

**Civil Society Participation and the Governance of
Educational Systems in the Context of
Sector-Wide Approaches
To Basic Education**

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1. Introduction

Like other donor organizations, the Canadian International Development Agency is increasingly interested in finding ways to encourage civil society participation in the sector-wide policy processes it supports. CIDA is currently engaged in program-based or sector-wide approaches in education in twelve countries, making education the largest single focal point for Canada's experimentation with these new aid modalities. Education sector PBA initiatives typically revolve around a detailed national education sector reform plan and a sector investment framework (Takala 1998; Riddell 2002; Lavergne and Alba 2003).

In the fall of 2005, CIDA funded an 8-country desk study to help inform its efforts to support civil society participation in education sector-wide programs. The study was carried out by a research team lead by Professor Karen Mundy at the University of Toronto's Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and supported by a smaller team under Professor Richard Maclure at the University of Ottawa. CIDA and the IDRC have now agreed to fund four field based studies building on this initial desk research.

This report provides a brief overview of the CIDA and IDRC funded research program, and highlights some of the initial findings from the first phase or desk-review portion of the research. The review is preliminary and descriptive – analysis and generalizable findings will be the focus of the next phase in our research.

2. Goals and Design of the CIDA Funded Study

The CIDA funded research has four main goals:

To provide baseline assessmeh

(Samoff 1999; King 2004). Our focus, however, is primarily how formal civil society organizations coordinate themselves and seek to influence and engage state institutions in the educational policy arena.

Bringing together these two concepts, *governance* and *civil society*, our goal is to do an audit of the kinds of contributions civil society organizations are making to governance in the education sector. We will look for such contributions as:

- Mobilizing constituencies to participate in educational policy setting ("civic engagement").

- Improving transparency and accountability of governmental educational activities through monitoring and advocacy.

- Enhancing state performance by introducing new ideas or models.

- Enhancing state performance by providing services.

- Enhancing state performance by providing a flow of information from community to government and from government to community.

- Mobilizing constituencies to ensure that the educational rights of marginalized or neglected groups are protected, and to advocate for better legislative protection of such rights.

Rose 2003; Pryor 2005; Dyer and Rose 2005; Mfum-Mensah 2004; Barrs 2005; Chapman 2002, 2005; Davies 2002; Miller-Grandvaux et. al., 2002a; Miller-Grandvaux and Yoder 2002b; De

INGO-led schools and their new sector-wide approach to bilateral aid (for example, see Kruse 2003: 44, on Netherlands).

Several recent national studies offer insight into the quality, effectiveness, and character of civil society participation in national sector-wide programs and policy processes in education. Case studies on the education policy process in Tanzania (Kuder 2004), Uganda (Murphy 2005), Zambia (Lexow 2003), Bangladesh (Mia 2004) and Malawi (Rose 2003, 2005b), raise serious questions about the quality and effectiveness of civil society participation in the planning and implementation of sector-wide reform initiatives. From these studies, it appears that civil society capacity to engage in evidence-based policy advocacy in education is weak. Formal organizations of civil society lack the habit of working together and often have no previous experience with policy analysis or advocacy. In some cases there are distinct cleavages between civil society organizations and their goals, for example between teachers' unions and those NGOs that directly provide educational services using non-unionized staff. Without the analytical or organizational capacity to introduce new ideas and make credible criticisms, civil society organizations play little effective part in the governance of education sector reforms.

Many recent studies go even further to suggest that sector-wide programs and internationally set targets such as those established by the Fast Track Initiative may actually crowd out the development of effective local ownership and NGO participation (Kuder 2004, Rose 2005a, Murphy 2005, Caillod and Hallak 2004, Takala and Marope 2002, King 2004, Samoff 1999, 2004; Buchert 2002; Riddell 2002; Freeman and Dohoo Faure 2003). This happens in two ways. First, elaborate policy processes, such as Medium-Term Expenditure Frameworks, are increasingly conducted by technical experts inside ministries and supported by experts from international organizations, with civil society organizations either disengaged, or not technically able to engage (see the 18-country study on education and PRSP's by Caillods and Hallak 2004; also Gould and Onajen 2003). PBA and SWAp initiatives may too often concentrate resources on building the policy capacity of national ministries, sidelining the voice of community and NGO sectors.

Governments may also attempt to limit or direct civil society participation. A stakeholder analysis undertaken by Miller-Grandvaux et al (2002a) Ethiopia, Guinea, Malawi and Mali, provides detailed examples of the ways in which NGOs and INGOs are trying to gain a seat at the education policy table, pointing out that misunderstandings on both sides seem to block effective engagement. Lexow (2003), Kuder (2004), and Murphy (2005) point out a tendency on the part of governments to use civil society par

maturity and strength of civil society" which in turn is shaped by the historical existence or lack of stable democratic government.”(Kruse 2003)

In our desk review we discovered one other research team interested in civil society participation in education SWAps: a Finnish group led by Professor Tuomas Takala and Dr. Mojibur Doftori. Their team is currently undertaking research on partnerships effectiveness and impact in education sector programs in Bolivia, Kenya, Nepal, Tanzania and Zambia. We have initiated an exchange of research findings with this team.

