ACCOUNTABILITY RESEARCH CENTER

The role of civil society in national education policy in the global South:
an annotated bibliography

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1. Introduction

Background & purpose

This annotated bibliography was produced as part of the [Accountability for education: the role of civil society in national policy](#) project led by the Accountability Research Center at American University, funded by the [Education Out Loud (EOL) program](#), the Global Partnership for Education's fund for advocacy and social accountability. The project aims to maximize synergies between grounded action-research and scholarship, by undertaking participatory action-research activities with selected civil society actors (national organizations and national and transnational coalitions) and researching the conditions and strategies with which civil society has succeeded in activating accountability for education reforms.

While there has been a great deal of investment of resources and effort into civil society work on education in the global South, there is a dearth of published literature on the subject, and no strong consensus on a) the range and character of the different civil society actors and coalitions that have played a role in shaping national education policy in the global South; b) the activities and mechanisms through which these different actors in civil society have influenced policy; or c) the outcomes or results of civil society mobilization, advocacy, research or other activities in relation to education policies in the global South. A review of the literature was undertaken to establish what is already known about these types/character, mechanisms, and outcomes of civil society organizing around national education policy in the global South. The literature review aimed to bring together published and grey literature to provide an analytical synthesis of this body of literature, drawing together common lessons and areas of agreement across the evidence base, and identifying gaps and areas of contention in the literature on civil society and education. This annotated bibliography provides references and abstracts for the most significant pieces identified on these topics.

Search strategy

The literature review involved an exhaustive online search using Google Scholar and databases of published material using keywords identified through trial and error, and with the help of academics and practitioner-experts. Literature searches took into account the multiple terms and different ways in which civil society actors have been conceptualized and labelled over time. For 'gray' material, the literature review will involve purposive institutional searches and key informant interviews to identify relevant evaluation and research materials. Advisors will be tapped for information about studies that the online searches may have missed. Authors that are active in the field will also be identified and approached to ensure all the key studies are included. Studied included and reviewed included the following types of documents:

i. Historical studies that documented or analyzed how different kinds of non-state actors have participated in the provision of or advocacy with respect to education in any global South contexts. This includes texts that provide background or historical explanations for current education provisioning and/or regulatory frameworks featuring non-state actors and of the role of social movements, trade unions, women's groups and other civil society actors in advocating for education policies in the post-colonial period. This literature is important for understanding the origins of civil society engagement in education policy in

different contexts; we know from the broader civil society debates that civil society action tends to emerge and evolve over time, and within the context of state policies and the space allowed for civic actors to operate.

ii. Studies of civil society activism in relation to country engagement with global policy agendas such as the Education For All movement, the Millennium Development Goals, and the Sustainable Development Goals. This includes material on transnational as well as national civil society activism, in recognition of how these are often mutually formed and informed. This literature sheds light on the dynamics of international aid-supported civil society activism around education, and how and the extent to which civil society strategies that are supported by international development partners are successful in their own terms, have enduring effects on education policy and politics, and help engender strong civil society institutions capable of holding governments accountable for delivering on their commitments to global policy agendas.

iii. Studies of civil society action on national policy and in relation to the national politics of education, with a focus on civil society mobilization and advocacy on issues of access and affordability, equity and inclusion (particularly of girls, minority and marginalized groups and children from low-income families), curricular and pedagogical reform, education standards and learning outcomes.

iv. 'Grey' or unpublished literature, particularly more recent reports, evaluations, and reviews of civil society action on education policy identified through hand-searches of institutional websites and repositories, and key informant interviews with experts and practitioners. These mostly focus on issues of civil society strategy in relation to education policy.

2. Political contexts for civil society

Abdulai, A.G., & Hickey, S. 2016. "The politics of development under competitive clientelism: Insights from Ghana's education sector." *African Affairs*, *115*(458), 44–72. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adv071

Debates over whether democracy or political clientelism would drive the politics of development in Africa have increasingly given way to more nuanced readings that seek to capture the dynamic interplay of these forms of politics. However, most current analyses struggle to identify the specific causal mechanisms through which politics shapes the actual distribution of resources. A political settlements approach, which emphasizes the distribution of 'holding power' – the ability to engage and survive in political struggles – within ruling coalitions, and how this shapes institutional functioning, can bring greater clarity to these debates. Our analysis shows that patterns of resource allocation within Ghana's education sector during 1993–2008 were closely shaped by the incentives generated by Ghana's competitive clientelistic political settlement, which overrode rhetorical concerns with national unity and inclusive development. This had particularly negative implications for the poorest northern regions, which have lacked holding power within successive ruling coalitions.

Ansell, B. W. 2010. *From the ballot to the blackboard: The redistributive political economy of education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

From the Ballot to the Blackboard provides the first comprehensive account of the political economy of education spending across the developed and developing world. The book demonstrates how political forces like democracy and political partisanship and economic factors like globalization deeply impact the choices made by voters, parties, and leaders in financing education. The argument is developed through three stories that track the historical development of education: first, its original expansion from the elite to the masses; second, the partisan politics of education in industrialized states; and third, the politics of higher education. The book uses a variety of complementary methods to demonstrate the importance of redistributive political motivations in explaining education policy, including formal modeling, statistical analysis of survey data and both sub-national and cross-national data, and historical case analyses of countries including the Philippines, India, Malaysia, England, Sweden, and Germany.

Ball, S. J. 2012. *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explorations in Sociology* (1st Edition). London: Routledge. https://www.routledge.com/Politics-and-Policy-Making-in-Education-Explorations-in-Sociology/Ball/p/book/9781138008472

Based on interviews with key actors in the policy-making process, this book maps the changes in education policy and policy making in the Thatcherite decade. The focus of the book is the 1988

Education Reform Act, its origins, purposes and effects, and it looks behind the scenes at the priorities of the politicians, civil servants and government advisers who were influential in making changes. Using direct quotations from senior civil servants and former secretaries of state it provides a fascinating insight into the way in which policy is made. The book focuses on real-life political conflicts, examining the way in which education policy was related to the ideal of society projected by Thatcherism. It looks in detail at the New Right government advisers and think tanks; the industrial lobby, addressing issues such as the National Curriculum, national testing and City Technical Colleges. The author sets these important issues within a clear theoretical framework which illuminates the whole process of policy making.

Baum, M. A., & Lake, D. A. 2003. "The Political Economy of Growth: Democracy and Human Capital." *American Journal of Political Science*, *47*(2), 333–347. https://doi.org/10.1111/1540-5907.00023

Democracy is more than just another brake or booster for the economy. We argue that there are significant indirect effects of democracy on growth through public health and education. Where economists use life expectancy and education as proxies for human capital, we expect democracy will be an important determinant of the level of public services manifested in these indicators. In addition to whatever direct effect democracy may have on growth, we predict an important indirect effect through public policies that condition the level of human capital in different societies. We conduct statistical investigations into the direct and indirect effects of democracy on growth using a data set consisting of a 30-year panel of 128 countries. We find that democracy has no statistically significant direct effect on growth. Rather, we discover that the effect of democracy is largely indirect through increased life expectancy in poor countries and increased secondary education in non poor countries.

Bellani, L., Fabella, V. M., & Scervini, F. 2022. "Strategic compromise, policy bundling and interest group power: Theory and evidence on education policy." *European Journal of Political Economy*, 102283. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpoleco.2022.102283

Policy reforms are often multifaceted. In the rent-seeking literature policies are usually taken as one-dimensional. This paper models policy formation using a political contest with endogenous policy proposals containing two dimensions, e.g. access and quality of education. The two dimensions provide an opportunity to trade off one policy over another to make the lobbying opposition less aggressive. In a first stage, the government proposes a reform over the two policies, and in a second stage engages in a contest with an interest group over the enactment of the proposed reform. As a result, the government makes a compromise, under-proposing in the policy the interest group opposes and over-proposing in the policy the interest group desires. Effectively, there will be strategic bundling of desired policies with undesired ones in an attempt to increase enactment probability and overall utility. We study this prediction empirically using a newly complied dataset on education legislation in the states of California, Illinois and Texas. Results suggest that stronger opposition is associated with less quality reforms. Moreover, as predicted by the model, when bundling access reforms together with quality, the negative effect is counteracted.

Bennell, P. 2021. "The political economy of attaining Universal Primary Education in sub-Saharan Africa: The politics of UPE implementation." *International Journal of Educational Development*, 80, 102317. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2020.102317

This is the second article of a two-article review which examines how key aspects of the dominant political economy in sub-Saharan Africa are influencing the implementation of the policy of Universal Primary Education (UPE). The first article analyses three sets of factors namely new social class relations, new forms of educational competition and distancing and intensifying competition for formal sector jobs. This provides the essential contextual background for this second article which draws on political settlement analysis to explore the politics of the implementation UPE and, in particular, the level of elite political commitment to the attainment of UPE.

Busemeyer, M. R., Garritzmann, J. L., & Neimanns, E. 2020. *A Loud but Noisy Signal?: Public Opinion and Education Reform in Western Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This path-breaking addition to the Comparative Politics of Education series studies the influence of public opinion on the contemporary politics of education reform in Western Europe. The authors analyze new data from a survey of public opinion on education policy across eight countries, and they also provide detailed case studies of reform processes based on interviews with policy-makers and stakeholders. The book's core finding is that public opinion has the greatest influence in a world of 'loud' politics, when salience is high and attitudes are coherent. In contrast, when issues are salient but attitudes are conflicting, the signal of public opinion turns 'loud, but noisy' and party politics have a stronger influence on policy-making. In the case of 'quiet' politics, when issue salience is low, interest groups are dominant. This book is required reading for anyone seeking to make sense of policy-makers' selective responsiveness to public demands and concerns.

Carvalho, S., Asgedom, A., & Rose, P. 2022. "Whose voice counts? Examining government-donor negotiations in the design of Ethiopia's large-scale education reforms for equitable learning." *Development Policy Review*, 40 (5). https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12634

The Government of Ethiopia has a long-standing commitment to improving the quality of education. In recent years, this has shifted to include a more explicit focus on equity in learning outcomes. In this paper, we examine the education reform design process in the context of Ethiopia's political environment which is widely 7tandardiz as a strong developmental state. Purpose The article examines how federal, regional, and international donor actors negotiate their interests in relation to Ethiopia's national quality education reform 7tandarmme, the General Education Quality Improvement Programme for Equity (GEQIP-E). Methods and approach We conducted 81 semi-structured, key informant interviews with federal and regional government officials and international donors who were involved in the design of GEQIP-E. Findings We find that federal government was able to leverage considerable political influence

over high-level priorities and the framing of GEQIP-E. Large donors leveraged financial influence to exclude some specific priorities, while smaller donors were able to draw on social influence and technical expertise to include priorities aligned with their interests. Regional governments—which are responsible for policy implementation—were largely excluded from the reform design process. Policy implications Our analysis highlights the importance of recognizing and understanding different forms of influence in the dynamic process of negotiating reform between government and donors. It identifies that both government and donor voices counted in the process of negotiations, but in different ways and to varying degrees. Understanding how different actors draw on their relative political, financial, and social influence is vital for ensuring successful implementation and sustainability. Importantly, we identify that voices of local actors are left out.

Cortina, Regina, and Constanza Lafuente, eds. 2018a. *Civil Society Organizations in Latin American Education: Case Studies and Perspectives on Advocacy*. New York: Routledge.

Examining the roles, impacts and challenges of civil society organizations (CSOs) in Latin America, this volume provides a broad perspective on the range of strategies these organizations employ and the obstacles they face in advocating for and delivering educational reform. Building on previous research on international and comparative education, development studies, research on social movements and nongovernmental organizations, chapter authors provides new insights about the increasing presence of CSOs in education and offer case studies demonstrating how these organizations' missions have evolved over time in Latin America.

Cortina, Regina, and Constanza Lafuente. 2018b. "'Only Quality Education Will Change Mexico': The Case of Mexicanos Primero." In *Civil Society Organizations in Latin American Education*, 18–41. New York: Routledge.

In this chapter, Cortina and Lafuente analyze the advocacy strategies of *Mexicanos Primero* (Mexicans First), one of the first civil society organizations (CSOs) in Mexico to demand accountability from federal and state authorities for the use of public resources targeted for public education. They investigate how *Mexicanos Primero* combines different activities to fulfill its organizational mission,and conceptualize it as a new type of education CSO: highly professionalized, with a robust organizational capacity and corporate leadership support for education reform in Mexico, an area of public policy that corporate leaders have left to the state and trade unions.

Fulge, Timm, Tonia Bieber, and Kerstin Martens. 2016. "Rational Intentions and Unintended Consequences: On the Interplay between International and National Actors in Education Policy." *The Handbook of Global Education Policy*, 453–69. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118468005.ch25

Why are international actors today prominent in education policy? In recent years, international initiatives such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) study and the Bologna Process have

contributed to the introduction of highly consequential and even paradigm-altering education reforms in many countries. In order to understand these profound changes in policy, in this chapter we set up an analytical framework of the interplay between international initiatives and national actors. We argue that the internationalization of education policy is strongly driven by strategic considerations of domestic actors who instrumentalize international organizations to overcome political gridlock and crowd out opposition. However, international organizations are not simply "agents" of domestic actors, but pursue their own interests, resulting in consequences unintended by national governments. In addition, policy adoption at the domestic level may be impeded by national political characteristics such as the number of veto players and conflicting guiding principles of education policy.

Gali, Y., & Schechter, C. 2021." NGO Involvement in education policy implementation: Exploring policymakers' voices." *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, *53*(3–4), 271–293. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2021.1957792

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming increasingly important participants in educational programmes and implementing education policy. This study explores governmental policymakers' perceptions and reactions to NGO involvement in the implementation of education policy. We applied a qualitative research method, conducting in-depth interviews with ten senior policymakers in Israel's Ministry of Education. We 9tandard an inductive process of condensing, encoding, 9tandardized, and 9tandardiz to analyze the data. Our findings yielded three major themes: (a) intersectoral partnership policies in education and mechanisms for their implementation, (b) budgeting and engagement policies that reexamine mutual responsibility models in education, and (c) the benefits of the intersectoral partnership in advancing education goals. This study expands the knowledge of policymakers' attempts to lead change, from methods and strategies of 9tandardize and bureaucratic governance through community networks that constitute an intermediate path to 9tandardi social and educational goals in the age of 9tandardized9 and 9tandardized9tion in education.

Garritzmann, J. L., Röth, L., & Kleider, H. 2021. "Policy-Making in Multi-Level Systems: Ideology, Authority, and Education." *Comparative Political Studies*, *54*(12), 2155–2190. https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414021997499

Most political systems consist of multiple layers. While this fact is widely acknowledged, we know surprisingly little about its implications for policy-making. Most comparative studies still focus exclusively on the national level. We posit that both methodological nationalism and methodological subnationalism should be avoided. We argue instead that in multilevel systems national and subnational governments jointly affect policy-making. Their respective influence is, however, conditional on the distribution of policy authority. Moreover, we identify power asymmetries, as subnational governments hardly affect policy-making in centralized systems whereas national governments shape subnational policy-making even in decentralized polities. Empirically, we study the case of education policy. Novel data on regional education spending, regional and national governments? Ideology, and regional authority over education in 282 regions in 15 countries over 21 years reveals strong support for the interplay between ideology

and the distribution of authority across levels. We conclude by sketching a resulting research agenda.

Gershberg, A. 2021. *Political Economy Research to Improve Systems of Education: Guiding Principles for the RISE Programme's Political Economy Team (Adoption) Research Projects* (p. 23). Research on Improving Systems of Education (RISE). https://riseprogramme.org/publications/political-economy-research-improve-systems-education-guiding-principles-rise

Over the past 50 to 75 years, most developing countries have greatly improved access to education, including for the poor. But few have made significant gains in learning as illustrated, for instance, by international 10tandardized assessments of student achievement such as PISA, PIRLS, and TIMSS. In regards to the rate of improved learning, 'sustainability' is an empty catchphrase without meaningful (and in many cases) dramatic improvement in learning. Most analyses have attributed poor learning outcomes in developing countries to their proximate causes: inadequate funding, human resource deficits, poor curricular development, perverse incentive structures, poor management, and the like (Rosser, 2018). Along these lines, the RISE Programme is a seven-year research effort that seeks to understand what features make education systems coherent and effective in their context, and how the complex dynamics within a system allow policies to be successful. RISE has Country Research Teams (CRTs) in seven countries: Vietnam, Indonesia, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Nigeria, India, and Pakistan. As part of this larger effort, RISE has constituted a Political Economy Team (PET) with a programme of research to test these ideas, refine them, and generate new ideas about the link between politics and learning outcomes in developing countries by analysing a set of country cases. This paper develops the Guiding Principles for the RISE Programme's PET-A research projects. It also begins to lay out a draft conceptual framework for the RISE Political Economy Analysis (PEA) of education reform, and discusses how the research itself should help flesh out that conceptual framework over the next couple of years. We describe an approach for the various research projects rather than a method, particular theory, or set of theories that will be tested. Throughout, we have a particular focus on the 'politics of learning', or the politics of educational strategies, policy design, and implementation processes and how they affect the long-term potential for developing countries to improve education quality and cognitive skill development at (in many cases) drastically improved rates.

Gift, T., & Wibbels, E. 2014. "Reading, Writing, and the Regrettable Status of Education Research in Comparative Politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*, *17*(1), 291–312. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-080911-131426

Apart from some notable exceptions, education is regrettably understudied in comparative politics. This paucity stems from both a dearth of reliable data on schooling and the fact that education raises analytical issues that fall outside the typical domain of political scientists. In light of education's crucial role in everything from citizen attitudes to earnings to economic growth, we recommend that political scientists pay more attention to education. In particular, comparative researchers should shift from an almost exclusive focus on average levels of

schooling to explaining the causes and consequences of educational inequality. To that end, we provide a broad comparative framework for analyzing the politics of education. In our formulation, skill-biased technological change and factor endowments condition the extent to which firms demand human capital. The supply of skills is a function of the interests and institutions that link voters and politicians. We conclude by positing theoretical and empirical puzzles for future research.

Gruber, L., & Kosack, S. 2014. "The Tertiary Tilt: Education and Inequality in the Developing World." *World Development*, *54*, 253–272. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2013.08.002

Education is widely perceived to be a tonic for the rising inequality that often accompanies development. But most developing-country governments tilt their education spending toward higher education, which disproportionately benefits elites. We find that in countries with high "tertiary tilts," rising primary enrollment is associated a decade later with far higher inequality—not the lower Gini coefficients many would expect. Since most developing countries tilt their spending toward higher education, our analysis suggests that efforts that concentrate only on expanding mass education, such as the UN's Millennium Campaign, could end up raising inequality in much of the developing world.

Jakobi, A. P., & Martens, K. 2009. *Education in political science: Discovering a neglected field*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203873311

This pioneering volume is devoted to the analysis of education from the perspective of political science, applying the full range of the discipline's analytical perspectives and methodological tools. The contributions demonstrate how education policy can be explored systematically from a variety of political science perspectives: comparative politics, public policy analysis and public administration, international relations, and political theory. By applying a governance perspective on education policy, the authors explore the changing institutional settings, new actors' constellations, horizontal modes of interaction and public-private regulatory mechanisms with respect to the role of the state in this policy field. The volume deals with questions that are not merely concerned with the content or outcomes of education, but it explicitly takes a political science view on how education politics work. Including country case studies from the Americas and across Europe, institutional analyses of education policy in the EU and the WTO/GATS as well as normative reflections on the topic, the volume provides a grand overview on the diversity of issues in education policy. Dealing with a so far neglected field of policy, this book provides a comprehensive and accessible analysis of a rapidly changing topic. Education in Political Science will be of interest to scholars and students of political science, education, sociology and economics.

Kosack, S. 2012. *The Education of Nations: How the Political Organization of the Poor, Not Democracy, Led Governments to Invest in Mass Education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mass education is vital to sustainable development, particularly in the information age. Kosack provides a framework for understanding when a government will invest in quality mass education or concentrate on higher education restricted to elites. Drawing on detailed evidence from more than five decades in Taiwan, Ghana, and Brazil - three countries with little in common - Kosack demonstrates that two conditions lead developing nations to invest in mass education. The first of these is an economy in which employers face a shortage of skilled labor that they cannot meet with outsourcing or by hiring foreign workers; the second, and more common, is a government engaging in "political entrepreneurship of the poor" - developing organizational structures that allow poor citizens to act collectively to support the government. In bringing these conditions to light, *The Education of Nations* provides a method to explain not only how governments try to distribute educational opportunity, but also the implications for a range of key features of actual education systems, from the relative conditions of schools to the availability of financial aid. In an era when much of a country's success depends on its education, this book explains why governments adopt particular education policies and the political and economic changes that would lead to different ones.

Levy, B., Cameron, R., Hoadley, U., & Naidoo, V. (Eds.). 2018. *The politics and governance of basic education: A tale of two South African provinces*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This book brings together scholars from multiple disciplines to explore how political and institutional context influences the governance of basic education in South Africa at national, provincial, and school levels. A specific goal is to contribute to the crucial, ongoing challenge of improving educational outcomes in South Africa. A broader goal is to illustrate the value of an approach to the analysis of public bureaucracies, and of participatory approaches to service provision which puts politics and institutions at centre stage. Stark differences between the Eastern Cape and Western Cape provinces offer something of a natural experiment for exploring the influence of context. The Eastern Cape's socio-economic, political, and institutional legacy resulted in a low-level equilibrium trap in which incentives transmitted from the political to the bureaucratic levels reinforced factionalized loyalty within multiple patronage networks, and which is difficult to escape. The Western Cape, by contrast, enjoyed a more supportive environment for the operation of public bureaucracy. However, bureaucracy need not be destiny. The research also shows that strong hierarchy can result in 'isomorphic mimicry'—a combination of formal compliance and a low-level equilibrium of mediocrity. Participatory school-level governance potentially can improve outcomes—as a complement to strong bureaucracies, or as a partial institutional substitute where bureaucracies are weak. Whether this potential is realized depends on the relative strength of developmentally oriented and predatory actors, with the outcomes not fore-ordained by local context, but contingent and cumulative— with individual agency by stakeholders playing a significant role.

