter Public Schools Serving 250,000 New Students in 2015-16." *National Alliance for Public Charter Schools*. N.p., 3 Feb. 2016.
- Friedman, Milton. "Free to Choose Part 7: Who Protects the Consumer Featuring Milton Friedman." *YouTube*. YouTube, 23 Dec. 2010. Web.
- Friedman, Milton. "MILTON FRIEDMAN ON BUSTING THE SCHOOL MONOPOLY." *Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice*. N.p., 5 Dec. 1983. Web.
- Friedman, Milton. "MILTON FRIEDMAN ON VOUCHERS." *Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice*. N.p., 24 Mar. 2003. Web.
- Friedman, Milton. "PUBLIC SCHOOLS: MAKE THEM PRIVATE." *Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice*. N.p., 19 Feb. 1995. Web.
- Friedman, Milton. "Why America Needs School Vouchers." *Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice*. N.p., 28 Sept. 2000. Web.
- Greene, Jay, and Marcus Winters. "When Schools Compete: The Effects of Voucherson Florida Public School Achievement | Manhattan Institute." *Manhattan Institute*. N.p., 24 Aug. 2015. Web.

Lips, Dan, Shanea Watkins, and John Fleming. "Does Spending More on Education Improve Academic Achievement?" *The Heritage Foundation*. N.p., 8 Sept.

2008. Web.

Moe, Terry M. *Private Vouchers*. Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution, 1995. Print.

Rouse, Cecilia, and Lisa Barrow. "School Vouchers and Student Achievement: Recent Evidence, Remaining Questions." (n.d.): 1-42. 6 Aug. 2008. Web.

Samwick, Andrew. "Donating the Voucher: An Alternative Tax Treatment of Private School Enrollment." *Cato Institute*. N.p., 06 May 2014. Web.

Strauss, Valerie. "Florida Moves toward School Voucher Expansion — but with No Accountability." *Washington Post*. The Washington Post, 18 Mar. 2014. Web.

Weil, Danny K. *School Vouchers and Privatization: A Reference Handbook*. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2002. Print.