5. Findings from the Desk Reviews

In the next sections, we briefly review briefly our findings from a desk review of official documents and secondary literature related to sector-wide programs, educational reform, and civil society participation in educational policy in 7 countries (Mali, Senegal, Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia, Mozambique and Bangladesh). Each review briefly situates current education sector reforms in the context of national political economy, and then discusses both the (limited) secondary evidence of civil society participation found in education SWAps, and any secondary literature on the character of civil society/state relationships in that country.

a) The Mali Case

Mali is a new (1992) but relatively vibrant and open democracy, with high levels of rural poverty and a primary gross enrollment ratio of 58.4% (World Bank n.d.). There is “virtually no organized political opposition,”

Mali was one of the first West African countries to develop a widespread community schools movement. Between 1995 and 2002, the number of community schools rose from 176 to 2344, representing more than 1/4 of all primary schools in the country (CLIC n.d.; Toukara 2001). External donors and their funding supported this rapid expansion of INGO and community-led schools. They also played a role in the decision by the Malian government to afford community schools legal recognition, funding, and pedagogical support (Boukary 1999; Miller-Grandvaux et al 2002). In the design and launch of PRODEC, Mali's ten-year education sector plan, the Malian government recognized the important role that had been played by the NGO-led community schools movement; it called upon non-governmental actors to incorporate their educational innovations into the wider education system, and to participate in PRODEC design, implementation and monitoring committees (Toukara 2001, Miller-Grandvaux et al 2002, Capacci Carneal 2004, Toukara 2005).

However, there have been tensions within the community schools movement from its inception – over the balance between local relevance vs. compatibility with the formal system, and over the development of a parallel system funded by the poorest communities and external organizations (Capacci Carneal 2004; Miller-Grandvaux et. al 2002). Despite recognition by the government, the community schools movement has been opposed both by teachers' unions in Mali and at times by the National Federation of *Associations des Parents d'élèves* (Toukara 2001).

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they call more directly for public participation in national public policy-making and give less emphasis to the expansion and recognition of community schools. In addition to NGO coalitions, Mali is host to ROCARE, an educational research network that provides high-quality policy analysis. ROCARE played a significant role in the development of PRODEC and has been involved in evaluating the quality of education in community schools (Toukara 2000; Toukara et al 2001). In addition, ROCARE operated a USAID-funded training and organizing program for national advocacy teams to make use of research results produced by national ROCARE offices (Toukara 2005).

Overall, NGOs in Mali, as well as ROCARE, appear to have a well-institutionalized place in education policy discussions (Miller-Grandvaux et al 2002; Toukara 2005). This does not mean that their role is univocal or uncontested. In addition, we know relatively little about the role of other civil society organizations in education policy processes. Sector programming, aimed at extending Mali's mass public education system, appears to open the door to greater partnership between NGOs and government. But government-led expansion might also threaten the autonomy of the NGO-led community schools movement. The sectoral reform program raises the need for stronger cross-community linkages between civil society organizations and for greater civil society capacity within recently-established local educational authorities. The literature offers little indication of the way in which NGOs and other civil society organizations are managing these competing demands.

b) The Burkina Faso Case

Burkina Faso is a landlocked country in the Sahel region of West Africa with an estimated population of 13.5 million inhabitants, of whom approximately 56% are under the age of 18 years. Since its formal independence in 1960, control of the state in Burkina Faso has alternated between a series of military regimes and nominally elected civilian governments. With a per capita GNP equivalent to about US \$300 and a largely rural economy characterized mainly by labour intensive agriculture, Burkina Faso is one of the poorest countries in the world (CIDA, 2004). In 2003 an estimated 46.4% of its population lived within the internationally designated status of absolute poverty, and in 2005 Burkina ranked 175th out of 177 countries in the UNPD's Human Development Index (UNDP, 2004).

Given the dearth of its resources and a birth rate of more than 2% per year, Burkina Faso has been severely limited in its capacity to expand and improve its educational system. Despite regularly allocating a large proportion of its public sector budget for education over the last three decades, by 2001 the gross primary school enrolment rate in Burkina Faso was estimated to be only 43% (with female enrolments at approximately 34%) (UNESCO, 2004). Even more starkly, the level of overall literacy in the country was estimated at 26% (Ibid.). By the end of the last decade, therefore, it was clear that the state in Burkina Faso was severely limited in its capacity to expand and improve basic education and that organs of civil society had to be increasingly engaged in processes of educational planning, finance, administration, and reform.

Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) that was finally adopted in June 2000. As stipulated in

Nevertheless, beyond the centralized forums of educational policy-making, CSOs have become increasingly visible and active. Most have established partnership arrangements with international NGOs (upon which they invariably depend for financial assistance) and this has contributed substantially to the development of nonformal basic education in the country. Under the auspices of the PDDEB the *Cadre de concertation des ONG/Associations en éducation de base au Burkina Faso* (CCEB/BF) was established to facilitate the coordination of NGOs working in basic education. With over 50 institutional members, its objectives are to maintain a profile of NGO activity, to exchange information and experiences, to harmonize nongovernmental activities in basic education, and to function as the collective voice of NGOs in dialogue with government.

In addition, in order to expand indigenous language literacy training and to foster supportive environments for wider retention and application of indigenous literacy skills, a competitive grants literacy fund – *Fonds pour l’alphabétisation et l’éducation nonformelle* (FONAENF) – has been established as a feature of the PDDEB. Overseen by a steering committee of representatives from government, international donor agencies, and civil society, the fund is an out-sourcing (“*faire-faire*”) mechanism whereby CSOs will continue to serve as the providers of literacy and other forms of nonformal education under contract with host communities and the MEBA (Diagne, 2001). A key premise of the FONAENF is that literacy training centres can gradually evolve into comprehensive community education programmes offering diverse forms of education to suit the learning needs of diverse populations of all ages (ADEA, 2003).

While these developments reflect incremental decentralization and a broadening stakeholder base, the engagement of civil society organizations is nonetheless complex and painstaking, and cannot be regarded as a panacea for overcoming fundamental educational challenges. In part, this is because historically many Burkinabès have understandably regarded schooling not as an indigenous institution over which they have felt a strong sense of ownership, but rather as an exogenous system of modernity administered by the state and strongly supported by international agencies (Maclure, 1994). In these circumstances, efforts to pass on responsibilities for greater administration and financial support of schooling to local communities continues to be problematic, especially when many communities are poor and have high levels of illiteracy. Without the appropriate technical capacities, institutional foundations, and resource bases, many village societies in Burkina Faso are ill-prepared to undertake substantial ownership of schools to which they are enjoined to send their children (Faure, et al., 2003; Pilon, 2002). Moreover, in light of the broad range and agendas of CSOs and their often heavy dependence on foreign aid, the degree to which civil society cohesiveness in basic education policies and practices (e.g., through the CCEB/BF) can be fostered and maintained remains a moot point (Kere, 2002).

The implementation of the PDDEB, therefore, has generated a burgeoning conundrum for a resource-poor government and an external agency community that appears to have been slowly backing into long-term budgetary support. With the national economy unlikely to generate vast increases in public and private resources, Burkina Faso is unlikely to achieve its PDDEB targets in spite of the additional HIPC and FTI resources that are proposed for basic education (Global Campaign for Education, 2005). While educational privatization offers some fiscal relief, in general private schooling will remain relatively small-scale and will be beneficial mainly to affluent urban families. Expectations of civil society’s role in basic education are therefore high.

At the very least, substantial training and technical support for parents' associations and other civic groups are essential if civic engagement in basic education is to be expanded and sustained. Nevertheless, given the abiding internal and external constraints affecting the quality of primary schooling, for the foreseeable future the expansion and qualitative improvement of basic education will continue to command substantial financial resources from the government of Burkina Faso and the international aid community.

c) The Kenya Case

Kenya, which became independent from British rule in 1963, is one of East Africa's more politically-stable countries. The election of Mwai Kibaki's multiethnic National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in 2002 ended nearly 40 years of KANU (Kenya Africa National Union) rule and marked an important transition in Kenyan politics. The post-2002 political landscape has created greater space for participation of civil society organizations (CSOs) and led to the emergence of a stronger civil society. Nonetheless, relations between the state and print and broadcast media in Kenya are still not entirely free. As in many other African contexts, the shift to participatory democracy and political pluralism in Kenya has been problematic because ethnic and class cleavages continue to dominate political parties (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2003, Orvis, 2001).

Furthermore, there continue to be several pressing challenges facing the country, including corruption and poverty. About 57 percent of the population lives at or below the poverty level on less than \$1 per day and Kenya's GINI index is 44.9 (CIA Factbook, 2004), whereas its GNI per capita is US\$460 (World Bank, 2005). Kenya's Human development index (HDI) ranking is 154th of 177 countries (HDR, 2005). While poverty is predominantly concentrated in rural areas and arid and semi-arid lands (ASALs) and urban slums; there are also widespread inequalities within regions. Transparency International rank's Kenya 129th out of 145 countries on its corruption perception index, suggesting weak trust between citizens and the formal apparatuses of government (Transparency International Report 2004). CIDA suspended the Kenya country support programme in 1997, but has reinstated it as one of CIDA's 25 priority countries with bilateral support to the priorities identified in the country's PRSP. However, good governance continues to be a challenge, for example, in Fe