London, J. 2021. *Outlier Vietnam and the Problem of Embeddedness: Contributions to the Political Economy of Learning*. Research on Improving Systems of Education (RISE). https://doi.org/10.35489/BSG-RISE-WP_2021/062

Recent literature on the political economy of education highlights the role of political settlements, political commitments, and features of public governance in shaping education systems' development and performance around learning. Vietnam's experiences provide fertile ground for the critique and further development of this literature including, especially, its efforts to understand how features of accountability relations shape education systems' performance across time and place. Globally, Vietnam is a contemporary outlier in education, having achieved rapid gains in enrolment and strong learning outcomes at relatively low levels of income. This paper proposes that beyond such felicitous conditions as economic growth and social historical and cultural elements that valorize education, Vietnam's distinctive combination of Leninist political commitments to education and high levels of societal engagement in the education system often works to enhance accountability within the system in ways that contribute to the system's coherence around learning; reflecting the sense and reality that Vietnam is a country in which education is a first national priority. Importantly, these alleged elements exist alongside other features that significantly undermine the system's coherence and performance around learning. These include, among others, the system's incoherent patterns of decentralization, the commercialization and commodification of schooling and learning, and corresponding patterns of systemic inequality. Taken together, these features of education in Vietnam underscore how the coherence of accountability relations that shape learning outcomes are contingent on the manner in which national and local systems are embedded within their broader social environments while also raising intriguing ideas for efforts to understand the conditions under which education systems' performance with respect to learning can be promoted, supported, and sustained.

Macpherson, Ian. 2016. "An Analysis of Power in Transnational Advocacy Networks in Education." In *The Handbook of Global Education Policy*, edited by Karen Mundy, Andy Green, Bob Lingard, and Antoni Verger, 401–18. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118468005.ch22

This chapter argues that global discourses – about development, education, political economy, and human rights – greatly affect the role and practices of civil society organizations. By the same token, transnational advocacy networks aim to create discourse that influences the actions of education stakeholders, including policy-makers, governments, and apex organizations at the global level. Discourse is therefore a form of power in that it shapes action and prescribes outcomes. Yet discourses also circulate within networks, shaping the actions of its members, in turn affecting the extent to which networks access different external spaces – closed, claimed, and invited – and promote their discourse in the struggles for cultural supremacy. The chapter examines how these dynamics play out in two transnational education advocacy networks: the Global Campaign for Education and the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies.

Mangla, A. 2018. "Elite strategies and incremental policy change: The expansion of primary education in India." *Governance*, *31*(2), 381–399. https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12299
This article analyzes India's recent enactment of universal primary education. This programmatic policy change is puzzling given the clientelistic features of Indian democracy. Drawing on interviews and official documents, I demonstrate the catalytic role of committed state elites, who

introduced incremental reforms over three decades. These officials operated beneath the political radar, layering small-scale initiatives on top of the mainstream school system. Following India's globalization in the 1990s, support from the World Bank gave committed officials the political opportunity to experiment with new programs in underperforming regions, which they progressively extended across the country. These incremental reforms supplied the institutional blueprint for India's universal primary education program. Along with state initiative from above, civil society mobilized from below, using the judiciary to hold the state legally responsible for policy implementation. Reforms exposed acute gaps in service delivery, propelling new civic demands for state accountability.

Martens, K., & Windzio, M. (Eds.). 2022. *Global Pathways to Education: Cultural Spheres, Networks, and International Organizations*. NYC: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-78885-8

This open access series welcomes studies on the waves, ruptures and transformative periods of welfare state expansion and retrenchment globally, that is, across nation states and the world as well as across history since the inception of the modern Western welfare state in the nineteenth century. It takes a comprehensive and globalized perspective on social policy, and the approach will help to locate and explain episodes of retrenchment, austerity, and tendencies toward de-welfarization in particular countries, policy areas and/or social risk-groups by reference to prior, simultaneous or anticipated episodes of expansion or contraction in other countries, areas, and risks. One of the aims of this series is to address the different constellations that emerge between political and economic actors including international and intergovernmental organizations, political actors and bodies, and business enterprises. A better understanding of these dynamics improves the reader's grasp of social policy making, social policy outputs, and ultimately the outcomes of social policy.

Meyer, J. W., Ramirez, F. O., & Soysal, Y. N. 1992. "World Expansion of Mass Education, 1870-1980." *Sociology of Education*, *65*(2), 128–149. https://doi.org/10.2307/2112679

Newly available enrollment data for over 120 countries for the period 1870-1980 are used to examine theories of mass educational expansion. Event-history analyses indicate that mass educational systems appeared at a steady rate before the 1940s and sharply increased after 1950. Pooled panel regressions show that the expansion of mass education, once formed, followed an S-shaped diffusion pattern before 1940, continuing with added force later. Expansion is endemic in the system. National variation exists; indications of national modernization or of structural location in world society, however, have only modest effects. It seems that mass education spreads in a world organized politically as nation-states and candidate states. Rates of appearance of mass education and of expansion accelerated sharply after World War II, with the intensification of the nation-state model and the centrality of mass education in this model.

Moe, T. M. 2011. *Special Interest: Teachers Unions and America's Public Schools*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. https://www.brookings.edu/book/special-interest/

Why are America's public schools falling so short of the mark in educating the nation's children? Why are they organized in ineffective ways that fly in the face of common sense, to the point that it is virtually impossible to get even the worst teachers out of the classroom? And why, after more than a quarter century of costly education reform, have the schools proven so resistant to change and so difficult to improve? In this path-breaking book, Terry M. Moe demonstrates that the answers to these questions have a great deal to do with teachers unions—which are by far the most powerful forces in American education and use their power to promote their own special interests at the expense of what is best for kids. Despite their importance, the teachers unions have barely been studied. Special Interest fills that gap with an extraordinary analysis that is at once brilliant and kaleidoscopic—shedding new light on their historical rise to power, the organizational foundations of that power, the ways it is exercised in collective bargaining and politics, and its vast consequences for American education. The bottom line is simple but devastating: as long as the teachers unions remain powerful, the nation's schools will never be organized to provide kids with the most effective education possible. Moe sees light at the end of the tunnel, however, due to two major transformations. One is political, the other technological, and the combination is destined to weaken the unions considerably in the coming years—loosening their special-interest grip and opening up a new era in which America's schools can finally be organized in the best interests of children.

Paglayan, A. S. 2021. "The Non-Democratic Roots of Mass Education: Evidence from 200 Years." *American Political Science Review*, *115*(1), 179–198. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055420000647

Why do some governments provide more education than others? And why do so many education systems fail to promote student learning and reduce poverty and inequality? This volume addresses these questions by examining what motivates politicians to provide education. Using newly collected quantitative and qualitative data spanning the long history of public primary education systems in Europe, Latin America, the United States, and the rest of the world, it assesses four possible reasons why politicians may expand education systems: in response to the human capital demands of voters; in response to the job-related interests of organized teacher unions; in response to pressure from capitalists who demand a skilled workforce; or out of their own interest in nation-building. The weight of the evidence presented points to the role of nation-building as a trigger for primary education provision. In particular, I show that the civil wars, and more generally, instances of widespread internal political disorder were a crucial factor that prompted politicians to set up and expand primary education systems as a means to inculcate beliefs and behaviors that would prevent future rebellions against authority. These findings suggest that a core reason why education systems fail to promote learning and reduce poverty and inequality is because that is not what they were primarily designed to do.

Plaat, Felice van der. 2012. "Striving for Education for All in Ghana: The Role and Impact of the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition." In *Campaigning for "Education for All": Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions in Education*, 65–82. Rotterdam; Boston; Taipei: Brill.

This chapter analyses the history, development, context, strategies, actions and impact of the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC). GNECC functions as a civil society coalition, institutionalized in 1999 to advocate for the achievement of universal quality and enjoyable basic education for all in Ghana. It is one of the first national coalitions of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) and it has played an active role in conferences and workshops from the GCE and the African Network Coalition for Education for All (ANCEFA). Because Ghana's democracy has only been fully in action for the last two decades, it is a fascinating country to conduct research in on the impact of civil society actors. The constitution that was reborn on January 7, 1993 opened the way for human rights improvements, media freedom and for a more liberal economic environment in Ghana. Since 2001 there has been a significant improvement in the quality of governance in Ghana, especially concerning transparency within governmental affairs, voice and accountability. Furthermore, there is more space for an independent civil society and the government has become more responsive to their voices (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). The establishment of GNECC thus fits within a democratic Ghana where the voices of civil society are valued by the national government. Furthermore, it fits in an era where civil society is asking for poverty reduction and accountability from its government and where it tries to improve these conditions in cooperation with other actors.

Ramirez, F. O., & Boli, J. 1987. "The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization." *Sociology of Education*, *60*(1), 2–17. https://doi.org/10.2307/2112615

This paper examines the origins of state educational systems in Europe in the nineteenth century and the institutionalization of mass education throughout the world in the twentieth century. We offer a theoretical interpretation of mass state-sponsored schooling that emphasizes the role of education in the nation-building efforts of states competing with one another within the European interstate system. We show that political, economic, and cultural developments in Europe led to a model of the legitimate national society that became highly institutionalized in the European (and later, world) cultural frame. This model made the construction of a mass educational system a major and indispensable component of every modern state's activity. We discuss the usefulness of this perspective for understanding recent cross-national studies of education.

Schneider, B. R. 2022. "Teacher Unions, Political Machines, and the Thorny Politics of Education Reform in Latin America." *Politics & Society*, *50*(1), 84–116. https://doi.org/10.1177/00323292211002788

Existing research on developing countries emphasizes the decisive power of teacher unions in education politics. Yet that power varies, and a full understanding of the roots of union power and the sources of cross-national variation requires deeper analysis of organizational dynamics within unions. This analysis supports four arguments. First, teachers have a range of advantages in overcoming obstacles to collective action. Second, unions are not all alike; they vary widely, from interest groups (in Chile, Brazil, and Peru) to powerful political machines (in Mexico and Ecuador). Third, the source of this variation lies in factors (e.g., influence over teacher hiring) that

shift power within unions from members to leaders in political-machine unions. Fourth, analyzing the dimensions of variation helps explain the different outcomes of recent reforms to teacher careers in Latin America, especially in highlighting the staunch opposition from political-machine unions.

Schneider, B. R., Estarellas, P. C., & Bruns, B. 2019. "The Politics of Transforming Education in Ecuador: Confrontation and Continuity, 2006–2017." *Comparative Education Review*, *63*(2), 259–280. https://doi.org/10.1086/702609

Recent governments in Ecuador (2007–17) have achieved impressive improvements in education. Enrollments increased significantly, and Ecuador's learning gains on regional tests from 2006 to 2013 were among the largest in the region. Ecuador's recent PISA performance provides further confirmation of genuine progress in raising student learning. A central part of Ecuador's strategy was the Correa government's implementation—over strong union opposition—of major teacher policy reforms, especially higher standards for recruitment and regular evaluation of teacher performance. Among the political advantages favoring government reformers were strong public support, sustained presidential engagement, and continuity in the government reform team. Ecuador's experience offers lessons for improving education by raising the quality of teaching and supports theories on the role of policy entrepreneurs and veto points (with some modification) as core factors in effective education reform but provides little support for theories that highlight strong roles for civil society organizations.

Unterhalter, Elaine. 2012. "Silences, Stereotypes and Local Selection: Negotiating Policy and Practice to Implement the MDGs and EFA." *Global Education Policy and International Development: New Agendas, Issues and Policies*, 79–100.

Addressing gender inequality has been a key concern of global policy on education and poverty for more than a decade (Unterhalter 2007; Rizvi et al. 2010). For ten years at the apex of the global initiatives have stood the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with three out of eight goals addressing these areas: MDG1 deals with poverty, MDG2 with universal primary education, and MDG 3 with gender equality and the empowerment of women. A second major global framework, put in place in 2000, the Dakar Platform for Action on Education for All (EFA), has goals on education and gender and, while not explicitly concerned with poverty, implicitly must address this because of the very large numbers of poor children out of school or not flourishing within it. However, there has been relatively little research on the implementation of global aspirations concerned with the interlinking of gender, education and poverty, despite the enormous literature on the implementation of EFA and the MDGs, as documented annually in the UNESCO Global Monitoring Reports (e.g., UNESCO 2011) and reviewed extensively through large academic programmes (e.g. Colclough 2011; Lewin et al. 2011; Tikly et al. 2012). This chapter explores how global policy frameworks like the MDGs and EFA have been understood in a range of local settings, how these understandings bear on practice and what reflections on this practice might tell us about approaches to framing global obligation.

3. Aid agendas

Global governance regimes: the Education for All agenda and the Millennium Development Goals

Ahmed, M. 2010. "NGOs and Globalization of Education." *International Encyclopedia of Education (Third Edition)*. Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-044894-7.01509-8

This article is about different facets of globalization of education and how nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) shape the characteristics of educational globalization This discourse juxtaposes three distinct constructs – the NGO, globalization, and education – each of which is a major theme by itself with many connotations and ramifications apart from how they interface with each other. Various aspects of these themes are presented elsewhere in the encyclopedia. In this article, after presenting the dimensions of educational globalization, the influence of NGOs on globalization of education is examined.

Archer, D. 2010. "The evolution of NGO–government relations in education: ActionAid 1972–2009." *Development in Practice*, *20* (4–5), 611–618. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614521003763145

This short contribution provides a brief history, touching on some of the key trends and turning points in ActionAid's education work, and it documents the evolution of the relationship between ActionAid and governments. The story of ActionAid is illustrative in many ways of wider changes in the NGO sector since the early 1970s.

Altinyelken, H.K. 2018. *Global Education Policy and International Development: New Agendas, Issues and Policies*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781474296052

Exploring the interplay between globalization, education and international development, this comprehensive introduction surveys the impact of global education policies on local policy in developing countries. With chapters written by leading international scholars in the field, drawing on a full range of theoretical perspectives and offering a diverse selection of case studies, this new edition has been revised and updated throughout to reflect changing policy debates and issues whilst maintaining the theoretical and intellectual coherence of the first edition.

Arnot, M., Colclough, C., Unterhalter, E., & North, A. 2017. *Education, Poverty and Global Goals for Gender Equality: How People Make Policy Happen*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315104225

Drawing on case-study research that examined initiatives which engaged with global aspirations to advance gender equality in schooling in Kenya and South Africa, this book looks at how global frameworks on gender, education and poverty are interpreted in local settings and the politics of implementation. It discusses the forms of global agreements in particular contexts, and allows

for an appraisal of how they have been understood by the people who implement them. By using an innovative approach to comparative cross-country research, the book illuminates how ideas and actions connect and disconnect around particular meanings of poverty, education and gender in large systems and different settings. Its conclusions will allow assessments of the approach to the post-2015 agenda to be made, taking account of how policy and practice relating to global social justice are negotiated, sometimes negated, the forms in which they are affirmed and the actions that might help enhance them.

Benavot, Aaron, Manos Antoninis, Nicole Bella, Marcos Delprato, Joanna Härmä, Catherine Jere, Priyadarshani Joshi et al. 2016. "Education for All 2000–2015: The Influence of Global Interventions and Aid on EFA Achievements." *The Handbook of Global Education Policy*: 241-258. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118468005.ch13

This chapter provides a short overview on the history of global Education For All (EFA) efforts, progress in achieving the six EFA goals, and international aid for EFA policies. It shows that, despite modest movement in achieving the EFA goals, some of it due to explicit policies and actions undertaken by governments, international agencies, donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) since Dakar, the progress has been uneven. Much of the broad EFA agenda remains unfinished, as none of the goals was reached. The global EFA mechanisms that did work often did so despite, rather than because of, international attempts to coordinate EFA. Much hope had been placed on external financing to accelerate EFA progress. While aid did increase, the overall volume of external assistance fell well short of the assessed need, was insufficiently targeted to countries most in need, declined as a share of recipient governments' budgets over the period, and was not always delivered effectively.

Boli, J., Thomas, G. 2022. *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875. Stanford:* Stanford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781503617681

This book illuminates the central role played by international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) in the emergence and development of a comprehensive world polity. The contributors argue that the enormous proliferation of INGOs since 1875—including international environmental organizations, human rights groups, bodies formed to regulate technical standards, and economic development organizations, among others—both reflects and contributes to the spread of global institutions and cultural principles based on models of rationality, individualism, progress, and universalism. The contributors contrast this world-polity perspective to other approaches to understanding globalization, including realist and neo-realist analyses in the field of international relations, and world-system theory and interstate competition theory in sociology. The volume considers transnational organizing as a historical process of the creation of global rules and norms, changing over time, that have identifiable effects on social organization at the national and local levels. The chapters provide empirical support for this approach, identifying specific mechanisms that translate global cultural assumptions and prescriptions into local social activity, such as the creation of state agencies, the formulation of government policies, and the emergence of social movements. The first part of

the book deals with social movement INGOs, including environmental groups, women's rights organizations, the Esperanto movement, and the International Red Cross. The second part treats technical and economic bodies, including the International Organization for Standardization, population policy groups, development organizations, and international professional science associations.

Beardmore, S. 2012. "The post-2015 framework for education: Civil society's role in the global debate." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *42*(6), 895–902.

According to Verger et al. (2012), "Beardmore, in her analysis of the education and development agenda, argues against a post-2015 agenda which is narrow, neo-liberal and reductionist. She argues for a rights-based and expansive education agenda that is democratic in intent and deed and that has at its core a fundamental focus on education quality… The post-2015 EFA agenda should focus on a comprehensive understanding of learning, equity and quality. This requires bold policy action and an open political culture that transcends what Beardmore calls the 'donorship' sphere. And, as this Forum makes clear, a critical, well-informed and organised civil society is key in setting the post-2015 agenda, a process that has already begun" (882-883).

Brehm, W., & Silova, I. 2019. "Five generations of NGOs in education: From humanitarianism to global capitalism." In *Routledge Handbook of NGOs and International Relations*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315268927/

This chapter details the emergence of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in education and the main debates around their involvement. The demarcations between generations are not firm; any one NGO can simultaneously exhibit elements of the various generations described. It highlights the contradiction within neoliberal capitalism that, on the one hand, people and institutions can reproduce a system unknowingly, while, on the other hand, fighting against global capitalism often means doing so from within the system. The chapter illustrates, in addition to grassroots initiatives some NGOs are now forming powerful transnational networks to directly engage in education policy and practice within and across different national contexts. Education NGOs have become, to various degrees, conduits through which neoliberalism spreads. It concludes by questioning the meaning of the public good of education vis-a-vis NGOs and whether it can exist, in new forms, not only within global capitalism but also within the contemporary moment of reactionary nationalism.

Buchert, L. 1995. "The Concept of Education for All: What Has Happened after Jomtien?" *International Review of Education*, *41*(6), 537–549.

The origin of the concept of Education for All is generally associated with the World Conference in Jomtien in 1990 which resulted in the World Declaration on Education for All and a Framework for Action to Meet Basic Learning Needs (InterAgency Commission 1990). The conference was attended by some 1,500 participants representing national and multinational donor organisations, national governments, inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations,

the educational research community as well as specialists in other sectors. It stipulated the goal of Education For All as attainable by the year 2000 and listed the strategies by which to reach it. The concept of Education for All is complex and diverse. In the Declaration, it is closely associated with the fulfillment of basic learning needs related both to learning and life skills for every person - child, youth and adult. These skills were to be provided through early childhood care and development opportunities, primary or equivalent out-of-school education for children, and training activities for youth and adults. Reaching the goal encompassed universalising access and promoting equity, focusing on learning; broadening the means and scope of basic education; enhancing the environment for learning; and strengthening partnerships. The underlying broader requirements were identified as the development of a supporting policy context; the mobilisation of resources; and the strengthening of international solidarity. Concrete steps for implementation of the goal were formulated at the national, regional and international levels, and indicative phases were planned for the 1990s (Inter-Agency Commission 1990). The Summit was seen as marking the beginning of an expanded vision and renewed commitment by national governments and the international community to fulfilling the goal of Education for All. This paper analyses how this commitment has been expressed in the policy formulations and aid practices of selected national and multinational donors. The paper draws attention both to the scope of interpretation of the concept of Education for All and to the severe discrepancy between stated international commitment and the educational reality in the 1990s.

Chabbott, C. 2015. *Institutionalizing health and education for all: Global goals, innovations, and scaling up.* New York City: Teachers College Press.

Health for All and Education for All have been rallying cries for a host of international development activities for more than a quarter century. Where did these global goals come from? Why have the health goals seemingly advanced so much faster than those in education? In this book, author Colette Chabbott explores the foundational role that international development organizations and the innovations they champion have played in shaping and advancing such goals. Chabbott demonstrates the importance of science and measurement in rendering some innovations more universal and compelling than others. Her analysis includes in-depth case studies of innovations developed at the grassroots and scaled up at the national and international levels by the International Center for Diarrheal Disease Research and by BRAC, once a Bangladeshi now a major international NGO. These studies all suggest that greater investment in new types of education research, based in the Third World, but with strong ties to research centers of international scope in the First World, are likely the prerequisites for achieving better, cheaper, faster universal education. This important book provokes scholars, students, and international development practitioners to think more deeply about the cultural and scientific underpinnings of education and international development.

Chabbott, C. 1998. "Constructing educational consensus: International development professionals and the world conference on education for all." *International Journal of Educational Development*, *18*(3), 207–218. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0738-0593(98)00027-3

Since the end of World War II, a distinct community of organizations has emerged in high-income countries to promote `development' in the low-income countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This paper examines some of the effects of these organizations and the professionals they have produced on international educational norms and conventions, as typified by the 1990 World Conference on Education for All. I suggest that organizational variables, such as professionalism and resource dependence, rather than nation-state interests and dominance alone, explain the standardization of Western models of mass education in international conventions and declarations.

