

Civil society and advocacy for “Education for All”:

The role and impact of *the Global Campaign for Education* in the South

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Campaigning for "Education for all"

Histories, Strategies and
Outcomes of Transnational
Advocacy Coalitions in Education

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Structure of the presentation

1. Brief intro to the GCE

1. About the research

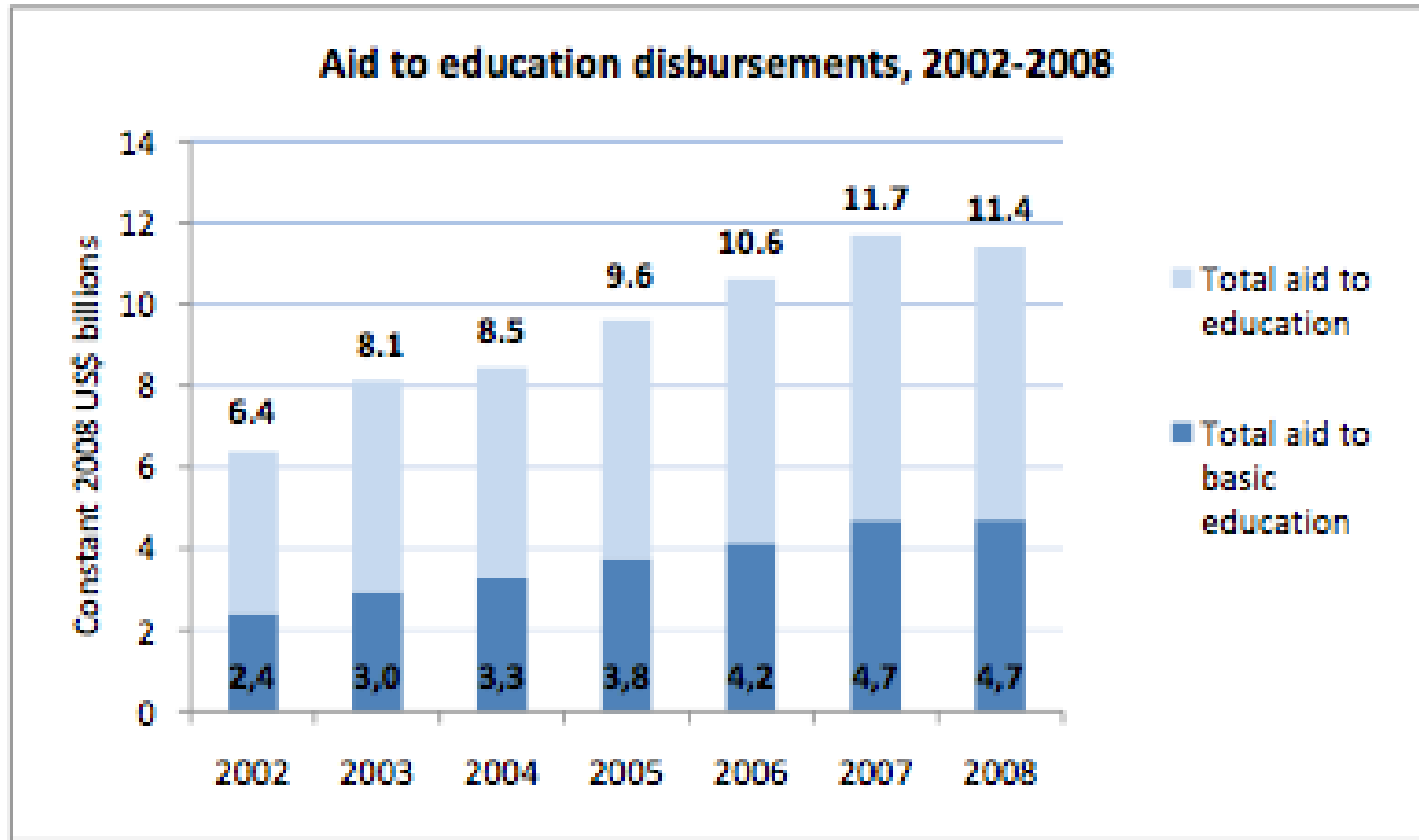
- Objectives, team/cases, methodology and approach

2. Results

- General results
 - The case of Ecuador
- Preliminary conclusions

- GCE was constituted in the context of the World Education Conference (Dakar 2000)
 - Initiators: INGOs (Action Aid, Oxfam), Global March against children labor (India), Education International
- They pushed for an ambitious 'action framework'
 - Inclusion of the wording “free” education
 - Endorsement of the idea of national educational forums
 - Expanded conception of education: early childhood education and adult literacy
 - Commitment to annual high-level EFA review meetings