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In recent years, INGOs and NGOs in Kenya have come together to form a national coalition to advocate for educational policy that meets the needs of marginalized communities and children. The Elimu Yetu Coalition (EYC), formed in 1999, comprises about 110 civil society organisations, professional groupings, education research institutions and other practitioners in the education sector. EYC is a member of the Africa Network Campaign on EFA (ANCEFA), the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), and is one of the thirteen partner organizations of the Commonwealth Education Fund (CEF) in Kenya. EYC has been actively involved in EFA planning and monitoring and has engaged members in budget tracking and expenditure monitoring activities. The coalition also supports policy-oriented studies. We do know that CSOs, and in particular Elimu Yetu has been invited to participate in major Government of Kenya policy setting activities, and that a task force of key CSO actors in education has been formed to work out the modalities of implementing FPE (CEF, 2003; 2005). The KESSP appears to be creating a new political space for CSO engagement in the education policy process, most notably through an education stakeholder's forum that brings government officials together with representatives from NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, Unions, and private sector service providers. However, it is not clear from the literature if the participation of CSOs is largely limited to specific reform initiatives or has become institutionalized as an ongoing process of meaningful engagement that is able to contribute to education policy formulation and implementation in a more substantive way. Nor does the literature show how representative the new coalitions or consultation mechanisms are. Similarly while there is documentation on wage disputes and teacher shortages involving the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT), we could not find research documenting the involvement of teachers' unions in advocacy issues around EFA.

In general, while organized civil society activity in Kenya expanded considerably following the political transition in 2002 (Ndgeva, 2003) the existing literature on the current character of Kenyan civil society is rather slim. Tensions between service provision and advocacy roles played by INGOs and NGOs are certainly present, as are ethnic and class schisms within civil society as a whole. It appears that even with a multi-party system, ethnic and personal schisms continue to render the opposition party and parts of civil society ineffective, and consequently undermine solidarity (Matanga, 2000; Kibaba, 2004; Ogachi, 2002). Certain ethnic groups may be marginalized by civil society itself: for example, pastoralist/nomadic communities do not seem to be adequately represented. As in the Mali case, it is unclear how new forms of civil society/NGO coalition building interface with the broader social and political tensions in Kenyan society.

d) The Tanzanian Case

Tanzania is a newly democratic state (1995) with a strong socialist history. The Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party has been in power since independence (1961), originally led by Julius Nyerere who fostered national self-reliance and African socialism. Facing economic crisis in 1985, Nyerere resigned and the CCM made a major shift towards a liberal trade-oriented market and a multi-party democracy. Although formal opposition parties were allowed as of 1995, the CCM has maintained dominance in politics at both the national and local levels. The new CCM leader, Jakaya Kikwete, was elected President of the country in December 2005.

Tanzania ranks a low 164/177 on the Human Development Index 2005, with most of its poverty concentrated in rural areas. In addition to poverty, its main concerns include its dependence on foreign aid (45% of its budget came from donors in 2003); high levels of debt; and a mounting HIV/Aids epidemic. The country has seen a significant level of economic growth since 2002, but this growth has not been in the agricultural sector that supports the majority of Tanzanians. Tanzania's primary gross enrolment ratio rose from 85.4% in 2001 to 109% in 2005 (Khainga et al, 2005). However, the gap in access to primary education is still great for vulnerable and marginalized groups, as well as at the secondary and tertiary levels, where gross enrollment ratios were 5.5% and 0.9% (URT, 2005).

In 2001 Tanzania initiated its Education Sector Development Programme (ESDP). The sector program called for the decentralization of the education system. In contrast to the traditional top-down management by Regional Administrations, the School Councils have now been vested with the responsibility of preparing budgets and school plans, managing funds and salaries and preparing financial reports. The ministries maintain responsibility for policy, standards and monitoring. Although this new arrangement hopes for more parental involvement, this may be thwarted by the composition of the School Councils, which favors representation from party-controlled village council members (Therkildsen 2000). The ESDP also encourages participation by a greater variety of stakeholders in the policy process, including donors, civil society and private sector representatives. Specific targets for the primary level are set out in the Primary Education Development Plan (PEDP). The PEDP has been the main focus for donor funding and coordination for the past five years, although donor support is found throughout the education sub-sectors. Foreign funding accounted for 96.6% of the Development Expenditure (actual) in 2003/04 (Khainga 2005), which amounts to 55.8% of the Total Expenditure in education. The last available data shows Canada as the lead donor, in coordination with the World Bank, the African Development Bank, Netherlands, Sweden, Norway, Australia, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the European Council (World Bank n.d.). Tanzania is one of CIDA's 25 priority countries, and Canada provides budgetary support to PEDP.