Croso, C. 2012. "Civil society, social movements and EFA." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *42*(6), 890–895.

The year 2015 is the deadline for most of the Education for All (EFA) goals. As this date gets closer, reviews about what has been done and reflection about future agendas will multiply. This Forum aims to contribute such a pressing debate, bringing together contributors from key international organisations within the EFA movement. They are Hiroshi Ito from UNESCO, Camilla Croso from the Global Campaign for Education and Sarah Beardmore from the Global Partnership for Education. Ito's piece situates the EFA movement historically, analysing where it comes from as well as future directions. It reflects on the tools and methods that are going to be used to assess progress towards EFA in 2015 and points to related emerging issues. One of these issues is the need to re-define some of the indicators that are being used to evaluate progress towards EFA, especially regarding key aspects such as gender parity and education quality. However, one of the main barriers to measuring progress toward EFA comes from the lack of available and reliable data, as well as from the fragmentation and discontinuity of existing data sources. This concern is also raised in Beardmore's piece in this Forum. Croso argues that the last decade has witnessed how a range of plural civil society education coalitions, such as the Global Campaign for Education, have emerged and flourished in many locations to become effective advocates and champions for the EFA goals. These coalitions, in alliance with other human rights networks, teachers and students' organisations, have actively worked for the realisation of the right to education for all, effecting significant national policy change with respect to improving teaching conditions, securing additional funds for public education and enhancing the teaching and learning environment. At the same time, civil society has become increasingly represented in international, regional and national education fora, demonstrating its capacity to engage in policy debates on EFA and hold national governments and international development agencies to account. Beardmore, in her analysis of the education and development agenda, argues against a post-2015 agenda which is narrow, neo-liberal and reductionist. She argues for a rights-based and expansive education agenda that is democratic in intent and deed and that has at its core a fundamental focus on education quality.

Fulge, Timm, Tonia Bieber, and Kerstin Martens. 2016. "Rational Intentions and Unintended Consequences: On the Interplay between International and National Actors in Education Policy." *The Handbook of Global Education Policy*, 453–69. https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118468005.ch25

Why are international actors today prominent in education policy? In recent years, international initiatives such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) study and the Bologna Process have contributed to the introduction of highly consequential and even paradigm-altering education reforms in many countries. In order to understand these profound changes in policy, in this chapter we set up an analytical framework of the interplay between international initiatives and national actors. We argue that the internationalization of education policy is strongly driven by strategic considerations of domestic actors who instrumentalize international organizations to overcome political gridlock and crowd out opposition. However, international organizations are not simply "agents" of domestic actors, but pursue their own interests, resulting in consequences unintended by national governments. In addition, policy adoption at the domestic level may be impeded by national political characteristics such as the number of veto players and conflicting guiding principles of education policy.

Hoop, J. 2012. "People Power for Education: Civil society participation in the Philippine educational politics." In Verger, A., and Novelli, M.'s *Campaigning for "Education for All": Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions in Education* (pp. 31–50). Brill. https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789460918797/BP000004.xml

The focus of this chapter is the role and impact of the Philippines' civil society network of education reforms, also known as Education Network Philippines or E-Net, in the field of education in the Philippines. The network now counts 156 members, varying from individuals, INGOs, to academics and teachers' unions, all united to ensure all Filipinos have access to multi-cultural, gender-fair, liberating, life-long education as a basic human right. They specifically aim at reforming the Philippines' education system and developing alternative learning systems with a particular concern for marginalized, excluded and vulnerable sectors. Currently, the Philippines' education system is facing a range of challenges such as low average student participation, poor performance of students in local and international standardised tests, persistent inequalities in basic learning resources, corruption, and alarming dropout rates. While civil society is a rooted concept in the Philippines, it is questionable how much space they have in the political spectrum. Over the years, the role of civil society has changed from service delivery to policy advocacy, to hold governments accountable for their responsibilities to their citizens. This chapter looks into the impact of E-Net and explores the factors that contribute to or hinder this impact.

Martens, K., & Windzio, M. (Eds.). 2022. *Global Pathways to Education: Cultural Spheres, Networks, and International Organizations*. NYC: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-78885-8

This open access series welcomes studies on the waves, ruptures and transformative periods of welfare state expansion and retrenchment globally, that is, across nation states and the world as well as across history since the inception of the modern Western welfare state in the nineteenth century. It takes a comprehensive and globalized perspective on social policy, and the approach will help to locate and explain episodes of retrenchment, austerity, and tendencies toward de-welfarization in particular countries, policy areas and/or social risk-groups by reference to prior,

simultaneous or anticipated episodes of expansion or contraction in other countries, areas, and risks. One of the aims of this series is to address the different constellations that emerge between political and economic actors including international and intergovernmental organizations, political actors and bodies, and business enterprises. A better understanding of these dynamics improves the reader's grasp of social policy making, social policy outputs, and ultimately the outcomes of social policy.

Menashy, F. 2016. "Understanding the roles of non-state actors in global governance: Evidence from the Global Partnership for Education." *Journal of Education Policy*, *31*(1), 98–118. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2015.1093176

The study detailed in this paper examines the growing role of non-state actors in the transnational policy-making landscape through a case study of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) – a partnership of donor and developing country governments, multilateral organizations, civil society, private companies and foundations, dedicated to increasing access to quality education worldwide. Conducted through a constructivist lens, this study examines the roles of non-state GPE partners who collaborate as diverse stakeholders within this single policy-making forum. Via a process-tracing analysis, including an examination of GPE meeting documents and interviews with members of the GPE Board of Directors and Secretariat staff, I trace the past and current roles of non-state partners within the GPE – in particular, civil society, private foundations and private companies. I conclude that the GPE has evolved into a forum in which civil society actors have become relatively influential, while private sector foundations and companies have for the most part been disengaged and made only a tangible impact. These findings can be attributed to the differently constructed identities of each group of actors. The study concludes that shared normative beliefs and worldviews, which characterize epistemic communities, may be a key element to cohesion, functioning, and thereby influence.

Moutsios, S. 2009. "International organisations and transnational education policy." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *39*(4), 469–481. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920802156500

This paper focuses on the World Bank/IMF (International Monetary Fund), the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) and the WTO (World Trade Organisation) as institutions of transnational policy making. They are all at present making education policies which are decisively shaping current directions and developments in national education systems. The paper reviews the enhanced role of these institutions in producing education policies and investigates the ideological basis as well as the processes through which these policies are made. It is argued that decisions are taken largely through asymmetric, non-democratic and opaque procedures. It is also argued that the proposed policies purport to serve the principles of relentless economic competition. Taking into account similar policies and initiatives, the paper concludes that we are experiencing not only the transnationalisation of education policy making but also the full submission of education to the pursuits of global economy.

Moutsios, S. 2010. "Power, politics and transnational policy-making in education." *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *8*(1), 121–141. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767720903574124

This paper analyses the relation between power and politics under the conditions of economic globalisation and transnational policy-making in education. The paper argues that power lies not only with the producers of the dominant educational discourse nor simply with the very discourse which is circulated and reproduced in national legislations, local policies and pedagogic practices; it lies with the increasingly global endorsement of a specific perception of what education should be about: to maintain or increase 'economic competitiveness', 'growth', 'development' and ultimately 'progress'. Progress remains the central signification of societies today, as the paper argues, and, therefore, the main source of power, namely of widespread consent around a largely common set of education policies promoted across countries.

Mundy, K. 1998. "Educational Multilateralism and World (Dis)Order." *Comparative Education Review*, *42*(4), 448–478. https://doi.org/10.1086/447523

Most educators and educationists today operate with considerable awareness of the global forces that affect their work-be it in terms of the rising emphasis on technology and information in the classroom, the aggressive popular discourse on preparing children and nations for a competitive international information economy, or the issues raised by an increasingly diverse, border-crossing population of learners. Yet it is perhaps symptomatic of our times that a mounting sense of the global dimension of domestic educational issues has not been accompanied by attention to formal cross-national cooperation.' This lack of attention is particularly glaring given the current widening of interest in the potential for multilateralism and international organization to temper and redirect processes of globalization toward a more humane world order. This article draws on a 20-year tradition of research on international educational cooperation by scholars in comparative education. Its primary starting point, however, is not comparative education, where scholars have yet to engage in the larger re-evaluation of international organization in education that is called for here. To date, comparative education research on international organizations has tended to follow three lines of argument. Historical case studies of single organizations have suggested that the "problems" of educational multilateralism lie within the structure and management of the organizations themselves. In contrast, neo-Marxist accounts have viewed the educational development policies and practices of multilateral organizations primarily as instruments of Western neoimperialism. Finally, accounts by world institutionalists have underscored the role of international organizations in constructing a world culture characterized by homogenous national educational policies linked to "modern" ideals of nation and citizen.5Unlike neo-Marxist accounts, this literature has remained silent about the conflicts and contradictions that accompany the global spread of these ideals and practices. Overall, none of these accounts pays much attention to the different forms that educational multilateralism has taken since 1945, nor to how it has changed over time...This article lays the foundation for critical reflection on the significance of educational multilateralism in the context of evolving patterns of power and inequality in a rapidly changing world system. It explores how educational multilateralism has responded and contributed to the broader reordering of international political, economic, and social reforms since 1945.7To do so, I review

the history of educational multilateralism as linked to an interpretation of twentieth-century world order drawn from the work of critical theorists in international relations.

Mundy, K. 2007. "Global governance, educational change." *Comparative Education*, *43*(3), 339–357. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050060701556281

In the last half decade, a rising literature has focused on the idea that processes of economic, political and social globalization require analysis in terms of governance at the global level. It is argued in this article that emerging forms of global governance have produced significant challenges to conventional conceptions of international relations. Educational multilateralism is an area that has been significantly affected by such challenges, but to date there have not been many efforts by education scholars to sum up the relative impact and total effect of the various clusters of change affecting educational multilateralism. The article argues the importance of engaging with the most directly critical conceptualizations of the role played by education and educational multilateralism, while still maintaining a focus on the potential for positive forms of educational governance at the global level.

Mundy, K. 2010. "Education for all" and the global governors. In D. D. Avant, M. Finnemore, & S. K. Sell (Eds.), *Who Governs the Globe?* (pp. 333–355). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511845369.013

International efforts to support a universal right to education have been a ubiquitous part of international society over the past five decades. Today it would be difficult to find any meeting of world leaders in which the universal right to education is not trumpeted as an international goal. Yet despite the engagement of a variety of global governors in "education for all" (EFA) efforts, a wide gulf has historically divided global EFA aspirations and achievements. This chapter looks at the history of global governors and their "education for all" initiatives, focusing in particular on the changing relational dynamics among EFA governors. Over the past six decades, EFA has become a prime venue for displaying commitments to equity, economic redistribution, and human rights – attracting an expanding cast of governors precisely because it can enhance their legitimacy and authority. Yet ironically, the growth in the number of EFA governors has led to competition and fragmentation in international EFA activities. EFA's global governors have deployed competing technical repertoires, been guided by strikingly different bureaucratic and geopolitical interests, and have drawn on different sources for their authority. The result has been a system-wide form of "organized hypocrisy," in which global governors repeatedly set wide-ranging international targets and goals, for which neither global governors nor developing country states are held responsible (Barnett and Finnemore 2004).

Mundy, K. 2012. "The Global Campaign for Education and the Realization of 'Education For All.'" In *Campaigning for "Education for All": Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions*, edited by Mario Novelli and Antoni Verger, 16–30. Rotterdam; Boston; Taipei: Sense Publishers.

Formed in 1999, the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) has emerged over the past decade as the globally recognized voice for civil society actors on the issue of "Education for All" (EFA). From its early founding by a small cluster of international nongovernmental organizations, the GCE has grown enormously. Today it has affiliated members in over 100 countries, including the participation of major international and regional non-governmental organizations, Education International (the international federation of teachers' unions); three regional umbrella bodies (ANCEFA in Africa, CLADE in Latin America and the Caribbean, and ASPBAE in South-East Asia), and a growing number of nationally-based coalitions (76 at most recent count, up from 37 in 2002). The scope of its aspirations, geographic membership, and funding, places the GCE among the largest of the transnational advocacy organizations active on issues of human rights and world poverty. This chapter explores its origins, evolution, key achievements and challenges. It describes in some detail the way that the GCE has sought to support national educational coalitions, whose work is the focus of this volume. The chapter will conclude with an assessment of the GCE's efforts to frame a global right to education and achieve political and policy changes to affect its achievement.

Mundy, K. 2016. "'Leaning in' on Education for All." *Comparative Education Review*, *60*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1086/684434

Building on the reflexive tradition within the social sciences, this article takes up one of the longest-standing concerns in our field—the right to education. The article provides a critical look at the history of the Education for All movement and the global aid architecture that has evolved to support it. It also reflects on the contributions of the field of comparative education to the Education for All movement. The term "leaning in" is used throughout the article as a trope to weave together these institutional histories with the author's own career journey, which has included both academic and practitioner roles in international educational development—including as the chief technical officer at the Global Partnership for Education, an organization created to deliver on global commitments to the right to education.

Mundy, K., & Murphy, L. 2001. "Transnational Advocacy, Global Civil Society? Emerging Evidence from the Field of Education." *Comparative Education Review*, *45*(1), 85–126. https://doi.org/10.1086/447646

Mundy and Murphy together two lines of research: one concerned with the evolution of an international system of influence in education, the other with the broader possibility of a more democratic form of global governance. Their focus is on the emergence and evolution of nongovernmental actors and organizational forms engaged in transnational advocacy in the field of education. They ask whether or not there has been a deep, qualitative change in the involvement of nongovernmental actors in the field of international educational cooperation over the past decade, one parallel to trends described in the burgeoning literature on transnational advocacy networks, international nongovernmental organizations, and global civil society. The answer to this question, as they hope to show, is yes. There are clear signs of a new and qualitatively different wave of transnational nongovernmental advocacy initiatives in education, especially around the idea of ''education for all.'' This can be seen by comparing

nongovernmental participation in international educational forums over time, by looking more closely at the recent genesis of an NGO-led ''Global Campaign for Education,'' and by analyzing nongovernmental activism at the most recent international meeting on education, the World Education Forum (WEF), which was held in April 2000 in Dakar, Senegal, as a 10-year follow-up to the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All.

North, A. 2010. "MDG 3 and the negotiation of gender in international education organisations." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *40*(4), 425–440. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2010.490363

Gender equality in education has held a prominent position in global policy making over the last decade through international frameworks and declarations such as the Dakar framework of Action on Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This paper draws on interviews conducted with participants who hold a gender brief in international organisations, active in the global Education for All movement. It examines the ways in which global commitments to gender equality in education are being understood in policy and programme work and what this reveals about gender mainstreaming in global education organisations. The MDG framework has been actively used in a number of organisations to leverage action on gender, primarily with regard to improving girls' access to schooling and achieving gender parity – equal numbers of girls and boys in school. This has meant that more substantive understandings of gender, which relate to the experiences of girls and women in and beyond school, often go un-discussed and un-addressed. The need for organisations to develop a more substantive notion of gender equality work linked to activism on women's rights is highlighted as a considerable challenge. This would take gender mainstreaming from a technical exercise to a political contestation with regard to processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Novelli, M., & Verger, A. 2012. *Campaigning for "Education for All": Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions in Education*. Netherlands: Sensepublishers. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6091-879-7

Civil society organizations have risen up the global education agenda since the international community adhered to the Education For All Action Framework in the World Education Forum that was held in Dakar in 2000. With the foundation of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) civil society advocacy has sought to ensure that national governments, donors and international organisations make the necessary efforts to guarantee quality education for all children in the world. This book explores the strategies and actions, as well as the challenges and impact of civil society organizations in the achievement of the Education For All international commitments. It does so by specifically focusing on seven national coalitions affiliated to the GCE. From Africa, to Asia to Latin America the book shows how these coalitions work and manage the differences between their different types of constituencies, explores their varied tactics and strategies, and explains their successes and failures after more than a decade of coordinated action. The book also provides a concise and comprehensive synthesis of findings from the distinct case studies and offers a series of lessons learned that are vital for education practitioners, academics,

activists and policy-makers committed to more equitable and relevant education systems around the world.

Rambla, X., Verger, A., Edwards, D. B., Fontdevila, C., & Bonal, X. 2017. "Meeting development goals: Evidence from the Civil Society Education Fund." *Development in Practice*, *27*(6), 851–864. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614524.2017.1343275

In recent years, the Civil Society Education Fund has supported national education civil society coalitions (NECs) in low-income countries so that they put pressure on governments and donors to implement the Education for All agenda and the Millennium Development Goal on education. This article draws on literature on global governance as well as on an extensive evaluation of the CSEF to explore the actual contribution of this initiative to the activity of NECs. The article highlights the achievements and shortcomings of the CSEF and includes a set of practical recommendations on the role of global civil society in international development processes.

Robertson, S. L., Mundy, K., Verger, A., & Menashy, F. 2012. An Introduction to Public Private Partnerships and Education Governance. In Robertson, S. L., Mundy, K., Verger, A., & Menashy, F. *'s Public Private Partnerships in Education*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Pub. https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857930699

Over the past two decades, significant changes in the governance of education systems have been put into place as international institutions, governments, firms, philanthropies and consultants have promoted more hybrid partnership arrangements, involving new combinations of state and non-state actors engaged in a range of activities within the education sector. These newer forms of education governance often operate across scales, through interactions between local, regional and national governments and intergovernmental organizations, and between these and national and transnationally configured profit firms, philanthropists, NGOs and religious organizations. Based largely on papers presented at a symposium held in 2009 at the University of Amsterdam, this volume brings together both academics and researchers from a variety of international organizations and aid agencies to explore the complexities of PPPs as a resurgent, hybrid mode of educational governance that operates across scales, from the community to the global. The volume's authors draw from different disciplines (economics, sociology, political science and comparative education, among others); they look at different types of partnership arrangements; and take different positions about the value of PPPs. An initial section of the book contains chapters exploring how PPPs, as a policy idea, have been constructed in transnational agendas for educational development and circulated globally. A second group of chapters looks at the role played by a new generation of multilateral and transnational private sector actors (including the World Trade Organization, the International Financial corporation, transnational corporations, venture philanthropies and international nongovernmental organizations). In a final section are chapters exploring the role and implications of PPPs in developing countries, providing arguments both for, and against, an expanding reliance on PPPs in national educational systems.

Sachs, J. D. 2012. "From millennium development goals to sustainable development goals." *The Lancet,* 379(9832), 2206-2211. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(12)60685-0

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) mark a historic and effective method of global mobilisation to achieve a set of important social priorities worldwide. They express widespread public concern about poverty, hunger, disease, unmet schooling, gender inequality, and environmental degradation. By packaging these priorities into an easily understandable set of eight goals, and by establishing measurable and timebound objectives, the MDGs help to promote global awareness, political accountability, improved metrics, social feedback, and public pressures. As described by Bill Gates, the MDGs have become a type of global report card for the fight against poverty for the 15 years from 2000 to 2015. As with most report cards, they generate incentives to improve performance, even if not quite enough incentives for both rich and poor countries to produce a global class of straight-A students.

Tikly, L. 2017. "The Future of Education for All as a Global Regime of Educational Governance." *Comparative Education Review*, *61*(1), 22–57. https://doi.org/10.1086/689700

The article considers the future of Education for All (EFA) understood as a global regime of educational governance. The article sets out an understanding of global governance, world order, power, and legitimacy within which EFA is embedded. It explains what is meant by EFA as a regime of global governance and as part of a "regime complex" along with other regimes that affect education and development. The article traces the genealogy of EFA, focusing on key tensions and contradictions. The emphasis is on understanding the effects of different kinds of power linked to broader global interests within a changing world order. The article concludes by considering the future of EFA. It is suggested that EFA since the Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action is giving way to a new global regime of educational governance in which education and in particular learning is linked to sustainable development, albeit in contradictory ways.

Tota, P. M. 2014. "Filling the gaps: The role and impact of international non-governmental organisations in 'Education for All.'" *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *12*(1), 92–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2013.858988

This article discusses the involvement of international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) in transnational education policy-making, with particular reference to the global initiative Education for All (EFA). EFA is a policy process carried out by international governmental organisations (IGOs) with the main aim to achieve basic education for all children, youth and adults. A participant in this process since 2000 is the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), an advocacy network of INGOs, established jointly by Oxfam, ActionAid International, Education International and Global March Against Child Labour. This article examines the role and impact of these advocacy INGOs in EFA, in terms of the structural conditions created by the current mode of 'global governance' in education. In its first section, this article draws a conceptual framework purported to illuminate the way transnational policy in education is produced. The main part investigates the role and impact of the GCE in EFA. Overall, this article challenges the common

perception about INGOs, that they are democratising agents in transnational education policy, as the latter is structurally undemocratic.

UNESCO. 2007. "EFA Global Monitoring Report - Education for All by 2015: Will We Make It?" New York: UNESCO Publishing. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000154743

This edition of the EFA Global Monitoring Report marks the midway point in an ambitious international movement to expand learning opportunities for every child, youth and adult in the world by 2015. In April 2000 in Dakar, 164 governments together with partner institutions adopted a Framework for Action focusing on the achievement of six Education for All goals pertaining to the expansion of early childhood care and education, the achievement of universal primary education, the development of learning opportunities for youth and adults, the spread of literacy, the achievement of gender parity and gender equality in education and improvements in education quality. The EFA agenda rests on a belief that public policy can radically transform education systems, given adequate political will and resources. The global prospect for achieving EFA is also influenced by trends in demography, urbanization, migration, health, and economic and political systems. By 2008, for example, more than half the world's population (about 3.3 billion people) will live in urban areas, nearly one-third of whom will live in slums. Due to continued population growth, the least developed countries, which are furthest from universal participation at primary and secondary level, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, will face increasing enrolment pressure in coming decades. Among health concerns, HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria are having a devastating impact on school systems, especially in sub-Saharan Africa. Recent research confirms the developmental benefits of expanding education systems, but points to a need for complementary policies to offset inequality and improve learning. The right to education has been enforced through measures such as compulsory education laws, passed by an increasing number of countries since 2000. At international level, initiatives have focused on specific targets (literacy, girls, HIV/AIDS) and on improving the quality of aid. The convergence of such initiatives, however, will be vital for the full range of education for all goals to be achieved.