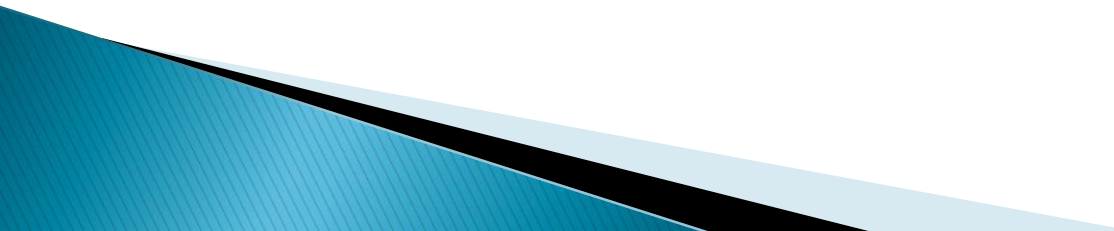
- ▶ GCE advocates for international organizations, donors and governments to meet the 'Education for All' goals



GCE as a pluri-scalar organization

- Global scale:
 - Assembly, board and secretariat (HQ in Johannesburg)
 - Regional coordination:
 - Africa, LAC, Asia and “Northern Coalitions”
 - National coalitions: 65 coalitions in 2009
 - NGOs + teachers unions + grassroots movements
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Objectives of the research

- (1) Developing theoretically informed and empirically driven cases studies on the experiences and impact of 7 GCE national coalitions.
 - (2) Drawing on the findings of the case-studies to feed into a broader examination of the role and nature of civil society in transnational advocacy campaigns in the field of education
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The research team

- **UvA/IS Academie Education & Development programme** research team:
 - Case study **India**: Laura Grant
 - Case study **The Philippines**: Joosje Hoop
 - Case study **Brazil**: Anja Eickelberg
 - Case study **Ecuador**: Jonah Sarfatij
 - Case study **Ghana and Zambia**: Felice van der Plaats
 - Case study **Indonesia**: Selma Hilgersson
 - **Coordination**: M. Novelli & A. Verger

Approach

Context [POSSs]

Issue
characteristics

Impact

Coalition
cohesion [ACF]

Strategic action
[frame analysis]

Methodology

Stage 1

- **Country case studies: Thick Description**
 - Interviews
 - Participatory observation
 - Document analysis
 - Participatory Workshops

Stage 2

- **Comparative Analysis**
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Coalitions profile

- **Members (standard configuration):**
 - NGOs, teachers unions and grassroots movements
 - In occasions, scholars, media, international organizations
- **Diverse features & constituencies:**
 - Initiation: international vs autochthonous
 - Professional vs grassroots: more “intimate” than “uncivil” civil society
 - National/international players
 - Form: Nebulous of 100s of organizations vs umbrella of a few big organizations
 - Funding: levels; external vs internal
 - Levels of involvement of teachers (unions)
 - ...

Agenda

- EFA global action framework adopted/translated according to national realities:
 - From **thin** (MDGs) to more **complex agendas** (advocating for alternative pedagogies, teachers labor policies, education management policies, etc.).
- Common issue:
 - Demand for **public spending** in education increase.

Strategies and actions

- **Action repertoires:**
 - ✦ Street action
 - ✦ Lobbying decision-makers; budget tracking
 - ✦ Training
 - ✦ Public awareness / media
 - **Strategies (contributing to impact):**
 - Framing action: combination of evidence based advocacy and principled beliefs
 - Electoral junctures
 - Communication plan and engagement with the media
 - Justiciability
 - Targeting the ministry of finance
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On impact

- **Impact dimensions**
 - **Substantive/Political**
 - effect on education **public funding**
 - Introd. of articles in education laws/plans
 - **Procedimental**, the most present
 - **Symbolic**, very much contingent to media opportunities
- **Explaining impact through...**
 - Internal cohesion – high relation with impact
 - Political Opportunity Structures