In Tanzania, the government has vacillated in the space it is willing to allow autonomous civil society actors and the media. Civil society participation in poverty-reduction and sector policies (PRSP, ESDP, PEDP, NSGRP etc.) has been highlighted in official policy rhetoric since 2000. Donors, particularly CIDA, SIDA and NOVIB, have been instrumental in supporting both civil society growth (through funding) and voice (through support for policy space). However, the literature is peppered with criticisms that the NGOs are predominantly urban-based and elite-led; and that there has been a marginalization of NGOs with more radical views, opting for those willing to "rubber-stamp" initiatives (Evans & Ngilwea 2001; Lange et al. 2000; Mercer 2003; Sumra 2005). In addition, official legislation requires that NGOs register with the government, and threatens deregistration of NGOs that are deemed too political or that undertake activities outside their stated mandate. In 1997, this allowed for deregistration of a successful women's organization, BAWATA (Tripp 2000). In 2005, the government threatened to deregister the influential education advocacy NGO, Haki Elimu, for undertaking research and publication regarding Tanzanian schools that it deemed "political." This may have been influenced more by certain Haki Elimu members' sympathies with the opposition party than by the organizations actual research in education.

Civil society organizations in Tanzania are involved in educational service provision and in community based education projects, but there is limited research on this subject. Non-governmental schools (both private and community) have grown rapidly since the 1980s – a third of all secondary schools were run by non-government providers as of 1998 (Chedié et al. 2000); it is unclear how these service providers have been affected by the ESDP. Under decentralization, new school committees have been vested with the responsibility of preparing budgets and managing school funds. However, their capacity to do so has been called into question (Sumra 2005; Galabawa 2002). At the community level, participation still predominantly revolves around parental contributions to school construction (Therkildsen, 2000).

Tanzania has one of the most well developed national Education for All NGO coalitions in Africa. TENMET, the Tanzanian Education Network, was formed in 1999. It has grown from an initial membership of 31 organizations to represent 161 civil society groups involved in education in 2005. TENMET is linked to several other well developed NGO networks in Tanzania and played a role in coordinating the education NGO input into the PRSP and NGO led debt relief campaigns. TENMET is also formally connected internationally to GCE, ANCEFA and the CEF. The nine Steering Committee members of TENMET are purposively balanced to represent urban/rural, international/national, and regional actors (TENMET 2005a, 2005b). In addition to TENMET, Tanzania is host to Haki Elimu, an influential body founded by 13 prominent Tanzanians to advance public engagement in educational policy. The Tanzanian Teachers' Union current involvement in the coalition appears to have been marginal. Furthermore it appears that the TTU has had only limited engagement in the formulation and implementation of the PEDP and has typically engaged government primarily around wage issues (Kuder 2004; Swai 2004).

TENMET coalition members have been active in research-based policy alternatives and policy monitoring. In 2001, NGO Maarifa ni Ufunguo published an empirical, participatory case study on the effects of school fees in Kilimanjaro, which was widely publicized internationally. The research was used by U.S NGOs in their successful bid to have US legislation introduced blocking US governmental support to any World Bank activity that supports user fees. The report contributed to the Tanzanian government's decision to abolish school fees in 2003. Haki Elimu (mentioned above), has been active in monitoring the government's adherence to achieving targets set in the ESDP and PEDP. Maarifa ni Ufunguo, the secretariat of TENMET, has been one of the frontrunners in the introduction of civil society budget tracking and monitoring activities to enhance community level oversight of rapidly decentralizing educational services.

Overall, civil society involvement in education is growing, particularly in research and advocacy. This pairing allows for a different model of civil society than previously; one that allows for research-based alternatives and a strong watchdog stance. However, we could find no direct evidence of NGO or civil society monitoring of international donors. Great potential appears to exist for NGO-led activities that support community participation in local school councils and in

budget and outcomes monitoring. However, there is a significant lack of research on the interface between the local school councils or non-government schools and the national advocacy NGOs, as represented by Haki Elimu and TENMET.

e) The Mozambique Case

Figuring prominently in the current political economy of Mozambique is the legacy of a protracted liberation war from Portugal, a brutal 17-year civil war and transition from a socialist to a democratic governance regime. Since independence in 1975, the Frelimo party has maintained power. While development aid has increased substantially since the signing of the General Peace Agreement in 1992, institutionalized corruption emerged in this desk review as one of the most important issues facing the Mozambican state, despite the country's international reputation as an "African success story" in terms of democratic transition, liberalization and growth (Hanlon 2004).

While ethnicity is not a particularly salient issue, regional and urban/rural cleavages have emerged as a result of disparate development trajectories between the southern (privileged) provinces and the marginalized provinces in the central and northern regions (Braathen 2003). Mozambique was the first African country to qualify for debt relief under the HIPC initiative. However, the country ranked in the bottom 10 in the UNDP's 2005 HDR, suggesting that the country has much to do by way of poverty reduction. In 2002, aid as a percentage of GNI was 60.4 in Mozambique (Foster, 2005).

Education is identified as a priority sector in Mozambique's 2001 PRSP. However, the 85% (2001-02) gross primary enrollment rate belies the fact that approximately 60% of children do not complete primary education (UNESCO). And again, rural children, girls and other vulnerable groups fare much worse in terms of educational access and completion rates.