Unterhalter, E. 2014. "Measuring education for the Millennium Development Goals: reflections on targets, indicators, and a post-2015 framework." *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities,* 15(2-3), 176-187. https://doi.org/10.1080/19452829.2014.880673

Education has a prominent position in the current Millennium Development Goal (MDG) framework; targets on schooling are attached to two of the goals. However, from a human development perspective, the narrow framing of the education targets and indicators in the MDGs had perverse consequences, stemming from the omission of salient aspects of quality, context, and equity. The selected targets limited the capacity of the education sector to support other MDGs. In thinking about indicators for a post-2015 framework, this paper considers the history of how and why the indicators for MDG 2 were selected and puts forward some critical reflections on two alternative indicators for the education goal in a post-2015 framework.

Verger, Antoni, Hulya K Altinyelken, and Mario Novelli. 2018. *Global Education Policy and International Development: New Agendas, Issues and Policies*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Exploring the interplay between globalization, education and international development, this comprehensive introduction surveys the impact of global education policies on local policy in developing countries. With chapters written by leading international scholars in the field, drawing on a full range of theoretical perspectives and offering a diverse selection of case studies, this new edition has been revised and updated throughout to reflect changing policy debates and issues whilst maintaining the theoretical and intellectual coherence of the first edition. This second edition of Global Education Policy and International Development includes: - Seven entirely new chapters on the emerging debates in the field, including large-scale assessments, quality of teaching and education in emergencies - Contributions from the leading scholars in the field, such as Stephen J. Ball, Roger Dale, Susan Robertson, Gita Steiner-Khamsi and Elaine Unterhalter - Supportive pedagogical features such as chapter outlines, questions for discussion, key reading recommendations and boxed case studies and vignettes - Updated case studies from a variety of countries in the Global South From students of education, development and globalization to practitioners working in developing contexts, Global Education Policy and International Development is an essential textbook for those seeking to understand how global forces and local realities meet to shape education policy in the developing world.

Verger, A., Sayed, Y., Hiroshi, I., Croso, C., & Beardmore, S. 2012. "EFA, civil society and the post-2015 agenda." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *42*(6), 881–902. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2012.729319

The year 2015 is the deadline for most of the Education for All (EFA) goals. As we get closer to this date, reviews about what has been done and reflection about future agendas will multiply. This Forum aims to contribute such a pressing debate, bringing together contributors from key international organisations within the EFA movement. They are Hiroshi Ito from UNESCO, Camilla Croso from the Global Campaign for Education and Sarah Beardmore from the Global Partnership for Education. The post-2015 EFA agenda should focus on a comprehensive understanding of learning, equity and quality. This requires bold policy action and an open political culture that transcends what Beardmore calls the 'donorship' sphere. And, as this Forum makes clear, a critical, well-informed and organised civil society is key in setting the post-2015 agenda, a process that has already begun.

Yamada, S. 2016. Theorizing the Paradigm Shift in Educational Development. In *Post-Education-Forall and Sustainable Development Paradigm: Structural Changes with Diversifying Actors and Norms* (Vol. 29, pp. 1–34). Emerald Group Publishing Limited. https://doi.org/10.1108/S1479-367920140000029001

This chapter will situate the global paradigm shift toward Post-Education-For-All (Post-EFA) not only in the policy trends in the field of international education development, but also in the academic context of international relations and comparative education. The chapter highlights

three dimensions which characterize the paradigm shift; namely, discourse on norms, diversifying actors, and the changed mode of communication and participation in the global consultation processes. The existing formal structure of the EFA global governance is based on multilateralism which recognizes sovereign nation-states, representing national interests, as the participants. However, such an assumption is eroding, given that there is a growing number of state and nonstate actors who influence decision-making not only through conventional formal channels, but also informally. Urging the revision of theories of multilateralism, the chapter introduces the attention given to nontraditional donors and horizontal networks of civil society actors in this volume. The introduction also shows that that the widening basis of participation in the global consultation processes on post-EFA and advanced communication technology have changed the ways in which discourse is formulated. While the amount and the speed of exchanging information have been enhanced and different types of actors have been encouraged to take part, it also obliges scholars to adopt innovative methods of analyzing discourse formation. The chapter also demonstrates the importance of the focus on the Asia-Pacific region, which is composed of diverse actors who often underscore Asian cultural roots in contrast to Western hegemony. By focusing on the discourse, actors, and the structure through which the consensus views on the post-EFA agenda were built, the volume attempts to untangle the nature of the post-EFA paradigm shift, at the global, Asia-Pacific regional, and national levels.

Aid effectiveness and sector-wide approaches

Batley, R., & Mcloughlin, C. 2010. "Engagement with Non-State Service Providers in Fragile States: Reconciling State-Building and Service Delivery." *Development Policy Review*, *28*(2), 131–154. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7679.2010.00478.x

The OECD questions whether non-state services in fragile states may delegitimise the state in the eyes of citizens, arguing that 'state-building' depends on governments' engagement in service management. This article reviews the available evidence to identify what types of engagement are feasible and most likely to contribute to service delivery, or not to damage it. It considers the capacity requirements and the risks associated with state intervention through policy formulation, regulation, contracting and mutual agreements, and concludes by identifying ways of incrementally involving the state, beginning with activities that are least likely to do harm to non-state provision.

Menashy, F. 2016. "Understanding the roles of non-state actors in global governance: Evidence from the Global Partnership for Education." *Journal of Education Policy*, *31*(1), 98–118. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2015.1093176

The study detailed in this paper examines the growing role of non-state actors in the transnational policy-making landscape through a case study of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) – a partnership of donor and developing country governments, multilateral organizations, civil society, private companies and foundations, dedicated to increasing access to quality education worldwide. Conducted through a constructivist lens, this study examines the roles of non-state GPE partners who collaborate as diverse stakeholders within this single policy-making forum. Via a process-tracing analysis, including an examination of GPE meeting documents and interviews with members of the GPE Board of Directors and Secretariat staff, I trace the past and current roles of non-state partners within the GPE – in particular, civil society, private foundations and private companies. I conclude that the GPE has evolved into a forum in which civil society actors have become relatively influential, while private sector foundations and companies have for the most part been disengaged and made only a tangible impact. These findings can be attributed to the differently constructed identities of each group of actors. The study concludes that shared normative beliefs and worldviews, which characterize epistemic communities, may be a key element to cohesion, functioning, and thereby influence.

Menashy, F. 2018. "Multi-stakeholder aid to education: Power in the context of partnership." *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *16*(1), 13–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2017.1356702

This study examines power asymmetries within the largest multi-stakeholder agency in the education sector: the Global Partnership for Education (GPE). Drawing from data collected through key informant interviews and document analyses, this research asks if the establishment of the GPE has altered power arrangements in educational aid. The study finds that in spite of efforts to create a more equitable environment via the GPE, bilateral donors and the World Bank

in particular retain their hierarchical positions through the maintenance of structures that reproduce their dominant status, thereby countering the principles that underpin the GPE's mandate.

Mundy, K. 2008. "From NGOs to CSOs: Social citizenship, civil society and 'Education for All' – An agenda for further research." *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, *10*(1/2), 32–40. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ841599.pdf

A decade ago, when CICE published its first issue "Are NGOs Overrated?" both academic debates and development policy discussions were focused on the expanding role played by NGOs in the developing world. Today the language has changed – and so too, in some ways, has practice. In this article, I want to look at the new turn to "civil society" in development discourse. In particular, I want to answer the question: What does civil society have to do with the achievement of education for all – particularly in poor countries where universal access to basic education has not been achieved? Below, I look first at how civil society engagement is being constructed in the official policy discourse of development aid organizations, raising questions about the narrowness and limitations of this conceptualization. I then argue for using a "social citizenship" lens when thinking about civil society and its role in the achievement of education for all. Throughout, I introduce examples from a recent study of civil society organizations (CSOs) and their interactions with internationally funded sector programs in education in four African countries: Burkina Faso, Mali, Kenya and Tanzania (Mundy et. al., 2007).

Mundy, K., Haggerty, M., Sivasubramaniam, M., Cherry, S., & Maclure, R. 2010. Civil society, basic education, and sector-wide aid: Insights from Sub-Saharan Africa. *Development in Practice*, *20*(4–5), 484–497. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614521003763046

Emerging trends in reforms of education-sector plans indicate a shift not only in how foreign aid is disbursed, but also in how civil-society actors engage in new policy and advocacy roles. This contribution examines these changing civil-society roles in four countries: Burkina Faso, Kenya, Mali, and Tanzania. While sector-wide approaches have created new opportunities for civil-society participation at the national level, this research suggests that sector reforms have also presented significant challenges for engagement with government and donors. This research emphasises the need for a transparent, regularised, and democratic process for the inclusion of civil-society organisations at the policy table.

Ron-Balsera, M., & Marphatia, A. 2012. Do public private partnerships fulfil the right to education? An examination of the role of non-state actors in advancing equity, equality and justice. In Robertson, S. L., Mundy, K., Verger, A., & Menashy's *Public Private Partnerships in Education*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing. https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857930699

Over the past two decades, significant changes in the governance of education systems have been put into place as international institutions, governments, firms, philanthropies and consultants have promoted more hybrid partnership arrangements, involving new combinations

of state and non-state actors engaged in a range of activities within the education sector. These newer forms of education governance often operate across scales, through interactions between local, regional and national governments and intergovernmental organizations, and between these and national and transnationally configured profit firms, philanthropists, NGOs and religious organizations. A wide range of terms have now emerged to capture these developments, though arguably in the international community it is the term Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) that has been globalized and acquired iconic status. At the broadest level, PPPs can be defined as cooperative institutional arrangements between public and private sector actors', or more elaborately as cooperation of some sort of durability between public and private actors, in which they jointly develop products and services and share risks, costs and resources which are connected with these products' (Hodge, Greave and Boardman 2010, p.4).

Based largely on papers presented at a symposium held in 200 at the University of Amsterdam,1 this volume brings together both academics and researchers from a variety of international organizations and aid agencies to explore the complexities of PPPs as a resurgent, hybrid mode of educational governance that operates across scales, from the community to the global. The volume's authors draw from different disciplines (economics, sociology, political science and comparative education, among others); they look at different types of partnership arrangements; and take different positions about the value of PPPs. An initial section of the book contains chapters exploring how PPPs, as a policy idea, have been constructed in transnational agendas for educational development and circulated globally. A second group of chapters looks at the role played by a new generation of multilateral and transnational private sector actors (including the World Trade Organization, the International Financial Corporation, transnational corporations, venture philanthropies and international nongovernmental organizations). ,n a inal section are chapters exploring the role and implications of PPPs in developing countries, providing arguments both for, and against, an expanding reliance on PPPs in national educational systems. Before turning to these chapters, this introduction provides a brief overview of the origins, evolution and conceptual debates that frame current research on PPPs in education. ,t explores the challenge of defining public and private roles in education; and by corollary, of conceptualizing PPPs themselves. We review different ways of understanding the historical resurgence of interest in PPPs over the last two decades, and discuss some of the leading actors involved in PPPs at the global level. A review of expanding forms of PPPs at the national level is offered based on findings from chapters in this volume.

Rights-based approaches

Bajaj, Monisha, and Huma Kidwai. 2016. "Human Rights and Education Policy in South Asia." In
    The Handbook of Global Education Policy, 206–23. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.
    https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118468005.ch11.

This chapter reviews the rise of human rights frameworks and discourse in global educational policymaking since World War II, with a focus on how such trends have impacted South Asian educational systems. Through the lens of policy shifts in diverse nation states on the

subcontinent, the chapter charts how, for various reasons, 'rights talk' in educational policy has gained prominence across the region. The educational challenges faced in each of the eight countries (Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) demonstrate how global forces have impacted the region's political economy broadly, and educational development specifically. The chapter highlights the adoption of Right to Education policies and progress towards Education for All mandates in the South Asian region. Home to more than 20 percent of the world's population, and with a large proportion of the population under 25, policy reforms both affect and are affected by global trends.

Hickey, Sam, and Naomi Hossain. 2019. *The Politics of Education in Developing Countries: From Schooling to Learning*. Oxford: University Press, Oxford University Press USA - OSO. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198835684.001.0001.

This book examines the politics of the learning crisis in the global South, where learning outcomes have stagnated or worsened, despite progress towards Universal Primary Education since the 1990s. Comparative analysis of education reform in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Ghana, Rwanda, South Africa, and Uganda highlights systemic failure on the frontline of education service delivery, driven by deeper crises of policymaking and implementation: few governments try to raise educational standards with any conviction, and education bureaucracies are unable to deliver even those learning reforms that get through the policy process. Introductory chapters develop a theoretical framework within which to examine the critical features of the politics of education. Case study chapters demonstrate that political settlements, or the balance of power between contending social groups, shape the extent to which elites commit to adopting and implementing reforms aimed at improving learning outcomes, and the nature this influence takes. Informal politics and power relations can generate incentives that undermine rather than support elite commitment to development, politicizing the provision of education. Tracing reform processes from their policy origins down to the frontline, it seems that successful schools emerged as localized solutions to specific solutions, often against the grain of dysfunctional sectoral arrangements and the national-level political settlement, but with local political backing. The book concludes with discussion of the need for more politically attuned approaches that focus on building coalitions for change and supporting 'best-fit' types of problem-solving fixes, rather than calling for systemic change.

Rosser, Andrew J, and Anuradha Joshi. 2018. "Using Courts to Realize Education Rights: Reflections from India and Indonesia." *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, no. 8448. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3182878

This paper examines the role of courts in promoting fulfillment of the right to education in developing countries, focusing on India and Indonesia, two countries that have experienced increased education rights litigation in recent years. It argues that this litigation has been part of broader struggles over education policy, inequality, and the capture of educational institutions by political and bureaucratic forces; and that the extent to which litigation has been used and led to policy changes has depended significantly on the nature of, and access to, the court system;

the presence of support structures for legal mobilization; the ideology of the courts and judges; and the roles and the willingness of litigants to pursue redress. Broadly, litigation has served the interests of the poor and marginalized, though gains have largely come through better access to education while issues of improving quality have been less prominent.

Magrath, B. 2014. "Global norms, organisational change: Framing the rights-based approach at ActionAid." *Third World Quarterly*, *35*(7), 1273–1289. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2014.926117

This article examines the adoption of the rights-based approach (rba) to development at ActionAid International, focusing in particular on its Education Theme. Although there has been a considerable volume of work that examines the rise of rba, including in the pages of Third World Quarterly, the power dynamics and conflict involved in shifting to rba have largely gone unnoticed and explored. Using the methodological tools of discourse analysis and social movement theory on strategic issue framing, I examine how ActionAid leadership worked to 'sell' rba to somewhat resistant staff and partners. I argue that ActionAid struggled to reconcile its commitment to global rights norms with the ongoing needs-based programming at country level. This raises important questions about the power dynamics involved when an ngo undergoes a process of organisational change, even when, as is the case with rba, this is widely seen as a progressive and desirable transition.

Mundy, K. 2010. "Education for all" and the global governors. In D. D. Avant, M. Finnemore, & S. K. Sell (Eds.), *Who Governs the Globe?* (pp. 333–355). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511845369.013

International efforts to support a universal right to education have been a ubiquitous part of international society over the past five decades. Today it would be difficult to find any meeting of world leaders in which the universal right to education is not trumpeted as an international goal. Yet despite the engagement of a variety of global governors in "education for all" (EFA) efforts, a wide gulf has historically divided global EFA aspirations and achievements. This chapter looks at the history of global governors and their "education for all" initiatives, focusing in particular on the changing relational dynamics among EFA governors. Over the past six decades, EFA has become a prime venue for displaying commitments to equity, economic redistribution, and human rights – attracting an expanding cast of governors precisely because it can enhance their legitimacy and authority. Yet ironically, the growth in the number of EFA governors has led to competition and fragmentation in international EFA activities. EFA's global governors have deployed competing technical repertoires, been guided by strikingly different bureaucratic and geopolitical interests, and have drawn on different sources for their authority. The result has been a system-wide form of "organized hypocrisy," in which global governors repeatedly set wide-ranging international targets and goals, for which neither global governors nor developing country states are held responsible (Barnett and Finnemore 2004).

Mundy, K. 2016. "'Leaning in' on Education for All." *Comparative Education Review*, *60*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1086/684434

Building on the reflexive tradition within the social sciences, this article takes up one of the longest-standing concerns in our field—the right to education. The article provides a critical look at the history of the Education for All movement and the global aid architecture that has evolved to support it. It also reflects on the contributions of the field of comparative education to the Education for All movement. The term "leaning in" is used throughout the article as a trope to weave together these institutional histories with the author's own career journey, which has included both academic and practitioner roles in international educational development—including as the chief technical officer at the Global Partnership for Education, an organization created to deliver on global commitments to the right to education.

Non-state provision and civil society policy advocacy

Archer, D. 1994. "The changing roles of non-governmental organizations in the field of education (in the context of changing relationships with the state)." *International Journal of Educational Development*, *14*(3), 223–232. https://doi.org/10.1016/0738-0593(94)90036-1

Historically NGOs have played a significant role in promoting Non-Formal Education. However, in the context of Structural Adjustment Programmes NGOs are now under increasing pressure to fill in the gaps left by declining State provision in the formal education sector. In doing so, NGOs can become, often unwittingly, agents of privatisation. This paper draws on studies from four countries (El Salvador, Bangladesh, India and Uganda) to chart and review the changing roles of NGOs in the education sector (and in their relationships with Ministries of Education) and tries to identify both positive and problematic practices. The paper concludes that service delivery in the education sector is inherently problematic for NGOs and stresses the importance of NGOs as innovators who must document their work more rigorously than in the past in order to feed into policy debates and influence major players.

Batley, R., & Mcloughlin, C. 2010. "Engagement with Non-State Service Providers in Fragile States: Reconciling State-Building and Service Delivery." *Development Policy Review*, *28*(2), 131–154. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-7679.2010.00478.x

The OECD questions whether non-state services in fragile states may delegitimise the state in the eyes of citizens, arguing that 'state-building' depends on governments' engagement in service management. This article reviews the available evidence to identify what types of engagement are feasible and most likely to contribute to service delivery, or not to damage it. It considers the capacity requirements and the risks associated with state intervention through policy formulation, regulation, contracting and mutual agreements, and concludes by identifying ways of incrementally involving the state, beginning with activities that are least likely to do harm to non-state provision.

Batley, R., & Rose, P. 2010. "Collaboration in delivering education: Relations between governments and NGOs in South Asia." *Development in Practice*, *20*(4–5), 579–585. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614521003763137

Collaboration between governments and non-state providers of basic services is increasingly a focus of attention by international agencies and national policy makers. The intention of such collaboration is to support common goals for achieving universal provision. Drawing on research in Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan, the contribution shows that collaboration can be successful where NGOs do not depend on limited sources for their funding, and invest time in building an informal relationship with government officials. In such cases, not only can collaboration strengthen NGO service provision directly, but it also provides opportunities for NGOs to engage in broader policy advocacy through insider influence.

Brehm, W., & Silova, I. 2019. Five generations of NGOs in education: From humanitarianism to global capitalism. In *Routledge Handbook of NGOs and International Relations*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315268927

This chapter details the emergence of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in education and the main debates around their involvement. The demarcations between generations are not firm; any one NGO can simultaneously exhibit elements of the various generations described. It highlights the contradiction within neoliberal capitalism that, on the one hand, people and institutions can reproduce a system unknowingly, while, on the other hand, fighting against global capitalism often means doing so from within the system. The chapter illustrates, in addition to grassroots initiatives some NGOs are now forming powerful transnational networks to directly engage in education policy and practice within and across different national contexts. Education NGOs have become, to various degrees, conduits through which neoliberalism spreads. It concludes by questioning the meaning of the public good of education vis-a-vis NGOs and whether it can exist, in new forms, not only within global capitalism but also within the contemporary moment of reactionary nationalism.

Frimpong, S. O., Hilton, K., Bhirgoo, P., Aloo, F., Kumirai, A., & Arthur-Holmes, F. 2022. "Towards a successful free senior high school policy in Ghana: The role of non-profit organisations." *Voluntary Sector Review*, *1*(aop), 1–12. https://doi.org/10.1332/204080521X16567495388628

This paper seeks to understand the significant challenges of Ghana's free senior high school (SHS) policy and the roles that non-profit organisations play in addressing them. Findings reveal non-profit interventions such as establishing new school buildings, providing teacher training, addressing inequality issues, equipping graduates with employable skills and evaluating the policy. Such public–non-profit partnerships can help the government achieve its vision of free SHS education for all young Ghanaians.

Gali, Y., & Schechter, C. 2021. "NGO Involvement in education policy implementation: Exploring policymakers' voices." *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, *53*(3–4), 271–293. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220620.2021.1957792

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are becoming increasingly important participants in educational programmes and implementing education policy. This study explores governmental policymakers' perceptions and reactions to NGO involvement in the implementation of education policy. We applied a qualitative research method, conducting in-depth interviews with ten senior policymakers in Israel's Ministry of Education. We utilised an inductive process of condensing, encoding, categorising, and theorising to analyze the data. Our findings yielded three major themes: (a) intersectoral partnership policies in education and mechanisms for their implementation, (b) budgeting and engagement policies that reexamine mutual responsibility models in education, and (c) the benefits of the intersectoral partnership in advancing education goals. This study expands the knowledge of policymakers' attempts to lead change, from methods and strategies of centralised and bureaucratic governance through community networks that constitute an intermediate path to realising social and educational goals in the age of privatisation and commercialisation in education.