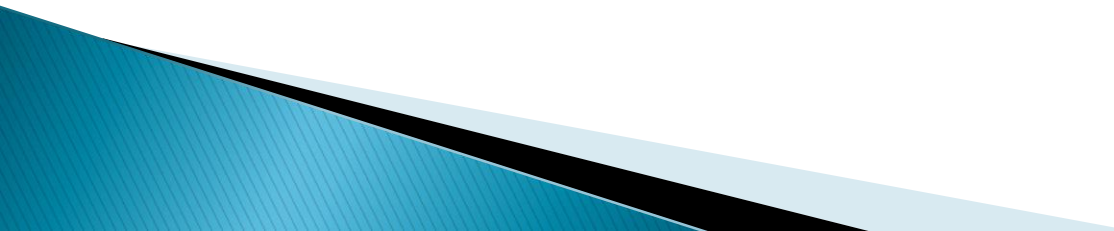
Conditions Favoring Internal Cohesion

- Sharing core beliefs works as coalitional glue
 - Consensus building (vs collage)
 - Common history of struggle in the country
 - Teachers unions
 - Repressed
 - No unique union in the country
 - Sensitive issues for teachers are not in the agenda
 - NGOs
 - NGO members are not “education services” providers
 - Coordination of the coalition as skilled broker
 - Procedures/spaces for information circulation
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Strategically selective contexts: Political Opportunity Structures

- Division of powers
 - Access to/alliances with elites
 - Progressive governments and governments with an economic competitiveness agenda
 - Progressive gov's engage better with the rights approach, but in occasions mean the cooptation of member organizations
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Thinking about new Opportunity Structures

- Global POSs
 - New global norms on international aid delivery
 - Media Opportunity Structures
 - Press interest in education (journalist or section specialized on the topic)
 - Public opinion/ public sentiments favoring public education
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The case of “Contrato Social por la Educación” Ecuador

- Promoted in 2002 by elite groups concerned with lack of education quality
 - NGOs and UNE (teachers union) joined
 - However, UNE abandoned the coalition soon
- Unstable political / educational system:
 - 10 presidents in 10 years
 - Ed. Min intervened by donors; lack of state education strategy
- CSE 2002 agenda:
 - “Education quality”; put education in the public agenda; make of education a priority
- First campaign in 2002 [elections]:
 - “If your candidate does not know how to change education, change your candidate”

The case of Ecuador (cont'd)

- ▶ Rafael Correa (Alianza Pais) wins elections in 2006:
 - “Revolución ciudadana” – education at the center
 - New regulatory framework: ambitious education goals
 - *Plan Decenal de Educación* (2006–2015)
 - National Constitution (2008)
 - Education funding increase
 - 6,000 new teachers in 2007/2008
 - Salary of teachers doubles, but more obligations
 - Top–down approach to the policy process
 - Big fight against UNE
 - Also reluctant to CSE (excluded from Plan Decenal)
 - But CSE is useful to break UNE’s monopoly

The case of Ecuador (cont'd)

MAIN IMPACTS:

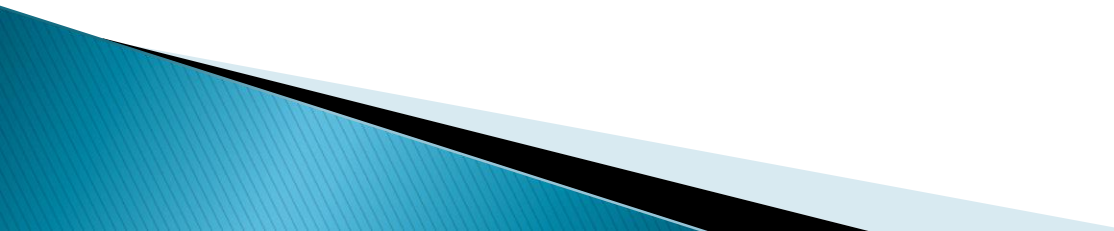
- Most political parties endorsed their agenda in 2002
- 25\$ “voluntary” fee banned
- “80%” of their proposals on education accepted in the new Constitution
- Changes in textbooks
- Big presence in the media
- One of the two main contributors to the new Education Law (forthcoming)



The CSE in the new Ecuador

- ▶ The “education matters” discourse does not work anymore
- ▶ New agenda: more educationist (and corporative?)
 - “Educational society” focus (not only the school teaches)
 - Community participation in accountability structures
 - More power to civil society in government bodies
 - Against concentration of state power: Decentralization, municipalization and school autonomy
 - Teachers’ evaluation and CCTs
- ▶ Changes in the “promoters committee”:
 - From bankers and church repr’s to “left-wing intellectuals and artists”
 - “Citizens movement” (aligns with the citizens revolution)

Preliminary conclusions: content, methodological and theoretical

- Civil society can make a difference in education at many levels: procedural, symbolic and substantive.
 - However, attribution problem, above all at the substantive level
 - We need to think about new opportunity structures, beyond “political” (i.e. media, ideational) and beyond the “national”
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Conclusions (cont'd)

- CSOs can play with POSs to define their strategy, and can even alter them.
 - However, the influence is two-sided: POSs may also alter coalitions' constituency and agenda
 - Thus, POSs from mediating to independent variable
- ▶ Future research
 - Comparison with countries in which civil society networks are not so active