As of 2004, there were 26 donors working in the education sector in Mozambique, of whom 18 were members of the SWAp (Killick, Castel-Branco and Gerster, 2005). Of these 18, 9 were classified as contributing to the education basket fund, although it was noted that not all of these donors are presently contributing to the fund. In 2004, the basket fund represented 5% of total education assistance (Killick et al. 2005: 48). The major education donors are the World Bank, AfDf, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom (World Bank). The FTI Country Database indicates in one place that coordinating agencies are Canada, the World Bank and Dfid, but in another place (World Bank) Ireland is identified as the coordinating agency. No information could be found concerning which donors are the "top three" in terms of aid to the education sector.

In response to donor pressure, the government has been experimenting with a system of decentralized education planning (United Nations Capital Development Fund). Since late 2001, Mozambique has been a Fast Track Initiative country. The Education Sector Strategy Programs (ESSP) (1999-03 and 2004-08) that have been developed in consultation with civil society and donors, focus on promoting access to quality education, and also establish the context for donor harmonization, channeling of aid to priority areas, and the roles of various state and non-state (civil society) actors vis-à-vis the education sector reform process. Mozambique is one of CIDA's 25 priority countries. Since the early 90's the education sector has been highly

confined to the policy development stage, and CSOs often lack the capacity and skills necessary to take part in policy discussions (Ibid).

Zambia is a member of ANCEFA and the Executive Director of the Zambia National Education Coalition (ZANEC) is the country representative (CEF Zambia 2005). Low levels of organizational and research capacity appears to characterize most national NGOs; the majority of CSOs are focused on service delivery (CEF Zambia 2005). Very few CSOs (be they international, national or local) focus exclusively on education. Care and World Vision are the two main international NGOs active in the education sector, with some emphasis on policy advocacy evident in their literatures.

There is a heavy concentration of CSOs involved in education delivery, and specifically within the community school movement, coordinated by the Zambia Community Schools Secretariat (ZCSS). There has been a dramatic increase in community schools over the past decade, with 38 such schools operating in 1996, 416 in 2000 and exploding to 3,200 by 2005, offering education services to more than 500,000 children (Muchelemba, personal communication). This is compared with 4,000 government basic schools that were serving 1,617,588 students in 2001 (Thompson, 2001:18). Over 600 community schools are receiving funding through USAID's 2003-09 Basic Education Programme.

The number of community schools keeps increasing, with over 600 receiving funding in USAID's 2003-09 Basic Education Programme. The Zambia Civic Education Association's (ZCEA) activities coalesce around the objective of educating citizens on their rights and obligations, with a strong social justice component. In addition to ZCSS, there are three main CS umbrella organizations, focusing to varying degrees on education governance - the Non-Governmental Organization Coordinating Council (NGOCC); Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR); the Zambia National Education Coalition (ZANEC). CSPR seems to be the most coordinated, proliferate and influential of these coalitions, as evidenced by their media exposure, extensive participation in the PRSP process, attempts to engage remote rural communities, linkages with other regional networks and extensive publications.

Teachers' strikes have become an issue in Zambia in recent years (GCE 2004). The reasons for the strikes have generally coalesced around issues of salaries being owed to them by the government and lack of government attention to problems of education quality due to staggeringly high student/teacher ratios (GCE 2004). The main teacher unions in Zambia include, the Zambia National Union of Teachers' (ZNUT); the Basic Education in Zambia Teachers' Union (BEZUT); and the Secondary School Teachers Union' of Zambia.

Overall, CSO participation in education governance in the context of sector programs has been increasing. The literature emphasizes the advocacy and service delivery roles of civil society.

While CSOs engage to some extent in education monitoring and evaluation, there is a need for capacity building with respect to such activities. No discussion is made of any educational innovations taken up at the national level, from the work of CSOs as service providers.

g) The Senegal Case

Senegal is a stable society with good relations between its different ethnic and religious groups (Hermier 2004), although it has experienced some internal conflict in recent decades, within its southern Casamance region. Following independence from France in 1960, Senegal was ruled for four decades by the same socialist party -- although under different names -- and neo-patrimonialism was a prominent characteristic of the political landscape (Kuenzi 2003). The year 2000 marked a new era, when Abdoulaye Wade was elected president. Senegal has since been commended for its overall growth as a democracy (Kuenzi 2003), and the press and civil society actors enjoy freedom in their activities (Galvan 2001). A recent phase of decentralization, launched in 1996, assigned regions and communities major responsibilities for providing services -- such as health and education -- but the nature and amount of resources and authority transferred to them remains subject to debate (Clemons 2001).

pedagogical supervision of teachers (Niane 2004). There is considerable inequity in the allocation of public expenditures on education between poorer and richer households (Government of Senegal 2002). Finally, huge disparities in literacy rates exist between men (51.1%) and women (28.9%), between poor and less poor regions (e.g. Dakar 60%; Kolda region, 27.9%) and between urban (57.2%) and rural (24.1%) areas (Government of Senegal 2002).