Kamat, S. 2004. "The privatization of public interest: Theorizing NGO discourse in a neoliberal era." *Review of International Political Economy*, *11*(1), 155–176. https://doi.org/10.1080/0969229042000179794

This paper examines recent policy discussions on non-governmental organiz-ations (NGOs) and their central role in the democratization of civil society. The author argues that the policy debate on NGOs exemplifies the conflict between liberalism and socialism, or more specifically between private interest and public good. The contemporary context of neoliberal economic policies and structural adjustment represents a vindication of liberal norms, and the ascendancy of NGOs is theorized in this context. An analysis of recent policy positions on NGOs and their role in promoting governance and development is illustrative of the complex ways in which NGOs, at local and international levels, are being incorporated into the neoliberal model of civil society.

Kolleck, N. 2019. "The power of third sector organizations in public education." *Journal of Educational Administration*, *57*(4), 411–425. https://doi.org/10.1108/JEA-08-2018-0142

The purpose of this paper is to address school–NGO interactions by analyzing the power of foundations – a specific type of third sector organization or NGO in education. Design/methodology/approach Data are collected through a quantitative survey, qualitative interviews, official documents, reports and websites. Social network analysis and grounded theory are used to analyze the data with the aim to develop a theoretical approach. Findings The study identifies three dimensions, i.e. relational, structural and discursive dimensions of power. Based on the analysis of an illustrative multi-stakeholder initiative, the paper highlights the role of foundations in framing educational settings, concepts and structures of the education system as such. Practical implications The three-dimensional power perspective offered in this paper is particularly useful for scholars investigating school–NGO interactions or multi-stakeholder

partnerships in education. Furthermore, it is of crucial importance for practitioners, school principals and education administrators dealing with school–NGO interactions given that foundations seem to be increasingly able to draw on new sources of power in these interactions. Originality/value While the number and power of the third sector in education continues to rise worldwide, there is wide consensus that NGO power in education has, to date, hardly been researched. This paper contributes to this dearth of research by uncovering foundations' different sources of power and by developing a theoretical approach for analyzing the power of third-sector organizations in education.

Mundy, K. 2008. "From NGOs to CSOs: Social citizenship, civil society and 'Education for All' – An agenda for further research." *Current Issues in Comparative Education*, *10*(1/2), 32–40. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ841599.pdf

A decade ago, when CICE published its first issue "Are NGOs Overrated?" both academic debates and development policy discussions were focused on the expanding role played by NGOs in the developing world. Today the language has changed – and so too, in some ways, has practice. In this article, I want to look at the new turn to "civil society" in development discourse. In particular, I want to answer the question: What does civil society have to do with the achievement of education for all – particularly in poor countries where universal access to basic education has not been achieved? Below, I look first at how civil society engagement is being constructed in the official policy discourse of development aid organizations, raising questions about the narrowness and limitations of this conceptualization. I then argue for using a "social citizenship" lens when thinking about civil society and its role in the achievement of education for all. Throughout, I introduce examples from a recent study of civil society organizations (CSOs) and their interactions with internationally funded sector programs in education in four African countries: Burkina Faso, Mali, Kenya and Tanzania (Mundy et. al., 2007).

Robertson, S. L., Mundy, K., Verger, A., & Menashy, F. 2012. An Introduction to Public Private Partnerships and Education Governance. In *Public Private Partnerships in Education*. Cheltenham: Edward   Elgar   Publishing   Limited https://doi.org/10.4337/9780857930699.00007
Over the past two decades, significant changes in the governance of education systems have been put into place as international institutions, governments, firms, philanthropies and consultants have promoted more hybrid partnership arrangements, involving new combinations of state and non-state actors engaged in a range of activities within the education sector. These newer forms of education governance often operate across scales, through interactions between local, regional and national governments and intergovernmental organizations, and between these and national and transnationally configured profit firms, philanthropists, NGOs and religious organizations.

Based largely on papers presented at a symposium held in 2009 at the University of Amsterdam, this volume brings together both academics and researchers from a variety of international organizations and aid agencies to explore the complexities of PPPs as a resurgent, hybrid mode of educational governance that operates across scales, from the community to the global. The

volume's authors draw from different disciplines (economics, sociology, political science and comparative education, among others); they look at different types of partnership arrangements; and take different positions about the value of PPPs. An initial section of the book contains chapters exploring how PPPs, as a policy idea, have been constructed in transnational agendas for educational development and circulated globally. A second group of chapters looks at the role played by a new generation of multilateral and transnational private sector actors (including the World Trade Organization, the International Financial corporation, transnational corporations, venture philanthropies and international nongovernmental organizations). In a final section are chapters exploring the role and implications of PPPs in developing countries, providing arguments both for, and against, an expanding reliance on PPPs in national educational systems.

Rose, P. 2009. "NGO provision of basic education: Alternative or complementary service delivery to support access to the excluded?" *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *39*(2), 219–233. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920902750475

This paper focuses on approaches by non-government organisations (NGOs) to reach primary school-aged children excluded from access to the conventional state education system. It highlights recent shifts in international literature and agency priorities from the portrayal of NGO provision as a (non-formal) 'alternative' to (formal) state schooling, towards developing approaches for 'complementary' provision. This shift is occurring as a means of making progress towards achieving Education for All (EFA) goals. The paper then compares these international trends with attention paid to NGO provision in national education plans across four countries (Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia and Ghana). Based on the analysis of international and national approaches, the paper argues that NGO provision continues to be seen as 'second-best' to state schooling, with state schooling remaining the focus of attention for EFA.

Rose, P. 2011. Strategies for Engagement: Government and National Non-Government Education Providers in South Asia. *Public Administration and Development*, *31*(4), 294–305. https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.607

It is often assumed that non-government education providers prefer to operate without 'interference' from government. However, in practice, they inevitably need to form relationships. There is also a common view that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have to choose between service delivery and advocacy. As this article shows, these objectives are often not independent of each other. Drawing on evidence from established national non-government education providers in Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, the article identifies different strategies adopted in balancing their service delivery and advocacy objectives. In all cases, the NGOs find ways to ensure a cooperative rather than conflictual relationship with government to pursue their goals. Strategies vary according to the strength of the national policy context, the formality of the relationship and the degree of dependence on funding sources, with the latter being most influential.

Schäferhoff, Marco, Sabine Campe, and Christopher Kaan. 2009. "Transnational Public-Private Partnerships in International Relations: Making Sense of Concepts, Research Frameworks,

and Results." *International Studies Review* 11 (3): 451–74. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2009.00869.x.

Transnational public-private partnerships (PPPs) have become a popular theme in International Relations (IR) research. Such partnerships constitute a hybrid type of governance, in which nonstate actors co-govern along with state actors for the provision of collective goods, and thereby adopt governance functions that have formerly been the sole authority of sovereign states. Their recent proliferation is an expression of the contemporary reconfiguration of authority in world politics that poses essential questions on the effectiveness and the legitimacy of global governance. In this article, we critically survey the literature on transnational PPPs with respect to three central issues: Why do transnational PPPs emerge, under what conditions are they effective, and under what conditions are they legitimate governance instruments? We point to weaknesses of current research on PPPs and suggest how these weaknesses can be addressed. We argue that the application of IR theories and compliance theories in particular opens up the possibility for systematic comparative research that is necessary to obtain conclusive knowledge about the emergence, effectiveness, and legitimacy of transnational PPPs. Furthermore, the article introduces the concept of complex performance to capture possible unintended side effects of PPPs and their implications on global governance.

Srivastava, P. 2020. *Framing Non-State Engagement in Education* (ED/GEMR/MRT/2020/T1/1; p. 48). UNESCO; GEM. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000372938/PDF/372938eng.pdf.multi

This think piece was commissioned by the Global Education Monitoring Report (GEM Report) Team to provide initial conceptual framing for the 2021 GEM Report, Non-state Actors in Education. Considerations of non-state engagement in education have largely focused on the provision or delivery of education or education services. However, it is much broader than this. The framework identifies non-state engagement with reference to four domains of operation — provision, financing, regulation, and management. Non-state actors may engage in core education and/or ancillary education services relatively independently or in various formal and informal arrangements with state/public, other non-state, and international actors within and across these domains. These arrangements and their enforcement mechanisms structure the interaction of non-state actors with other actors. The conceptualization considers three kinds of arrangements: contracting, partnerships, and networks. These arrangements are not seen as mutually exclusive. The framework views non-state engagement to occur simultaneously across different levels of governance, that is, globally, regionally, domestically, locally, and in micro-education ecosystems. The contours of that engagement will be particular to the specific contexts. Finally, formal education systems are internally structured according to different sub-sectors. Non-state engagement in compulsory levels, where there are international and domestic obligations on the state, will have different implications than in non-compulsory levels. The think piece further explicates existing and emerging questions for each domain, highlighting research gaps. Finally, it synthesizes knowledge and data gaps which may help to direct analysis and to commission background papers.

UNESCO. 2021. *Global Education Monitoring Report - Non-state actors in education: Who chooses? Who loses?* UNESCO. https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/non-state-actors

Non-state actors' role extends beyond provision of schooling to interventions at various education levels and influence spheres. Alongside its review of progress towards SDG 4, including emerging evidence on the COVID-19 pandemic's impact, the 2021/2 Global Education Monitoring Report urges governments to see all institutions, students and teachers as part of a single system. Standards, information, incentives and accountability should help governments protect, respect and fulfil the right to education of all, without turning their eyes away from privilege or exploitation. Publicly funded education does not have to be publicly provided but disparity in education processes, student outcomes and teacher working conditions must be addressed. Efficiency and innovation, rather than being commercial secrets, should be diffused and practised by all. To that end, transparency and integrity in the public education policy process need to be maintained to block vested interests.

The report's rallying call – Who chooses? Who loses? – Invites policymakers to question relationships with non-state actors in terms of fundamental choices: between equity and freedom of choice; between encouraging initiative and setting standards; between groups of varying means and needs; between immediate commitments under SDG 4 and those to be progressively realized (e.g. post-secondary education); and between education and other social sectors. Supporting the fifth Global Education Monitoring Report are two online tools: PEER, a policy dialogue resource describing non-state activity and regulations in the world's education systems; and VIEW, a new website consolidating sources and providing new completion rate estimates over time.

UNESCO. 2022. *Global Education Monitoring Report—Non-state actors in education: Who chooses? Who loses?*. UNESCO. https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/non-state-actors

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4. Thematic focus areas

Governance and accountability

Banerji, R., & Chavan, M. 2020. "A twenty-year partnership of practice and research: The Nobel laureates and Pratham in India." *World Development*, *127*, 104788. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2019.104788

Pioneered by Pratham, "teaching at the right level" (TaRL) is a well-known and effective approach for improving basic reading and arithmetic capabilities of primary school children. This method is particularly appropriate for children who have been in school for a few years but for various reasons have not acquired foundational skills. The evolution of this approach has occurred over a period of almost two decades. The story of how this approach was developed provides a fascinating case of how innovative interventions and rigorous evidence can go hand in hand. Today TaRL is one of the most effective ways to improve children's learning. It has been used widely in India and now increasingly is being tried in sub–Saharan Africa. This contribution outlines main milestones of this joint journey and discusses what made this evolution effective. Bano, M. 2022. *In Need of Fresh Thinking: What Pratham's Experience of Mobilising Communities Says about Current Development Thinking about Community Participation in Education* (No. 22/100; RISE Working Paper). https://riseprogramme.org/publications/need-fresh-thinking-what-prathams-experience-mobilising-communities-says-about-current
For more than two decades, the international development community has advocated that establishing school-based management committees to involve communities to monitor and hold teachers, principals, and district government officials accountable would improve state schooling in developing countries; yet the evidence to sustain this claim to date remains questionable. Considering the case of Pratham, the largest education NGO in India, which is widely recognised as having developed a successful model to improve learning outcomes among children in state schools and is known for doing it through active community engagement, this paper questions whether the current development thinking on best modes of engaging communities to improve learning outcomes in state schools needs fresh thinking. The paper questions the validity of the two central assumptions underpinning the school-based management model: that better informed communities will become involved in education activities with some mobilisation and training; and that engaged communities will be able to hold to account front-line state officials, starting with teachers and principals and moving on to the district government officials. Pratham's experience shows that dissemination of information about benefits of education does

not automatically result in community engagement; instead, people are motivated to become involved on the basis of individual-based incentives. Equally, it shows that for a community to influence the actions of front-line staff, it is important to develop a co-operative and supportive relationship, instead of focusing on accountability. Pratham's experience thus shows that there is much scope for fresh thinking within the international development community on how to engage communities in developing countries in improving learning outcomes in state schools.

Barbarosie, Daniela, C., Ionela, Criste, Aliona, Terzi. 2018. *My School—Empowered Citizens Enhancing Accountability of the Education Reform and Quality of Education in Moldova*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved November 17, 2022, from https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/744681621832061746/My-School-Empowered-Citizens-Enhancing-Accountability-of-the-Education-Reform-and-Quality-of-Education-in-Moldova

'My School' was designed in order to empower educational stakeholders at the central and local levels to play a more active role both in the life and development of schools and educational sector reforms. The project aimed at increasing the accountability of decision makers at the school and policy levels. In this regard, Expert-Group implemented a series of social accountability tools that allow the educational stakeholders (pupils, parents, teachers, school managers, local and central public authorities) to engage in a constructive dialogue about the quality of educational services provided by school, the budgets at the schools' and central level, as well as the policies and reforms in the educational sector. This concept is rooted in the theory of change of GPSA at the global level. Thus, it envisages the support to organizations (grantees) in their application of political economy approach to their social accountability strategies, provides knowledge and learning opportunities and supports the collaboration with the GPSA global partners, in order to ensure a constructive engagement with decision makers and strong collaboration between CSOs and state accountability institutions. The final evaluation was based on a complex methodology, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods of sociological research. Thus, the following research methods were used to ensure data triangulation: questionnaire survey among pupils and teachers, content analysis of the legal framework, in-depth interview, group interview and case study method. The study was based on a representative sample of the schools involved in the project and included evaluation of 20 schools out of a total of 100 schools benefiting from the My School project. The main selection indicators were: the geographical location of the school (North, Center, South), the residence environment (urban, rural), the school dimension (evaluated according to the number of students), the level of economic development of the community (deprivation index of small localities) and teaching language (Romanian, Russian).

Bruns, B., Macdonald, I. H., & Schneider, B. R. 2019. "The politics of quality reforms and the challenges for SDGs in education." *World Development*, *118*, 27–38. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2019.02.008

Understanding the politics of education reform is crucial to assess the challenges facing the SDG of quality education. This article surveys the small academic literature on the politics of reform as well as a wide range of empirical research on reform experiences across the world, with an emphasis on recent reforms in Latin America. We focus on teacher policy reforms, which play a central role in raising learning in primary and secondary schools, but pose three special challenges. First, they are contentious, often threatening the institutional interests of well-organized and politically powerful teacher unions. Second, implementation is opaque, as impact depends on classroom-level change that is difficult for reformers to monitor. And, third, benefits are long-term, usually well beyond the political tenure of reform champions. A close review of all major stakeholders – teacher unions, business, NGOs, religious authorities, international development agencies, and others – is a crucial first step to understanding potential sources of opposition and support. Strategic issues in policy design and implementation include: consultation, sequencing, compensation, negotiation, communication, and sustaining reforms.

Cárdenas, S. 2017. *The State of Accountability in the Education Sector of Mexico* (Accountability in Education: Meeting Our Commitments, p. 20) [Background paper prepared for the 2017/8 Global Education Monitoring Report]. UNESCO; GEM. 10.13140/RG.2.2.32667.52005

Absence of an effective accountability system in the national education system is explained by several factors, as it has been described in previous sections. Improving accountability goes beyond the availability of information, compelling public officials and other stakeholders to explore ways to define and accept common goals, identify ways to measure results, and finally design an effective system to impose sanctions and grant rewards to public officials, school principals, and teachers. Furthermore, developing institutional capacities among education agencies, local governments, and other actors like NGOs will be a necessary step to improve accountability in the national education system.

Care International in Cambodia. 2018. *Implementation of Social Accountability Framework (ISAF)* (p. 44). Care International.

This is the End of Project Evaluation for CARE's Implementation of Social Accountability Framework (ISAF) Project. ISAF was implemented in four target provinces (Ratank Kiri, Mondul Kiri, Koh Kong and Kampot) over 36 months (2016-2018). ISAF aimed to reduce poverty through democratic, inclusive and equitable local governance and more accessible and equitable public service delivery. ISAF worked with local NGOs (LNGOs) that were provided grants through the project and citizens of the four targeted provinces who received improved services (commune, health centres and primary schools). The overall objective of the end of project evaluation is to provide a full assessment of the progress made versus the baseline and mid-term review, following the key indicators as stated in the project logical framework. The evaluation also includes key evaluation related to relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability and indicators. The evaluation was conducted from 23 July 2018 to 26 August 2018. In order to conduct the evaluation, data was collected through a comprehensive literature review and fieldwork.

Corrales, J. 2006. "Does Parental Participation in Schools Empower or Strain Civil Society? The Case of Community-managed Schools in Central America." *Social Policy & Administration*, *40*(4), 450–470. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9515.2006.00498.x

Among the various educational models in Latin America that seek to increase parental participation in schooling, perhaps the most far-reaching is the experiment with self-managed schools. These are publicly funded schools administered by parents. Broad public powers, such as the capacity to decide the budget and make staffing decisions, are given to parents, many of whom have had very limited prior administrative experience. How does this policy innovation impact on civil society? Does parental participation in school administration empower participating citizens or strain civil society? There are various ways of answering these questions. This article looks at some possible ways to conceptualize and assess the relationship between parental participation in self-managed schools and civil society. The article draws from the experience of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, where these reforms have advanced significantly since the 1990s.

Cowen, J. M., & Strunk, K. O. 2015. "The impact of teachers' unions on educational outcomes: What we know and what we need to learn." *Economics of Education Review*, *48*, 208–223. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2015.02.006

In this paper we consider more than three decades of research on teachers' unions in the United States. We focus on unions' role as potential rent-seekers in the K-12 educational landscape, and specifically how teachers' unions impact district and student outcomes. We review important methodological improvements in the identification of union impacts and the measurement of contract restrictiveness that characterize a number of recent studies. We generally find that the preponderance of empirical evidence suggests that teacher unionization and union strength are associated with increases in district expenditures and teacher salaries, particularly salaries for experienced teachers. The evidence for union-related differences in student outcomes is mixed, but suggestive of insignificant or modestly negative union effects. Taken together, these patterns are consistent with a rent-seeking hypothesis. We conclude by discussing other important union activities, most notably in the political arena, and by noting that recent changes in state laws pertaining to teachers and teacher unions may provide context for new directions in scholarship.

Edwards Jr, D. B., Moschetti, M. C., & Caravaca, A. 2022. *Globalization, Privatization, and the State: Contemporary Education Reform in Post-Colonial Contexts* (1st ed.). London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group. https://www.routledge.com/Globalization-Privatization-and-the-State-Contemporary-Education-Reform/Jr-Moschetti-Caravaca/p/book/9780367460822

This text explores how the dynamics of globalization and privatization have influenced State policy and impacted education reform in Honduras. It makes the argument that understanding education reform in post-colonial contexts requires that scholars go beyond a surface-level description of such trends as privatization to consider, in addition, the ways that the logics,

practices, and relationships that characterized colonialism continue to be embedded in the apparatus of modern States. The first part of the volume documents historical trends and the evolution of privatisation in Honduras, while the second part explicitly engages in an extended discussion of State theory, before shifting to present a framework for depicting how these logics are the foundational layer upon which states and global governance have been constructed. The framework draws upon scholarship from political economy, world systems, and post-colonialism to depict the "ethos of privatization" at the core of post-colonial States, wherein what drives the system is private benefit, in the interest of individuals and their networks, but not in the interest of those outside the State. Applying this unique framework to the case of Honduras and offering empirical analysis of the Honduran education sector, the changing role and priorities of the State, and the increasing involvement of international organizations, NGOs, and private actors in the provision of education, the text increases understanding of how State theory interacts with broader global dynamics to impact education. This text will benefit researchers, academics, and educators with a focus on international and comparative education, policy analysis, globalization, and international development.

Guerzovich, F., Poli, M., & Fokkelman, E. 2020. *The Learning Crisis and Its Solutions* (Global Partnership for Social Accountability Note 13; p. 56). World Bank. http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/468311606905286817/The-Learning-Crisis-and-Its-Solutions-Lessons-from-Social-Accountability-for-Education

In the 2015, countries committed to ensuring inclusive and quality education for all and promoting lifelong learning as part of meeting Sustainable Development Goals. Three years later, the World Bank warns through its flagship report, World Development Report (WDR) 2018, of a learning crisis and identifies critical policy actions to accelerate learning for all. This note identifies the contributions citizen engagement and social accountability can make to this effort. Social accountability is a process that enables the inclusive participation and collective action of citizens and civil society organizations in public policy making and implementation so that state and service providers are responsive to citizens' needs and held accountable. Based on a review of the experiences of the Global Partnership for Social Accountability (GPSA) in implementing projects in the education sector, three primary conclusions stand out.

Gullo, S., Galavotti, C., & Altman, L. 2016. "A review of CARE's Community Score Card experience and evidence." *Health Policy and Planning*, *31*(10), 1467–1478. https://doi.org/10.1093/heapol/czw064

The global community's growing enthusiasm for the potential of social accountability approaches to improve health system performance and accelerate health progress makes it imperative that we learn from social accountability intervention implementation experience and results. To this end, we carried out a review of Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere, Inc. (CARE)'s experience with the Community Score Card© (CSC)—a social accountability approach CARE developed in Malawi. We reviewed projects that CARE implemented between 2002 and 2013 that employed the CSC and that had at least one evaluation in English. We systematically collected and synthesized information from evaluations on the projects' characteristics, CSC-

related outcomes and challenges. Eight projects, spanning five countries, met our inclusion criteria. The projects applied the CSC to various focus areas, mostly health. We identified one to three evaluations, mostly qualitative, for each project. While the evaluations had many limitations, consistency of the results, as well as the range of outcomes, suggests that the CSC is contributing to significant changes. All projects reported CSC-related governance outcomes and service outcomes. There is promising evidence that the CSC can contribute to citizen empowerment, service provider and power-holder effectiveness, accountability and responsiveness and spaces for negotiation between the two that are expanded, effective and inclusive. There is also evidence that the CSC may contribute to improvements in service availability, access, utilization and quality. The CSC seems particularly suited to building trust and strengthening relationships between the community and service providers and to improving the user-centred dimension of quality. All of the projects reported challenges, with ensuring national responsiveness and inclusion of marginalized groups in the CSC process proving to be the most intractable. To improve health system performance and accelerate health progress we recommend further CSC use, enhancements and research.

Lekweiry, M. O., & Falisse, J.-B. 2022. *Final Evaluation of The Transparency of The Mauritanian Education Budget (Tome) Project (P162168)*. Global Partnership for Social Accountability; Ecodiv; World Bank Group. https://documents.worldbank.org/pt/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/352401647610255802/final-evaluation-of-the-transparency-of-the-mauritanian-education-budget-tome-project

This report is the final evaluation of the Transparency of the Mauritanian Education Budget (TOME) project conducted by the NGO Ecodev in the Islamic Republic of Mauritania between 2017 and 2021. At its core, the project consisted of implementing social accountability mechanisms in forty pilot schools through the establishment of committees including different local education stakeholders, including municipalities, parents, and teachers. While the report addresses project implementation issues and returns to the level of achievement of activities, it is not a study of project impact in the typical sense of the level of achievement of narrowly quantified objectives internal to the project, but rather an analysis of the dynamics developed through the project. Thus, the report seeks to understand the theory of change, of action, which has made this project a success, at least judging by the changes in approach in the education sector in Mauritania.

Poli, M., Guerzovich, F., & Fokkelman, E. 2019. *Aligning Actors for Learning the Evolution of Social Accountability in the Dominican Republic's Education Sector* (GPSA NOTE 14; p. 23). Global Partnership for Social Accountability.

The practice of social accountability has evolved since the 1990s. Today, we understand social accountability as a process that enables the inclusive participation and collective action of citizens and civil society organizations in public policy making and implementation so that state and service providers are responsive to citizens' needs and held accountable. This evolution is illustrated through the work targeting the Dominican Republic's education sector which includes a project funded by the Global Partnership for Social Accountability (GPSA) focused on citizen

engagement in monitoring education service delivery. This GPSA note contends that what may have started as tool-based transparency and social accountability interventions that were isolated from the country's education policy making evolved toward collaborative, problem-solving social accountability approaches. The most recent efforts integrated a focus on building synergies with education policy making and programing from the beginning.

Gvirtz, S., & Minvielle, L. 2009. Participation of Civil Society in School Governance: Comparative Research of Institutional Designs in Nicaragua and Brazil. In D. B. Holsinger & W. J. Jacob (Eds.), *Inequality in Education* (pp. 485–505). Netherlands: Springer. http://link.springer.com.access.ciesas.edu.mx/chapter/10.1007/978-90-481-2652-1_21

Examining the educational agenda in many countries in the last two decades reveals increased participation as one of the most important issues educators face. The idea that all members of a community should participate in the education decision-making process has been supported by people of different political and ideological origins. In Latin America, the issue of broad participation was included in many education reform agendas during the democratization process in the region. Decentralization, school autonomy, and civil participation are some of the key terms often used to describe the process of achieving greater equality in education. The reform projects analyzed in this chapter are based on the idea that equality in the education system can be pursued by opening the possibility of participation to all members of the educational community. This broadening of the use of voice should provide for a better opportunity for all demands to be heard and taken into account on an equal basis. This research is based on the assumption that different institutional designs, understood to mean the laws, values, conventions, and regulations that govern social action, have an impact on popular participation in school affairs. Therefore, an appreciation of the key features of institutional design is necessary for an understanding of civic involvement in education.

UNESCO. 2017. "Global Education Monitoring Report - Accountability in Education: Meeting Our Commitments." Paris: UNESCO; GEM. https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/accountability

In 2017, the second report in the Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report series continued the assessment of progress towards the Sustainable Development Goal on education (SDG4) and its 10 targets, as well as other related education targets in the SDG agenda. It also investigates accountability in education, analyzing how all relevant stakeholders can provide education more effectively, efficiently and equitably. The report examines different accountability mechanisms that are used to hold governments, schools, teachers, parents, the international community, and the private sector accountable for inclusive, equitable and quality education. By analysing which policies make accountability work or fail, and which external factors impact on their success, the 2017/8 GEM Report concludes with concrete recommendations that will help build stronger education systems.

Walker, D. W. 2018. "Power to the People?: Learning from the Case of Citizen Voice and Action." Thesis, Monash University.

Essential services often fail because citizens are unable to hold governments accountable. By studying the case of Citizen Voice and Action, a social accountability intervention introduced by the World Vision aid organisation, my thesis asks how impoverished citizens can be empowered to increase accountability for essential services and how to improve empowering intervention processes. Findings from twelve countries explain which citizen capabilities influence official behaviour and consequently, how to combine competing theories of accountability. Improving practice requires finding which localized cultural capabilities amplify collective power to enable change.

Westhorp, G., Walker, B., Rogers, P., Overbeeke, N., Ball, D., & Brice, G. 2014. *Enhancing community accountability, empowerment and education outcomes in low and middle-income countries: a realist review*. EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London.

This realist review addresses the question: 'Under what circumstances does enhancing community accountability and empowerment improve education outcomes, particularly for the poor?' Community accountability and empowerment interventions, it has been argued, improve educational outcomes by improving the quality of educational services and the participation of students and families in education. However, there has been no agreed understanding of what is meant by 'community accountability' or 'community empowerment' in relation to education. The range of interventions which, it has been claimed, affect accountability and empowerment, is broad, and evidence of impacts has been mixed.

At the beginning of the research, an initial programme theory was developed for the overall class of community accountability and empowerment interventions, using a rough hierarchy-of-outcomes format. Evidence relating to outcomes for education, empowerment and accountability was aligned with that initial hierarchy of outcomes, and revisions were made to address outcomes not covered by the initial rough theory. Programme mechanisms were identified abductively. Features of context that appeared to affect the operations and outcomes of interventions were identified through close reading of texts and propositions about context (abstracted to the level of middle-level theory) were drafted. Evidence from a wider selection of texts was aligned against the mechanism and context propositions. A CMOC (Context-Mechanism-Outcome Configurations) table was developed by aligning significant features of context against mechanisms, either on the basis of evidence or on the basis of logic (where evidence was not available). A theoretical model for the relationship between empowerment and accountability was proposed on the basis of the findings. The CMOC table and the empowerment and accountability model constitute the revised theory that is the intended product of a realist review. Ways in which the theory might be used to support practice are described below. That theory remains to be tested and further refined through future research and evaluation. Implications for policy and practice and for future research and evaluation have been identified. While descriptions of community accountability interventions often focus on a

simple programme theory, we have found that effective interventions work through a combination of mechanisms and require a combination of strategies. They take into account factors at national, sub-national and local levels and changing circumstances. Interventions must clarify the types of accountability they intend to address (of whom, to whom, for what, within which power relationships, and so on) and be tailored to local contexts if they are to be effective. Research and evaluation should similarly identify the different mechanisms that are expected to operate and explicitly gather and make available data to better understand them and the contexts within which they work.

Wild, L., & Harris, D. 2012. *The political economy of community scorecards in Malawi* (p. 41). Overseas Development Institute. https://odi.org/en/publications/the-political-economy-of-community-scorecards/

This study examines a community scorecard initiative in Malawi, known as the Community Based Monitoring Programme (CBMP). The study was commissioned by Plan UK in response to a recent governance evaluation of the organisation's work which recognised that Plan's programmes had been more effective where they had worked with local political realities and supported local reform processes. As such, it does not attempt to provide a formal evaluation, but rather seeks to understand the political economy dynamics which have shaped this initiative and which can explain areas of success and challenge. Two key strengths of the scorecards approach in Malawi emerge from the study:

Firstly, scorecards appear to work best where they facilitate collaborative spaces or forms of collective problem solving by actors across the supply and demand side. The provision of information is one part of this, but more important is the process for identifying who the key stakeholders are and bringing them together to devise joint action plans to tackle service delivery problems (and to follow up on these plans). Secondly, scorecards have worked particularly well where they have reignited communities' own capacity for self help alongside encouraging greater state responsiveness. While the current theory of change emphasises citizens' empowerment vis-à-vis the state, what is interesting is the extent to which in practice the implementation of the scorecards has served as an important reminder of the roles and responsibilities of citizens themselves.

Wild, L., Wales, J., & Chambers, V. 2015. *CARE's experience with community score cards: What works and why?* (p. 40). Overseas Development Institute. https://odi.org/en/publications/cares-experience-with-community-score-cards-what-works-and-why/

This report (and policy brief) explores the experience of CARE International in implementing community score card programmes in four countries – Ethiopia, Malawi, Tanzania and Rwanda – and aims to address the significant research gap around cross-country comparative analysis of social accountability programmes. The key findings of the research are that: CARE's Community Score Card programmes have contributed to strengthening service provision and community-state relations in each of these countries, in different ways; Often this requires high levels of engagement with, and working through, different levels of the state apparatus. For support

based on the idea of civic engagement, this is a counter-intuitive finding; and Impacts are often 'stuck' at the local level and have only translated into national level impacts where they have plugged into existing reform processes.

World Vision. 2019. *Scaling Social Accountability: Evidence from Africa, Asia and the Caucasus* (p. 37). World Vision International. https://www.wvi.org/social-accountability/publication/scaling-social-accountability-evidence-asia-africa-and-caucasus

Social accountability is breaking new ground. Evidence from a 2018 evaluation for a World Bank funded project in Indonesia has demonstrated that social accountability impacts system strengthening, local power dynamics and women's empowerment. The evaluation of WV's Citizen Voice and Action (CVA), a strategic package of grassroots activism, evidence-based social accountability approaches and coalition building, found that: "CVA works by changing power relations. It does so by using structured and transparent processes to organise collective opinion, which is harder to dismiss than individual opinions; by making the criteria for judgements transparent; by increasing the legitimacy of claims on the system; by empowering women; and by bringing different types and levels of decision- makers into the process, such that different forms of authority are available to address different issues."
The evaluation findings are shared in a new publication by World Vision, which synthesizes evidence from evaluations undertaken by Oxford and Columbia Universities and more than a dozen independent mixed method evaluations across more than 10 countries. World Vision's evidence of the impact of social accountability is built on 12 years investment in research and application across 48 countries, including 15 designated as fragile contexts/states.

Zeitlin, A., Bategeka, L., Guloba, M., Kasirye, I., & Mugisha, F. 2011. *Management and motivation in Ugandan primary schools: Impact evaluation final report* (p. 38). Centre for the Study of African Economies. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a08af1e5274a27b2000863/iiG-D10-UgandaPrimarySchoolsImpactReportFinal.pdf

We document the results of a randomized, controlled trial that examined policies to improve functioning of School Management Committees in rural, government primary schools in Uganda. The trial evaluated the impacts of two variations on a school monitoring scorecard, each of which was collected on a termly basis by School Management Committee (SMC) members. These treatments were designed to provide evidence not only on specific policy options for fostering 'bottom-up' accountability (World Bank 2004), but also to illuminate the importance of a participatory mechanism to achieve these effects. Schools in the first treatment arm received training and support in a standardized scorecard, which incorporated best practices for simple indicators of pupil and teacher performance, teaching materials and facilities, and school governance. Schools in the second treatment arm received training in a participatory scorecard, which provided a forum for SMC members to develop indicators of dimensions of school performance that they valued themselves. Training was provided by Centre Coordinating Tutors, who form part of the government educational staff resident in the study districts, and was

overseen by SNV and World Vision, working together with EPRC and Oxford staff. Impacts of these alternative scorecard treatments were estimated using a sample of 100 schools from districts in each of Uganda's four regions: Apac, Hoima, Iganga, and Kiboga. To allow estimation of causal effects of the program, schools were randomly assigned to the standardized scorecard (30 schools), the participatory scorecard (30 schools), or control (40 schools). Randomization was stratified at sub-county level. The experimental procedure ensures that selective placement does not bias estimates program impact (see, e.g., Glewwe, Kremer, Moulin and Zitzewitz (2004)). Pupil and teacher absenteeism were measured at follow-up by use of unannounced visits to schools. Learning outcomes were measured by testing authorities from the Uganda National Examinations Board, who administered tests from the National Assessment for Progress in Education to a representative sample of pupils at baseline and follow-up. Results show statistically and economically significant effects of the participatory design scorecard, across a range of outcomes.

The participatory I design scorecard reduced pupil and teacher absenteeism by and 8.9 and 13.2 percent, respectively. The participatory scorecard had a commensurate impact on pupil test scores of approximately 0.19 standard deviations; such an impact would increase a pupil from the 50th percentile to the 58th percentile of the distribution. Impacts of the standardized scorecard on these outcome measures smaller and statistically indistinguishable from zero. Neither scorecard has a statistically significant impact on dropout rates or firing of teachers. These results suggest that the participatory design component of community monitoring interventions may be important to their success. Delegation of this process appears to have fostered a stronger sense of ownership among school stakeholders. Given its low costs, such a participatory approach to community-based monitoring is a promising policy intervention for improving quality in UPE schools.

Gender inequality

Arnot, M., Colclough, C., Unterhalter, E., & North, A. 2017. *Education, Poverty and Global Goals for Gender Equality: How People Make Policy Happen*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315104225

Drawing on case-study research that examined initiatives which engaged with global aspirations to advance gender equality in schooling in Kenya and South Africa, this book looks at how global frameworks on gender, education and poverty are interpreted in local settings and the politics of implementation. It discusses the forms of global agreements in particular contexts, and allows for an appraisal of how they have been understood by the people who implement them. By using an innovative approach to comparative cross-country research, the book illuminates how ideas and actions connect and disconnect around particular meanings of poverty, education and gender in large systems and different settings. Its conclusions will allow assessments of the approach to the post-2015 agenda to be made, taking account of how policy and practice relating to global social justice are negotiated, sometimes negated, the forms in which they are affirmed and the actions that might help enhance them.

This book will be valuable for students, researchers, academics, senior teachers, senior government and inter-government officials and senior staff in NGOs working in the field of education and international development, gender, poverty reduction, and social development.

North, A. 2010. "MDG 3 and the negotiation of gender in international education organisations." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *40*(4), 425–440. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2010.490363

Gender equality in education has held a prominent position in global policy making over the last decade through international frameworks and declarations such as the Dakar framework of Action on Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). This paper draws on interviews conducted with participants who hold a gender brief in international organisations, active in the global Education for All movement. It examines the ways in which global commitments to gender equality in education are being understood in policy and programme work and what this reveals about gender mainstreaming in global education organisations. The MDG framework has been actively used in a number of organisations to leverage action on gender, primarily with regard to improving girls' access to schooling and achieving gender parity – equal numbers of girls and boys in school. This has meant that more substantive understandings of gender, which relate to the experiences of girls and women in and beyond school, often go un-discussed and un-addressed. The need for organisations to develop a more substantive notion of gender equality work linked to activism on women's rights is highlighted as a considerable challenge. This would take gender mainstreaming from a technical exercise to a political contestation with regard to processes of inclusion and exclusion.

Peppin Vaughan, R. 2019. "Global campaigns for girls' and women's education, 2000–2017: Insights from transnational social movement theory." *Comparative Education*, *55*(4), 494–516. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2019.1657701

Recent decades have witnessed a growing number of global campaigns on girls' and women's education, including major global policy initiatives such as the MDGs and the SDGs. While scholars have critically analysed the conceptualisations of gender, equality and development in such campaigns, and their significance for national level policy and practice, less has been written about why and how girls' education came to be such a high-profile feature of international policy frameworks. This paper draws on perspectives from transnational social movement theory, which has been used by gender scholars to explore the activities and significance of non-governmental organisations for agenda-setting at the global level. In this paper these perspectives are applied to the field of global education policy, through an analysis of evidence from international conferences, data on aid flows and interviews with key policy actors, to explore the factors behind rise of the global agenda on gender equality in education. In doing so, it suggests that the current dominant framing around girls' education, access and quality, may be explained by the relatively weak involvement of non-governmental women's groups in proportion to the strong involvement of multilaterals, bilateral agencies, national governments and more recently, private sector organisations.

UNESCO. 2008. "EFA Global Monitoring Report - Overcoming Inequality: Why Governance
    Matters." Paris : Oxford: Unesco Pub; Oxford University Press.
    https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000177683

Despite much progress since 2000, millions of children, youth and adults still lack access to good quality education and the benefits it brings. This inequality of opportunity is undermining progress towards achieving Education for All by 2015.
Who are these individuals and groups? What are the obstacles they face? How can governance policies help break the cycle of disadvantage and poverty? What policies work? Is education reform integrated into the bigger picture? Is the international community making good on its commitments?

Poverty and social exclusion; inclusion and inter-cultural issues

Rose, P. 2009. "NGO provision of basic education: Alternative or complementary service delivery
    to support access to the excluded?" *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International
    Education*, *39*(2), 219–233. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920902750475

This paper focuses on approaches by non-government organisations (NGOs) to reach primary school-aged children excluded from access to the conventional state education system. It highlights recent shifts in international literature and agency priorities from the portrayal of NGO provision as a (non-formal) 'alternative' to (formal) state schooling, towards developing approaches for 'complementary' provision. This shift is occurring as a means of making progress towards achieving Education for All (EFA) goals. The paper then compares these international trends with attention paid to NGO provision in national education plans across four countries (Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia and Ghana). Based on the analysis of international and national approaches, the paper argues that NGO provision continues to be seen as 'second-best' to state schooling, with state schooling remaining the focus of attention for EFA.

Singal, N. 2020. *Role of non-government organisations as providers of and advocates for
    inclusive education* (ED/GEMR/MRT/2020/P1/17; p. 34). UNESCO.
    https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373684?posInSet=3&queryId=N-
    EXPLORE-097deb0a-97a6-4bc5-a3b5-957aa8b6de49

While I/NGOs have been central in delivery of educational programmes for various groups, especially those overlooked by the government, such as girls, street children, refugees, LGBT+ and others, the focus in this report is specifically on the role of I/NGOs in relation to the education of persons with disabilities. While I/NGOs have been promoting and providing for education of children with disabilities over several decades, very little attention has been focused on them. For instance, reports, such as Rose (2007), provide an in-depth analysis of the role of NGOs in education and development, but do not include NGOs focusing on disability issues. This report therefore focuses on I/NGOs working with persons with disabilities. However, it is important to acknowledge that disability is not a homogeneous category and it intersects with other variables such as gender, poverty and so on, having a significant on the opportunities and choices available

to individuals. Similarly, it is also important to emphasise that inclusive education is about developing better quality and equitable education systems for all children, including those with disabilities.

UNESCO. 2010. "EFA Global Monitoring Report - Reaching the Marginalized." Paris : Oxford: Oxford University Press. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000186606

Education systems in many of the world's poorest countries are now experiencing the aftermath of the global economic downturn. The 2010 Education for All Global Monitoring Report, argues that the crisis could create a lost generation of children whose life chances will have been irreparably damaged by a failure to protect their right to education. The Report examines who these children are and why they are being left behind, and looks at concrete solutions for making sure that no children are excluded from schooling.

UNESCO. 2020. *Global Education Monitoring Report—Inclusion and education: All means all*. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373718

In line with its mandate, the 2020 GEM Report assesses progress towards Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG 4) on education and its ten targets, as well as other related education targets in the SDG agenda. The report also addresses inclusion in education, drawing attention to all those excluded from education, because of background or ability. The report is motivated by the explicit reference to inclusion in the 2015 Incheon Declaration, and the call to *ensure an inclusive and equitable quality education* in the formulation of SDG 4, the global goal for education. It reminds us that, no matter what argument may be built to the contrary, we have a moral imperative to ensure *every* child has a right to an appropriate education of high quality. The report also explores the challenges holding us back from achieving this vision and demonstrates concrete policy examples from countries managing to tackle them with success. These include differing understandings of the word inclusion, lack of teacher support, absence of data on those excluded from education, inappropriate infrastructure, persistence of parallel systems and special schools, lack of political will and community support, untargeted finance, uncoordinated governance, multiple but inconsistent laws, and policies that are not being followed through.

Curriculum and pedagogical reform

Tikly, L. 2019. *Education for Sustainable Development in the Postcolonial World: Towards a Transformative Agenda for Africa*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) lies at the heart of global, regional and national policy agendas, with the goal of achieving socially and environmentally just development through the provision of inclusive, equitable quality education for all. Realising this potential on the African continent, however, calls for radical transformation of policy and practice. Developing a transformative agenda requires taking account of the 'learning crisis' in schools, the inequitable access to a good quality education, the historical role of education and training in supporting

unsustainable development, and the enormous challenges involved in complex system change. In the African continent, sustainable development entails eradicating poverty and inequality, supporting economically sustainable livelihoods within planetary boundaries, and averting environmental catastrophe, as well as dealing with health pandemics and security threats. In addressing these challenges, the book: explores the meaning of ESD for Africa in the context of the 'postcolonial condition'   critically discusses the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as well as regional development agendas   draws on a wealth of research evidence and examples from across the continent   engages with contemporary debates about the skills, competencies and capabilities required for sustainable development, including decolonising the curriculum and transforming teaching and learning relationships   sets out a transformative agenda for policy-makers, practitioners, NGOs, social movements and other stakeholders based on principles of social and environmental justice.   Education for Sustainable Development in the Postcolonial World is an essential read for anyone with an interest in education and socially and environmentally just development in Africa.