In education, the Senegalese government's *faire-faire*

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strong role for themselves, in ensuring that the learning and innovations acquired from NFE are incorporated into the wider education system.

h) The Bangladesh Case

Bangladesh has gone through cycles of democracy and military rule since its independence from Pakistan in 1971. The current political landscape is a parliamentary democracy plagued by confrontational politics and poor governance (CIDA, 2003). Despite this volatile political situation, the World Bank (2005) notes strong economic performance, with annual GDP growth averaging 5 percent, although half of the population continues to live under the poverty line (UNDP, 2005). The country is ranked 139th on the UN's 2005 Human Development Index.

Bangladesh has a long history of civil society activity, shifting between a focus on political activism and a social development agenda (Zafarullah and Rahman, 2002). Despite a large and diverse civil society, the literatu

based on the PEDP II. A donor consortium led by the Asian Development Bank and including the World Bank, NORAD, SIDA, CIDA, the European Council, DFID, the Netherlands, UNICEF, Aus-Aid and JICA has played a part in the evolution of the sub-sector program that strongly emphasizes the enhancement of government ownership and capacity to deliver universal quality primary education. However, the PEDP II has been criticized for neglecting the important and successful non-formal sub-sector, as well as for poor management of the plan and slow implementation.

Although MoPME has been somewhat apathetic towards government-NGO partnership, donor organizations have been encouraging government-led programs of support for the expansion of NGO-delivered non-formal primary schooling. A government managed NGO pooled fund was proposed by DFID, Netherlands and the EC in 2004 (CIDA, 2004). More recently, the World Bank launched the “Reaching Out of School Children” program (ROSC), to “fill the gap left by PEDP II by developing demand-side interventions” in the non-formal sector (World Bank, 2003:2). While this project is outside the sub-sector approach funded by donors, the World Bank considers ROSC to be consistent with and complementary to the PEDP II framework. Funds for this program will be channeled through MoPME to established NGOs. There are some concerns that conflict may arise between ROSC and PEDP II and that NGOs were not sufficiently involved in ROSC’s design (ELCG, 2004). Some studies indicate that many civil society actors feel that international pressure for NGO-government partnerships acts to undermine social justice goals and the grassroots character of development NGOs in Bangladesh (Haque, 2004), and restricts the ability of NGOs to undertake advocacy work (World Bank, 2005b).

Bangladesh was the first country in the Commonwealth to develop a national NGO-EFA coalition (CEF 2005). The Campaign for Popular

(Hossain, 2004, Lewis, 2004, Haque, 2004, Ahmed and Nath, 2004). BRAC itself has begun to focus more of its energies on changing its relationship with the ministries of education, moving away from primary service provision and direct advocacy and seeking towards greater influence through new initiatives on the margins of the formal school system such as the opening of preschools and the development of in-service teacher training programs. The aim of these initiatives is to move away from NGOs working in a parallel system toward “partnership” with the government to improve the overall quality of education in Bangladesh (Ahmed, 2005).

Overall, this desk study highlights many of the conflicts facing NGOs involved in education in

in holding governments accountable for basic education (most notably in research on school user fees), the government has banned one organization from publishing its research, which is viewed as critical and political. Many aspects of the other cases suggested that deep tensions and challenges are arising out of the dual advocacy/service-delivery roles now expected from civil society organizations.

The message from donor organizations can be equally ambiguous. Sector wide programs call for expansion of access to basic education – and often include a heightened role for NGOs and INGOs as service providers to meet expansion targets. At the same time, however, sector programs also seem to demand that international funding be delivered directly to governments, and controlled by them. Such policies institutionalize competition among CSOs for government subcontracts. They also threaten previous patterns of direct international funding to INGOs and NGOs, and thus the resource base upon which CSO independence and autonomy has rested. In countries like Mali and Burkina Faso, where dir

communities to engage national and local educational policy makers – in particular through budget tracking exercises and alternative monitoring and reporting activities. National civil society/EFA coalitions are being formed in almost every context – including those in which the formal space for participation in policy deliberations has been very weak. Desk research was less clear on the extent to which CSOs play the role of popular mobilisers in the sector – field research is required to confirm our initial observation that popular mobilization occurs at best intermittently.