UNESCO. 2014. "EFA Global Monitoring Report - Teaching and Learning: Achieving Quality for
        All." Paris: UNESCO.

https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/teaching-and-learning-achieving-quality-all
The 2013/4 Education for All Global Monitoring Report shows why education is pivotal for development in a rapidly changing world. It explains how investing wisely in teachers, and other reforms aimed at strengthening equitable learning, transform the long-term prospects of people and societies. Equity and quality education will be pivotal in the post 2015 agenda.

UNESCO. 2005. "Global Education Monitoring Report - Literacy for Life." Paris: UNESCO Publ.

https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/literacy-life
The EFA Global Monitoring Report 2006 aims to shine a stronger policy spotlight on the more neglected goal of literacy - a foundation not only for achieving EFA but, more broadly, for reaching the overarching goal of reducing human poverty.

Information-based advocacy; learning assessments; tech answers to learning crisis

Banerji, Rukmini, Arjun Agarwal, and Samyuta Lakshman. 2020. "Teaching at the Right Level:
        From Concern with Exclusion to Challenges of Implementation - UNESCO Digital
        Library." Paris: UNESCO; GEM. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373668.

Universalizing access to schooling has been one of India's most remarkable achievements from its recent past. Today, less than 5% of children in the 6 to 14 age group are out of school. However, as more and more data on learning outcomes from the primary school stage becomes available, it is becoming clear that many children do not acquire essential foundational skills such as reading and arithmetic at the right time, early in primary years. While several solutions have been proposed and implemented, in a scenario wherein there is a massive variation in learning outcomes – and a significant number of children are "lagging behind" – the Indian education non-

profit Pratham has pioneered an approach referred to as "Teaching at the Right Level" (TaRL). TaRL was designed for helping Grade 3 to 5 (and even older) children who have been "left behind" quickly "catch up". Over the years, it has been implemented by community volunteers, Pratham staff, and government frontline workers and teachers across India. Moreover, for more than a decade as the approach has evolved, it has been rigorously evaluated via a series of randomized control trials carried out by researchers from Abdul Latif Jameel Poverty Action Lab (J-PAL) at MIT. Today, TaRL reaches millions of children each year. It has not only been scaled to locations across India, but more recently begun to also be adapted and scaled by organizations and governments in countries in Africa, South Asia, and Latin America. It is one attempt to reverse the tide of children being "left behind" so that they have a real opportunity of completing at least the elementary stage of education successfully.

Banerjee, A. V., Banerji, R., Duflo, E., Glennerster, R., & Khemani, S. 2010. "Pitfalls of Participatory Programs: Evidence from a Randomized Evaluation in Education in India." *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, *2*(1), 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1257/pol.2.1.1

Participation of beneficiaries in the monitoring of public services is increasingly seen as a key to improving their quality. We conducted a randomized evaluation of three interventions to encourage beneficiaries' participation to India: providing information on existing institutions, training community members in a testing tool for children, and training volunteers to hold remedial reading camps. These interventions had no impact on community involvement, teacher effort, or learning outcomes inside the school. However, in the third intervention, youth volunteered to teach camps, and children who attended substantially improved their reading skills. This suggests that citizens face constraints in influencing public services.

Hickey, Sam, and Naomi Hossain. 2019. *The Politics of Education in Developing Countries: From Schooling to Learning*. Oxford: University Press, Oxford University Press USA - OSO. https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198835684.001.0001.

This book examines the politics of the learning crisis in the global South, where learning outcomes have stagnated or worsened, despite progress towards Universal Primary Education since the 1990s. Comparative analysis of education reform in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Ghana, Rwanda, South Africa, and Uganda highlights systemic failure on the frontline of education service delivery, driven by deeper crises of policymaking and implementation: few governments try to raise educational standards with any conviction, and education bureaucracies are unable to deliver even those learning reforms that get through the policy process. Introductory chapters develop a theoretical framework within which to examine the critical features of the politics of education. Case study chapters demonstrate that political settlements, or the balance of power between contending social groups, shape the extent to which elites commit to adopting and implementing reforms aimed at improving learning outcomes, and the nature this influence takes. Informal politics and power relations can generate incentives that undermine rather than support elite commitment to development, politicizing the provision of education. Tracing reform processes from their policy origins down to the frontline, it seems that successful schools emerged as localized solutions to specific solutions, often against the grain of dysfunctional

sectoral arrangements and the national-level political settlement, but with local political backing. The book concludes with discussion of the need for more politically attuned approaches that focus on building coalitions for change and supporting 'best-fit' types of problem-solving fixes, rather than calling for systemic change.

Hubbard, P. 2008. "Putting the Power of Transparency in Context: Information's Role in Reducing Corruption in Uganda's Education Sector (Working Paper No. 136). *Center for Global Development.* http://www.ssrn.com/abstract=1100131

One of the popular stories told (and taught) in development circles is how corruption was slashed in Uganda simply by publishing the amount of monthly grants to schools. This paper takes a deeper look at the facts behind the Uganda story and finds that while information did indeed play a critical role, the story is much more complicated than we have been led to believe. A dramatic drop did occur in the percentage of funds being diverted from Uganda's capitation grant. But to attribute this leakage solely to the monthly release of grant data by the government risks ignoring the major funding in which this transparency campaign was imbedded.

World Bank. 2018. *World Development Report 2018: Learning to Realize Education's Promise*. Washington DC: World Bank. Accessed September 15, 2022. https://www.worldbank.org/en/publication/wdr2018

The World Development Report 2018 (WDR 2018)—LEARNING to Realize Education's Promise— is the first ever devoted entirely to education. And the timing is excellent: education has long been critical to human welfare, but it is even more so in a time of rapid economic and social change. The best way to equip children and youth for the future is to place their learning at the center. The 2018 WDR explores four main themes: 1) education's promise; 2) the need to shine a light on learning; 3) how to make schools work for learners; and 4) how to make systems work for learning.

Conflict & climate change, COVID19

Vincent-Lancrin, S., Cristóbal Cobo Romaní and Fernando Reimers. 2022. "*How Learning Continued during the COVID-19 Pandemic: Global Lessons from Initiatives to Support Learners and Teachers*." Washington, DC: World Bank. Accessed November 17, 2022. https://documents.worldbank.org/en/publication/documents-reports/documentdetail/169061642797174679/How-Learning-Continued-during-the-COVID-19-Pandemic-Global-Lessons-from-Initiatives-to-Support-Learners-and-Teachers

The COVID-19 pandemic has led to school closures in most countries around the world and has interrupted the school attendance of at least 1.5 billion students in 2020 and 2021. The "education continuity stories" describe specific solutions implemented by government, non-governmental organization or companies to support teachers and learners. Many of these solutions had a strong technology dimension. These stories describe the proposed solution in terms of objectives and implementation, but also reflect on the challenges and success factors,

the replicability of the initiative in other contexts, and the evidence of success that was gathered (at the time of initial publication). While most initiatives focus on primary and secondary education, they cover all levels of education, and illustrate innovations that have been undertaken around the world, in countries with different contexts, culture and levels of income.

Novelli, M., & Cardozo, M. T. L. 2008. "Conflict, education and the global south: New critical directions." *International Journal of Educational Development*, 28(4), 473-488. 10.1016/j.ijedudev.2008.01.004

This paper seeks to provide a starting point for a broader discussion on the development of a critical research agenda in the field of 'Education and Conflict Studies'. We begin the paper with a brief overview of the field of Education and Conflict drawing on a series of recent 'overviews' of the field and locate this within the context of the changing geo-political situation that emerged in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s. This is followed by explaining what we understand by a critical research agenda and why we think it necessary. Thirdly, we explore a series of potentially interesting areas of inquiry that are currently absent or undeveloped within the field and which relate particularly to its 'global' dimension. Finally, we conclude by making some more reflective comments on our approach, its potential for making a positive contribution to both theory and practice within the field of Education and Conflict, and the need for more critically informed, but policy relevant research in this emerging area of inquiry.

Rose, P., & Greeley, M. 2006. *Education in fragile states: Capturing lessons and identifying good practice.* DAC Fragile States Group. https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/document?repid=rep1&type=pdf&doi=d0d3c719eced2e039700dc583919188d60773d34

This paper examines how development assistance in these four environments (the DAC framework of fragile states) can enhance access to quality basic education for the poor and vulnerable, at the same time improving governance and thereby mitigating the risks of fragility, and increasing the effectiveness of future aid. Section two introduces the concept of turnaround – how a state's fragility may be sufficiently reduced to allow sustainable pro-poor growth – as well as the 'rights' and 'risks' considerations that impact donor decision making and effectiveness. Section three examines will and capacity in the education sector; section four explores political economy implications for sequencing and planning; and section five considers how education can support state-building from the bottom up. Section six focuses on aid effectiveness in fragile states, where donor coordination instruments may be needed to sustain transitions to post-emergency support in environments still likely to be fragile. The paper concludes with recommendations in section seven.

UNESCO. 2011. "Global Education Monitoring Report - The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education." Global Education Monitoring Report. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/hidden-crisis-armed-conflict-and-education

The 2011 Global Monitoring Report examines the damaging consequences of conflict for the Education for All goals. It sets out an agenda for protecting the right to education during conflict, strengthening provision for children, youth and adults affected by conflict, and rebuilding education systems in countries emerging from conflict. The Report also explores the role of inappropriate education policies in creating conditions for violent conflict. Drawing on experience from a range of countries, it identifies problems and sets out solutions that can help make education a force for peace, social cohesion and human dignity.

UNESCO. 2019. *Global Education Monitoring Report—Migration, displacement and education: Building bridges, not walls*. UNESCO. https://www.unesco.org/gem-report/en/migration

The 2019 GEM Report continues its assessment of progress towards Sustainable Development Goal 4 (SDG 4) on education and its ten targets, as well as other related education targets in the SDG agenda. This year the Report focuses on the theme of migration and displacement. It presents evidence on the implications of different types of migration and displacement for education systems but also the impact that reforming education curricula and approaches to pedagogy and teacher preparation can have on addressing the challenges and opportunities posed by migration and displacement. It gives voice to experiences in host and home communities. With the help of case studies, it illustrates approaches which work and could be scaled up. In this way, it aims to be a tool for practitioners. It makes the case for investing in education of good quality in rural areas suffering from depopulation and in slum areas suffering from large population inflows; in countries with high rates of emigration and those with high rates of immigration; in short-term refugee emergencies and in protracted crises. Its analysis, conclusions and recommendations advance the aims of SDG 4 and its call to leave no one behind.

5. Civil society strategies

Archer, D. 2010. The evolution of NGO–government relations in education: ActionAid 1972–2009. *Development in Practice*, *20* (4–5), 611–618. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614521003763145

This short contribution provides a brief history, touching on some of the key trends and turning points in ActionAid's education work, and it documents the evolution of the relationship between ActionAid and governments. The story of ActionAid is illustrative in many ways of wider changes in the NGO sector since the early 1970s.

Bellei, Cristián, Cristian Cabalin, and Víctor Orellana. 2018. "The Student Movements to Transform the Chilean Market-Oriented Education System." In *Civil Society Organizations in Latin American Education*, 63–84. New York: Routledge.

This chapter provides an in-depth examination of the implementation of market-oriented education reforms in Chile and the opposition to these reforms led by critical and powerful student movements that shook Chilean society by rejecting the rule of the market dynamics. Two student movements situated in the post-Pinochet regime are covered: the "Penguin Revolution" in 2006, led by high school students, and the "Chilean Winter" in 2011, led by university students. This qualitative study demonstrates how these movements became highly relevant political actors in the educational arena. The chapter authors, Cristián Bellei, Cristian Cabalin, and Víctor Orellana, illustrate the movements' education advocacy approaches and identify student organizations as the key actors leading both movements. Many student organizations across the country participated in these movements, which also had the support of several CSOs, including teachers' unions, Chilean development NGOs, and other university student organizations. The study examines the types of supports that CSOs provided to the movements, such as guidance on how to present their ideas during the legislative process and how to produce programmatic documents.

Banerji, R. 2020: "Bottom-up perspectives from Pratham in India." In *Community Participation with Schools in Developing Countries*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (2016-2030) set by the United Nations in 2015 restated the importance of universal primary education for all, and specifically discuss quality, equity, and inclusion in basic education. To achieve this, the role of community has been emphasized and participation has become a "buzzword" in international development over the past several decades. Despite the growing attention to community participation in school management, previous literature has shown mixed results in terms of its actual practice and its impacts on quality, equity, and inclusion in education. This book deepens the contextual understanding of community in developing countries and its involvement in schools in general, and its impact on quality, equity, and inclusion of school education in particular. By presenting various case studies in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and a post-conflict state in Europe, the book analyses commonalities and differences in the ways communities are involved and cast their impacts and challenges. The book contributes knowledge on the ways in which community involvement could work in developing countries, the detailed processes and factors that make community participation work in different dimensions, and remaining challenges that scholars and practitioners still need to be concerned and mindful in the field.

Bano, Masooda, and Zeena Oberoi. 2020. "Embedding Innovation in State Systems: Lessons from Pratham in India." 20/058. RISE Working Paper. Oxford, United Kingdom: Research on Improving Systems of Education (RISE).

Retrieved December 15, 2022, from https://riseprogramme.org/publications/embedding-innovation-state-systems-lessons-pratham-india
The learning crisis in many developing countries has led to searches for innovative teaching models. Adoption of innovation, however, disrupts routine and breaks institutional inertia, requiring government employees to change their way of working. Introducing and embedding innovative methods for improving learning outcomes within state institutions is thus a major

challenge. For NGO-led innovation to have largescale impact, we need to understand: (1) what factors facilitate its adoption by senior bureaucracy and political elites; and (2) how to incentivise district-level field staff and school principals and teachers, who have to change their ways of working, to implement the innovation? This paper presents an ethnographic study of Pratham, one of the most influential NGOs in the domain of education in India today, which has attracted growing attention for introducing an innovative teaching methodology— Teaching at the Right Level (TaRL) – with evidence of improved learning outcomes among primary-school students and adoption by a number of states in India. The case study suggests that while a combination of factors, including evidence of success, ease of method, the presence of a committed bureaucrat, and political opportunity are key to state adoption of an innovation, exposure to ground realities, hand holding and confidence building, informal interactions, provision of new teaching resources, and using existing lines of communication are core to ensuring the co-operation of those responsible for actual implementation. The Pratham case, however, also confirms existing concerns that even when NGO-led innovations are successfully implemented at a large scale, their replication across the state and their sustainability remain a challenge. Embedding good practice takes time; the political commitment leading to adoption of an innovation is often, however, tied to an immediate political opportunity being exploited by the political elites. Thus, when political opportunity rather than a genuine political will creates space for adoption of an innovation, state support for that innovation fades away before the new ways of working can replace the old habits. In contexts where states lack political will to improve learning outcomes, NGOs can only hope to make systematic change in state systems if, as in the case of Pratham, they operate as semi-social movements with large cadres of volunteers. The network of volunteers enables them to slow down and pick up again in response to changing political contexts, instead of quitting when state actors withdraw. Involving the community itself does not automatically lead to greater political accountability. Time-bound donor-funded NGO projects aiming to introduce innovation, however large in scale, simply cannot succeed in bringing about systematic change, because embedding change in state institutions lacking political will requires years of sustained engagement.

Browne, M. 2020. *Educación no formal, desarrollo sostenible y la Agenda 2030. Estudio de prácticas de la sociedad civil en América Latina y el Caribe*. OREALC-UNESCO.

The SES Foundation came to the public arena two decades ago with convictions, with some hypotheses and, above all, with dreams of social justice for our societies and, in particular, for youth. From the SES Foundation, we promote the access, permanence and graduation of youth from formal educational systems, strengthening the socio-educational spaces that are part of non-formal education. We work from the perspective of rights to promote and strengthen youth leadership and active citizenship through training in socio-emotional skills, socio-productive capacities and democratic values for peaceful coexistence and sustainable development. We believe it is a priority to consolidate educational policies for the construction of fairer, more humane, integrated societies without exclusions. These policies must contribute to the formation of participatory and supportive citizens that use the new technologies creatively and critically [translated].

Cowen, J. M., & Strunk, K. O. 2015. "The impact of teachers' unions on educational outcomes: What we know and what we need to learn." *Economics of Education Review*, *48*, 208–223. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.econedurev.2015.02.006

In this paper we consider more than three decades of research on teachers' unions in the United States. We focus on unions' role as potential rent-seekers in the K-12 educational landscape, and specifically how teachers' unions impact district and student outcomes. We review important methodological improvements in the identification of union impacts and the measurement of contract restrictiveness that characterize a number of recent studies. We generally find that the preponderance of empirical evidence suggests that teacher unionization and union strength are associated with increases in district expenditures and teacher salaries, particularly salaries for experienced teachers. The evidence for union-related differences in student outcomes is mixed, but suggestive of insignificant or modestly negative union effects. Taken together, these patterns are consistent with a rent-seeking hypothesis. We conclude by discussing other important union activities, most notably in the political arena, and by noting that recent changes in state laws pertaining to teachers and teacher unions may provide context for new directions in scholarship.

Edwards, D. B., Brehm, W. C., & Storen, I. 2018. "The national politics of educational advocacy in the context of global governance: International funding and support for civil society engagement in Cambodia." *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *48*(2), 171–188. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2017.1313102

This paper examines the Civil Society Education Fund's (CSEF) impact on the non-governmental organisation education partnership (NEP) in Cambodia. With financial backing from the World Bank and the Fast Track Initiative, the CSEF is an initiative that is managed internationally by the Global Campaign for Education. Its goal is to help national networks of non-governmental organizations participate in education decision-making and to serve as a watchdog for progress related to internationally agreed upon goals. Through the CSEF, the deployment of various strategies, and other external factors, the NEP was able to able to achieve recognition, legitimacy and influence at the national level. However, the NEP has had to balance working with the state and working for the state. This case study highlights strategies used by civil society actors to engage state actors, the efficacy of international support, and the conflicts inherent in both.

Edwards, D. B., & Klees, S. J. 2015. "Unpacking 'participation' in development and education governance: A framework of perspectives and practices." *PROSPECTS*, *45*(4), 483–499. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11125-015-9367-9

While participation has for decades been a buzzword in development, the term has been imbued with greatly different meanings depending on the perspective of the actor in question. We attempt to clarify these meanings by presenting a tripartite framework. This framework delineates the tenets and strategies of three overarching and complementary perspectives: those perspectives labelled "neoliberal", "liberal", and "progressive". The framework pertains to participation in development generally and to the realm of educational governance specifically, which has long been at the forefront of the theory and practice of participation.

Gaventa, J., & Mayo, M. 2009. "Spanning Citizenship Spaces Through Transnational Coalitions: The Case of the Global Campaign for Education". *IDS Working Papers*, *2009*(327), 01–43. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.2040-0209.2009.00327_2.x

How do changing patterns of power and governance affect how and where citizens mobilise collectively to claim their rights? This paper presents a case study of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), a civil society coalition that came together in 1999 to mobilise people across the world in a campaign for the right to quality, free education for all. The paper interrogates the experience of the GCE to better understand how advocacy movements meet the inherent difficulties of mobilising across different levels of governance to achieve globally recognised rights. The GCE is widely perceived as a successful example of a campaign coalition. Its deep, pre-existing roots in collective organisation in the global South were the foundation for this success. Inclusive and representative formal structures, collective framing of campaign issues and careful recognition of the different roles played by actors in different locations were key factors in building the campaign coalition. The case study discussed the way that involvement in a global campaign affects the citizenship identities of those involved. A sense of global citizenship amongst activists added to rather than replacing a sense of local and national citizenship; as governance is multiscaled, so citizenship can therefore be multidimensional. The challenge is how to continue to build and sustain inclusive and democratic coalitions which span multiple sites and spaces of citizenship.

Grant, Laura. 2012. "National Coalition for Education India: The Second Freedom Struggle against Illiteracy." In *Campaigning for "Education for All" Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions in Education*, edited by Mario Novelli and Antoni Verger, 83–100. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

India is a rising super-power with a population of over one billion people, and while India is becoming globally competitive in information and communication technologies, business, and manufacturing, it still lags behind in terms of global education standards. With more than a third of its population below the age of 18, India has the largest child population in the world, with an estimated 65 to 85 million not attending school (Census 2001). Establishing a national campaign for education in India was a long process that began in 1996 with the Bachpan Bachao Andolan campaign "Education for Liberation and Liberation for Education."

Hoop, J. 2012. "People Power for Education: Civil society participation in the Philippine educational politics." In *Campaigning for "Education for All": Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions in Education* (pp. 31–50). Leiden: Brill. https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789460918797/BP000004.xml

The focus of this chapter is the role and impact of the Philippines' civil society network of education reforms, also known as Education Network Philippines or E-Net, in the field of education in the Philippines. The network now counts 156 members, varying from individuals, INGOs, to academics and teachers' unions, all united to ensure all Filipinos have access to multi-

cultural, gender-fair, liberating, life-long education as a basic human right. They specifically aim at reforming the Philippines' education system and developing alternative learning systems with a particular concern for marginalized, excluded and vulnerable sectors. Currently, the Philippines' education system is facing a range of challenges such as low average student participation, poor performance of students in local and international standardised tests, persistent inequalities in basic learning resources, corruption, and alarming dropout rates.

The Philippines is often mentioned in literature on democratic transitions and democratic governance. The 'People Power' revolution of 1986 is an example of a non-violent, popularly based, overthrow of authoritarianism. In this revolution, massive democratic opposition was mobilized to put a stop to President Marcos and his corrupt regime. Civil society gained national importance in the latter part of the martial law regime, fulfilling functions the government did not. In addition, the Philippines is seen as a country that successfully re-established democratic institutions under the leadership of Corazon Aquino. However, things are not as democratic as it seems. Philippine politics are still facing problems like corruption, favouritism and election fraud. The inability of the Philippine democracy to produce sound governance is often blamed on the weak party system that is elite-led (Rogers 2004:114). Furthermore, the lack of equal justice is considered a barrier to further democratic progress. While civil society is a rooted concept in the Philippines, it is questionable how much space they have in the political spectrum. Over the years, the role of civil society has changed from service delivery to policy advocacy, to hold governments accountable for their responsibilities to their citizens. This chapter looks into the impact of E-Net and explores the factors that contribute to or hinder this impact.