Two important variations apparent in our desk research also warrant further attention through field research. First, there is a clear difference in the shape of CSO engagement in the sector between Francophone African contexts, where strong CSO-led nonformal or community school movements exist, and Anglophone African contexts in which CSO service delivery is on a much smaller scale. However there was too little secondary information to allow us to gauge whether these different CSO configurations produce different types or levels of CSO engagement in education sector governance. Second, there seems to be substantial variation between those cases in which CSOs offer sustained analysis and criticism of government actions (Tanzania, Bangladesh); and those in which coalitions seem to be more adaptive and focused on accommodation and partnership with government. Although our data set is limited, our case studies do not support the conclusions from a Uganda study of CSOs in all sectors by Lister and Nyamugasira, which found that contentious approaches to governance were taken mainly by International NGOs, while local NGOs are the accomodators. In the field of education, Tanzania and Bangladesh seem to suggest the strong potential for local CSOs to emerge as independent and contentious policy actors. Field research should help us to better understand why.

One area of considerable challenge for civil society organizations across our cases relates to the introduction of the dramatic decentralization reforms that are part of almost every sector wide program in education. Such reforms call for better district or local level structures for managing direct service provision, and often refer vaguely to some form of civil society participation in new local governance structures. CSO's would seem to have a natural role to play in building local capacity for policy engagement in newly decentralized systems. Our desk research yielded little information on the extent to which decentralization reforms create invited space for institutionalized CSO roles in local governance processes. In some instances, CSOs seem to be creating their own space. In Mali, for example, some CSOs previously involved in the expansion of community schools now increasingly focus their energies on building the capacity of local parent associations. But the larger question is whether national CSOs can link effective national level policy engagement to new kinds of capacity building and engagement at local levels. Clearly there is room for more information about how CSOs hope to adapt themselves to contexts in which there are two scales for engagement in governance – local/district and national.

We would also highlight the fact that across the cases, (perhaps with the exception of Senegal and Bangladesh), teachers unions do not appear to be key players in sector-wide policy deliberation in the education sector, nor are they key players in the new CSO coalitions. Several cases offered suggestive information about other schisms in the approaches and views of different CSO groups. Here again, further field research is required.

Table 1. Rough Characterization of Civil Society Configurations in Education Policy Arena

Appendix 1: Design of Field Research

The heart of the project will be the field-based case studies, in which researchers will seek to answer the following questions:

- Do civil society actors have the ability to be active policy advocates, holding their governments accountable to educational promises?
- Are they capable of introducing new ideas into the policy cycle?
- Are civil society actors prepared to undertake high quality policy research and analysis and/or are there opportunities for them to collaborate with independent policy or research institutions to do so?
- Do civil society organizations effectively represent and/or relay information back to local citizens and children?
- What can be learned from variation in civil society capacity across countries?
- What steps might be taken to support local capacity?

Field research will have three components:

i) Mapping civil society organizations engaged in education

We will begin by contacting NGOs, community based organizations, teachers' unions and research organizations identified as active in education during the desk research phase of this project. Contact will be made with NGO umbrella organizations in the country. Interviews will be conducted with senior staff members around a set of questions designed to gain four types of information. First, we are interested in documenting their participation in education sector planning, implementation and monitoring/advocacy work. This is essentially an "audit" or history of their activities, and should allow us to characterize the scope and capacity of civil society. Second, we want to understand how their policy-level or governance work relates to their community-level activities or mandates - who do these organizations claim to represent and what role do they play in helping local level actors to engage in and express their educational aspirations? Third, we want to better understand how these actors behave in relation to one another - do some engage more frequently or effectively in governance activities than others? Do they perceive their goals and interests to be overlapping or in conflict? Finally, we want to understand how these actors interact and perceive their interactions with other key actors in the governance of the educational system - particularly with donor organizations and Ministry of Education officials.

In addition, wherever possible we will request permission to attend, as research observers, meetings among civil society organizations active in education. Our purpose here will be to better understand the character, capacity and interrelationships among civil society actors in education.

ii) Civil Society from the View of the Ministry of Education and Donor Organizations

This part of the field research will build on the analysis of Ministry of Education and donor organization approaches to the engagement of civil society organizations in education sector governance conducted during the desk based phase of our research. We anticipate interviews with 4-6 Ministry of Education officials, as well as with senior representatives from leading

donor organizations aiding the education sector. We will also request permission to attend and observe Ministry-led policy meetings and donor coordination meetings at which civil society actors are invited participants.

iii) Research Communities and their Linkages to Civil Society

In each country we will attempt to meet with scholars inside tertiary institutions and in social science research organizations to provide a rudimentary profile of capacity in the field of educational policy analysis and research.

iv) Triangulation

Wherever possible, we will try to gather information that allows us to compare civil society activities in the education sector to civil society engagement in other public policy arenas, such as health, environment, gender and debt relief. To gain such information we will ask informants in the civil society organizations we meet with, as well as from government and donor organizations to comment on the way in which civil society engagement in education compares to that in other sectors. We will also meet with scholars or researchers familiar with civil society activities in these other sectors.

Interview schedules will be created to guide semi-structured interviews with informants from each of the categories described above. We will also prepare a preliminary coding guide to assist with observation of meetings and events. Data from the field research will be entered into an ethnographic research database software program (N*6) by individual researchers. This will allow for coding and cross-case analysis.

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