Hoppers, W. 2009. "Participatory Practices in Policy-making: Negotiating democratic outcomes or maneuvering for compliance?" *International Journal of Educational Development*, *29*(3), 250–259. The Hague: Elsevier.

This article explores the nature of participatory practices in policy-making in basic education and their impact on the directions and outcomes of policy. Drawing on theoretical developments in policy studies, the focus is on non-formal education as a policy challenge for EFA. Data are presented from a recent field study undertaken in Uganda of the process to establish a policy framework for basic education for disadvantaged children. A multi-dimensional frame is used for the analysis of the practice of policy development. It is argued that NFE, because of its amorphous and marginal nature, is an important arena for contesting the orthodoxy of educational thinking, policies and practices. Yet the full engagement by all stakeholders by itself cannot guarantee a democratic outcome, as the nature of policy processes may allow for counter-actions that preserve the existing education hierarchy.

Hossain, N., Khurana, N., Mohmand, S., Nazneen, S., Oosterom, M., Roberts, T., Santos, R., Shankland, A., & Schröder, P. 2018. *What does closing civic space mean for development? A literature review and proposed conceptual framework*. Institute of Development Studies, July 31. https://www.ids.ac.uk/publications/what-does-closing-civic-space-mean-for-development-a-literature-review-and-proposed-conceptual-framework-2/

What does closing civic space mean for development? Aid donors are concerned about the implications of restrictions on civil society for their partners and programmes, but to date there has been little clarity about what this means for development. This paper summarises the findings of a literature review in support of research on this issue. It concludes that: (a) civic space has changed more than shrunk, although new restrictions affect aid-supported groups disproportionately; (b) new regulations are not all unwelcome, but nonetheless shift power from civic to political actors; (c) how that power shift shapes development outcomes depends on how political elites deploy that power, and in whose interests; (d) while there are instances where civil society has been curtailed to advance 'developmentalist' agendas, it more often enables land and natural resource grabbing, or the abuse of labour or other rights of marginalised and disempowered groups; (e) while short term economic growth is unlikely to be adversely affected, economic crises are more likely in settings where civic space is closed, and it is highly improbable that development has any chance of producing equitable, sustainable, or inclusive outcomes under conditions where civic space is restricted or closing.

Lafuente, C. 2018. "The Implications of Education Advocacy for Civil Society Organizations." In *Civil Society Organizations in Latin American Education*. New York: Routledge.

This chapter defines social and political advocacy, with special attention to education advocacy. It introduces the strategy elements of education advocacy. The chapter discusses the organizational environments of civil society organizations (CSOs) and illustrates how advocacy strategies influence an organization's environment. It analyzes six practices that support education advocacy. The advocacy approach specifically targeted to the modification of public and private actors' decisions or practices on behalf of groups that receive a low-quality education builds upon the more general definition of education advocacy. The chapter provides guidance on how to incorporate education advocacy effectively into an organizations' programs and on how to generate the funds needed to do so. The challenges for large-scale change in education are so daunting that CSOs cannot affect change on their own, such as reframing education as a human right.

Magrath, B. 2015. "Information Politics, Transnational Advocacy, and Education for All." *Comparative Education Review*. *59*(4). https://doi.org/10.1086/682903.

This article explores transnational activism within Education for All (EFA), looking specifically at the strategic use of information and research by transnational advocacy organizations. Through a comparative case-study examination of two prominent civil society organizations within the EFA movement—the Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE) and ActionAid International—I discuss how information about education is gathered, generated, and disseminated for advocacy purposes. I explore how informational strategies are shaped both by political opportunities in global educational governance and by the internal dynamics and cultures of these organizations.

Mangla, A. 2018. "Elite strategies and incremental policy change: The expansion of primary education in India." *Governance*, *31*(2), 381–399. https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12299

This article analyzes India's recent enactment of universal primary education. This programmatic policy change is puzzling given the clientelistic features of Indian democracy. Drawing on interviews and official documents, I demonstrate the catalytic role of committed state elites, who introduced incremental reforms over three decades. These officials operated beneath the political radar, layering small-scale initiatives on top of the mainstream school system. Following India's globalization in the 1990s, support from the World Bank gave committed officials the political opportunity to experiment with new programs in underperforming regions, which they progressively extended across the country. These incremental reforms supplied the institutional blueprint for India's universal primary education program. Along with state initiative from above, civil society mobilized from below, using the judiciary to hold the state legally responsible for policy implementation. Reforms exposed acute gaps in service delivery, propelling new civic demands for state accountability.

Menashy, F. 2016. "Understanding the roles of non-state actors in global governance: Evidence from the Global Partnership for Education." *Journal of Education Policy*, *31*(1), 98–118. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2015.1093176

The study detailed in this paper examines the growing role of non-state actors in the transnational policy-making landscape through a case study of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) – a partnership of donor and developing country governments, multilateral organizations, civil society, private companies and foundations, dedicated to increasing access to quality education worldwide. Conducted through a constructivist lens, this study examines the roles of non-state GPE partners who collaborate as diverse stakeholders within this single policy-making forum. Via a process-tracing analysis, including an examination of GPE meeting documents and interviews with members of the GPE Board of Directors and Secretariat staff, I trace the past and current roles of non-state partners within the GPE – in particular, civil society, private foundations and private companies. I conclude that the GPE has evolved into a forum in which civil society actors have become relatively influential, while private sector foundations and companies have for the most part been disengaged and made only a tangible impact. These findings can be attributed to the differently constructed identities of each group of actors. The study concludes that shared normative beliefs and worldviews, which characterize epistemic communities, may be a key element to cohesion, functioning, and thereby influence.

Mundy, K., Green, A., Lingard, B., & Verger, A. 2016. *Handbook of global education policy*. Newe Jersey. Wiley-Blackwell.

The Handbook of Global Education Policy was "launched during a period of world history that has been described as one of "leaderless" globalization – a period in which the USA and the Western world are losing their unique ascendance. Yet as illustrated by chapters throughout this volume, the reach of a distinctly Anglo-American global imaginary for education has retained its power in almost every domain of global educational policy. Because of this context, the Handbook pays particular attention to new actors and new forms of agency and contestation that have the potential to re-envisage and reshape the future of education policies around the world. In doing

so, the volume explores not only global level policy discourses, but also regional and national dimensions of policy diffusion, borrowing, learning, and debate" (Mundy et al. 2016, 15).

Mundy, K., Haggerty, M., Sivasubramaniam, M., Cherry, S., & Maclure, R. 2010. "Civil society, basic education, and sector-wide aid: Insights from Sub-Saharan Africa." *Development in Practice*, *20*(4–5), 484–497. https://doi.org/10.1080/09614521003763046

Emerging trends in reforms of education-sector plans indicate a shift not only in how foreign aid is disbursed, but also in how civil-society actors engage in new policy and advocacy roles. This contribution examines these changing civil-society roles in four countries: Burkina Faso, Kenya, Mali, and Tanzania. While sector-wide approaches have created new opportunities for civil-society participation at the national level, this research suggests that sector reforms have also presented significant challenges for engagement with government and donors. This research emphasises the need for a transparent, regularised, and democratic process for the inclusion of civil-society organisations at the policy table.

Mundy, K., & Murphy, L. 2001. "Transnational Advocacy, Global Civil Society? Emerging Evidence from the Field of Education." *Comparative Education Review*, *45*(1), 85–126. https://doi.org/10.1086/447646

Mundy and Murphy together two lines of research: one concerned with the evolution of an international system of influence in education, the other with the broader possibility of a more democratic form of global governance. Their focus is on the emergence and evolution of nongovernmental actors and organizational forms engaged in transnational advocacy in the field of education. They ask whether or not there has been a deep, qualitative change in the involvement of nongovernmental actors in the field of international educational cooperation over the past decade, one parallel to trends described in the burgeoning literature on transnational advocacy networks, international nongovernmental organizations, and global civil society. The answer to this question, as they hope to show, is yes. There are clear signs of a new and qualitatively different wave of transnational nongovernmental advocacy initiatives in education, especially around the idea of ''education for all.'' This can be seen by comparing nongovernmental participation in international educational forums over time, by looking more closely at the recent genesis of an NGO-led ''Global Campaign for Education,'' and by analyzing nongovernmental activism at the most recent international meeting on education, the World Education Forum (WEF), which was held in April 2000 in Dakar, Senegal, as a 10-year follow-up to the Jomtien World Conference on Education for All.

NFER. 2020. "Final Evaluation of the Civil Society Education Fund 2016-2019 (CSEF III) | Documents | Global Partnership for Education." Slough: National Foundation for Educational Research.

 In September 2019, the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) commissioned the National Foundation for Education Research to undertake the end line evaluation of the Civil Society Education Fund, 2016-2019 (CSEF III).

The purposes of the evaluation were to:
- reflect on the intended and unintended outcomes achieved by CSEF;
- examine the relevance of the CSEF objectives and theory of change;
- map the contribution of CSEF to the GPE's objectives;
- identify lessons to support the future of the GCE Movement;
- map the contribution of CSEF to GCE goals;
- assess transition to Education Out Loud.

This final evaluation presents the key findings and conclusions and gives information on how relevant to stakeholder needs the CSEF III Program was, what results the program achieved, what are the changes, intended and unintended, at the global, regional and national levels brought about by CSEF III, and how effectively stakeholders supported the CSEF III objectives, among others.

Nishimura, M. (Ed.) 2020. *Towards Equitable and Inclusive Basic Education for All*. London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429057472

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (2016-2030) set by the United Nations in 2015 restated the importance of universal primary education for all, and specifically discuss quality, equity, and inclusion in basic education. To achieve this, the role of community has been emphasized and participation has become a "buzzword" in international development over the past several decades. Despite the growing attention to community participation in school management, previous literature has shown mixed results in terms of its actual practice and its impacts on quality, equity, and inclusion in education. This book deepens the contextual understanding of community in developing countries and its involvement in schools in general, and its impact on quality, equity, and inclusion of school education in particular. By presenting various case studies in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and a post-conflict state in Europe, the book analyses commonalities and differences in the ways communities are involved and cast their impacts and challenges. The book contributes knowledge on the ways in which community involvement could work in developing countries, the detailed processes and factors that make community participation work in different dimensions, and remaining challenges that scholars and practitioners still need to be concerned and mindful in the field. This book will appeal to both researchers and practitioners who are concerned about the community participation approach for the SDGs.

Novelli, M., & Verger, A. 2012. "Campaigning for "Education for All": Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions in Education (p. 185). Rotterdam: SensePublishers. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6091-879-7

Civil society organizations have risen up the global education agenda since the international community adhered to the Education For All Action Framework in the World Education Forum that was held in Dakar in 2000. With the foundation of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) civil society advocacy has sought to ensure that national governments, donors and international

organisations make the necessary efforts to guarantee quality education for all children in the world. This book explores the strategies and actions, as well as the challenges and impact of civil society organizations in the achievement of the Education For All international commitments. It does so by specifically focusing on seven national coalitions affiliated to the GCE. From Africa, to Asia to Latin America the book shows how these coalitions work and manage the differences between their different types of constituencies, explores their varied tactics and strategies, and explains their successes and failures after more than a decade of coordinated action. The book also provides a concise and comprehensive synthesis of findings from the distinct case studies and offers a series of lessons learned that are vital for education practitioners, academics, activists and policy-makers committed to more equitable and relevant education systems around the world.

Okine, S. 2022. "Non-Governmental Organization/Non-Profit Organization Impact on Education Policy in Ghana." *Journal of Social, Behavioral, and Health Sciences*, *16*(1), 266–283. https://doi.org/10.5590/JSBHS.2022.16.1.20

Non-Governmental Organizations/Nonprofit Organizations (NGOs/NPOs) are progressively becoming an essential source for government agencies in education worldwide. Developing countries such as Ghana have opened the way through regulations and policies for NGOs/NPOs to contribute to the educational system. Nevertheless, perceived threats and confrontations hinder their ability to support the Ministry of Education (MoE) and partner leaders to fulfill their duties in assisting the government in realizing comprehensive universal primary education. This qualitative case study responded to stakeholders' perceptions of NGOs/NPOs influence on Ghana's educational system to better comprehend the dynamic and power of NGOs/NPOs on education in Ghana's rural communities. The study used the Advocate Coalition Framework; advocacy coalition theory brings together sub-systems and political actors interested in policy changes or shifts for a common goal to organize effective ways for the changes or shifts. Ten volunteers participated in the interview focusing on schools in rural Ghana. The findings indicated NGOs/NPOs are a complementary authority to MoE and partner leaders. According to the data analysis and findings, MoE and partner leaders need to form an intentional coalition with NGOs/NPOs for interventions to define the role descriptions and functions of programs and projects to achieve the interventions. NGOs/NPOs resources for MoE and partner leaders are necessary to improve the quality of teaching and learning in schools. Decision-making bodies of MoE and partner leaders may benefit from this study in policymaking for interventions of programs and projects supervision, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation for positive social change.

Peppin Vaughan, R. 2019. "Global campaigns for girls' and women's education, 2000–2017: Insights from transnational social movement theory." *Comparative Education*, *55*(4), 494–516. https://doi.org/10.1080/03050068.2019.1657701

Recent decades have witnessed a growing number of global campaigns on girls' and women's education, including major global policy initiatives such as the MDGs and the SDGs. While scholars have critically analysed the conceptualisations of gender, equality and development in

such campaigns, and their significance for national level policy and practice, less has been written about why and how girls' education came to be such a high-profile feature of international policy frameworks. This paper draws on perspectives from transnational social movement theory, which has been used by gender scholars to explore the activities and significance of non-governmental organisations for agenda-setting at the global level. In this paper these perspectives are applied to the field of global education policy, through an analysis of evidence from international conferences, data on aid flows and interviews with key policy actors, to explore the factors behind rise of the global agenda on gender equality in education. In doing so, it suggests that the current dominant framing around girls' education, access and quality, may be explained by the relatively weak involvement of non-governmental women's groups in proportion to the strong involvement of multilaterals, bilateral agencies, national governments and more recently, private sector organisations.

Plaat, Felice van der. 2012. "Striving for Education for All in Ghana: The Role and Impact of the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition." In *Campaigning for "Education for All": Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions in Education*, 65–82. Rotterdam; Boston; Taipei: Brill.

This chapter analyses the history, development, context, strategies, actions and impact of the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC). GNECC functions as a civil society coalition, institutionalized in 1999 to advocate for the achievement of universal quality and enjoyable basic education for all in Ghana. It is one of the first national coalitions of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) and it has played an active role in conferences and workshops from the GCE and the African Network Coalition for Education for All (ANCEFA). Because Ghana's democracy has only been fully in action for the last two decades, it is a fascinating country to conduct research in on the impact of civil society actors. The constitution that was reborn on January 7, 1993 opened the way for human rights improvements, media freedom and for a more liberal economic environment in Ghana. Since 2001 there has been a significant improvement in the quality of governance in Ghana, especially concerning transparency within governmental affairs, voice and accountability. Furthermore, there is more space for an independent civil society and the government has become more responsive to their voices (Gyimah-Boadi, 2004). The establishment of GNECC thus fits within a democratic Ghana where the voices of civil society are valued by the national government. Furthermore, it fits in an era where civil society is asking for poverty reduction and accountability from its government and where it tries to improve these conditions in cooperation with other actors.

Rappleye, J. 2011. "Catalysing educational development or institutionalising external influence? Donors, civil society and educational policy formation in Nepal." *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *9*(1), 27–49. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2010.513517

Recent pronouncements on the benefits of enlisting civil society in educational development have so far not attracted adequate scholarly analyses. This paper therefore seeks to present a critical perspective on this new trend by providing a fine-grained look at three concrete cases of NGO involvement in educational policy-making in Nepal. It also works to advance wider

theoretical debates about the mechanisms of policy convergence and post-structural theories of de-politicisation and its possible effects, as well as commenting on the origins of the Maoist insurgency and providing a basic conceptual schema for much-needed research in other national contexts.

Robertson, S., Novelli, M., Dale, R., Tikly, L., Dachi, H., Alphonce, N., Robertson, S., Novelli, M., Dale, R., Tikly, L., Dachi, H., Alphonce, N., Robertson, S., Novelli, M., Dale, R., Tikly, L., Dachi, H., & Alphonce, N. 2007. "Globalisation, education and development: Ideas, actors and dynamics." *Center for Globalisation, Education and Societies*.

Education is implicated in these transformations. It is seen as having an important role to play in these processes, with investment in people, skills and knowledge becoming essential for countries wishing to participate in the global economy. In this volume we examine the relationship between globalisation, education and development based upon a review of policies and programmes developed at a supranational level (global and regional) that have implications for countries in meeting the Millennium Development Goals. We also review the literature on current policies intended to alleviate deepening poverty and inequality of access to infrastructures and public services. Our focus is particularly on sub-Saharan Africa, where these trends are most acute, and where there have been renewed calls for development policies that address the challenges of globalisation that are currently shaping Africa.

Sarfaty, Jonah. 2012. "Civil Society and Education Advocacy in Ecuador: Building a Social Contract for Education." In *Campaigning for "Education for All": Histories, Strategies and Outcomes of Transnational Advocacy Coalitions in Education*, edited by Mario Novelli and Antoni Verger, 51–64. Rotterdam; Boston; Taipei: Sense Publishers.

'Only Education Can Change Ecuador'. This is the slogan used by the Contrato Social por la Educación (the Social Contract for Education in Ecuador, CSE), a participatory civil social movement in Ecuador. The CSE was founded with the intention of defending and exercising the human rights of the Ecuadorian population, and in particular their right to a good quality education (CSE 2002: 1). The CSE, in its 8 years of existence, has forced itself into a strong position in the national education field. They have been able to create broad awareness on a range of social issues related to the development of the country. The rising interest and commitment of the population at this moment to the goal of a good quality education, the members say, has been partly attributed to the work of the CSE (Participatory Workshop CSE, August 2009). This chapter analyses whether and to what level the CSE has contributed to improve education access and quality in Ecuador.

Singal, N. 2020. *Role of non-government organisations as providers of and advocates for inclusive education* (ED/GEMR/MRT/2020/P1/17; p. 34). UNESCO. https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373684?posInSet=3&queryId=N-EXPLORE-097deb0a-97a6-4bc5-a3b5-957aa8b6de49

While I/NGOs have been central in delivery of educational programmes for various groups, especially those overlooked by the government, such as girls, street children, refugees, LGBT+ and others, the focus in this report is specifically on the role of I/NGOs in relation to the education of persons with disabilities. While I/NGOs have been promoting and providing for education of children with disabilities over several decades, very little attention has been focused on them. For instance, reports, such as Rose (2007), provide an in-depth analysis of the role of NGOs in education and development, but do not include NGOs focusing on disability issues. This report therefore focuses on I/NGOs working with persons with disabilities. However, it is important to acknowledge that disability is not a homogeneous category and it intersects with other variables such as gender, poverty and so on, having a significant on the opportunities and choices available to individuals. Similarly, it is also important to emphasise that inclusive education is about developing better quality and equitable education systems for all children, including those with disabilities.

Strutt, C., & Kepe, T. 2010. "Implementing Education for All—Whose agenda, whose change? The case study of the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition." *International Journal of Educational Development*, *30*(4), 369–376. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2009.12.008

With the onset of the Education for All (EFA) agenda in 1990, the international development community has seen new forms of international cooperation forming around the pledge for EFA. This paper analyzes a case study of activities and challenges of a civil society coalition, the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC), in pursuing the goals of Education for All within the national context of Ghana. The key findings of this case study concern the major challenges that GNECC faces as a national education coalition implementing the global agenda of EFA. These challenges include broad goals and objectives, unsustainable funding, and a lack of local participation and ownership of activities. The research concludes that while GNECC has been successful in implementing certain aspects of national and international programming, at the local level it remains woefully behind as a result of inadequate funding of community level activities, poor participation, and external impetus. In essence, GNECC has been operating as a national activity implementing NGO as opposed to a collaborative community coalition aimed at resolving educational issues, leading to the conclusion that an externally initiated coalition is not the most influential tool for achieving progress on international agendas such as EFA.

Tota, P. M. 2014. "Filling the gaps: The role and impact of international non-governmental organisations in 'Education for All.'" *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, *12*(1), 92–109. https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2013.858988

This article discusses the involvement of international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) in transnational education policy-making, with particular reference to the global initiative Education for All (EFA). EFA is a policy process carried out by international governmental organisations (IGOs) with the main aim to achieve basic education for all children, youth and adults. A participant in this process since 2000 is the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), an advocacy network of INGOs, established jointly by Oxfam, ActionAid International, Education

International and Global March Against Child Labour. This article examines the role and impact of these advocacy INGOs in EFA, in terms of the structural conditions created by the current mode of 'global governance' in education. In its first section, this article draws a conceptual framework purported to illuminate the way transnational policy in education is produced. The main part investigates the role and impact of the GCE in EFA. Overall, this article challenges the common perception about INGOs, that they are democratising agents in transnational education policy, as the latter is structurally undemocratic.

Vega-Chaparro, Laura María. 2018. "The Círculos de Aprendizaje Program in Colombia: The Scaling-Up Process." In *Civil Society Organizations in Latin American Education*, 85–107. Routledge.

In this chapter, Laura María Vega-Chaparro examines the scaling-up of the Círculos de Aprendizaje (Learning Circles) program, an educational innovation originally designed by Fundación Escuela Nueva Volvamos a la Gente (FEN). Círculos de Aprendizaje is a cost-effective educational program that offers quality primary education in rural multigrade schools for internally displaced children who have been out of the educational system for at least six months, and seeks to reintegrate them into the educational system. The author examines the mainstreaming of the program due to its excellent results in the pilot phase by the Colombian Ministry of Education, delving into the challenges of scaling up such an intervention at the national level.