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NGOs, the UN and Children's Right to

Education

非政府組織、聯合國與兒童教育權之

研究

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Abstract

This research aims to analyze the relationship between the UN, NGOs and the realization of children's right to education. It examines the roles of NGOs in the advocacy of children's right to education and how the civil society have adapted to become part of the UN system. To understand the course of the UN initiated Education for All (EFA) campaign, a detailed chronology of relevant events is provided, and the role of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) in the financing mechanism Global Partnership for Education (GPE) is analyzed as a case study. I conclude that the civil society actors have become relatively influential in the public-private partnerships (PPPs) constructed by the UN and its partners in the Education for All (EFA) campaign.

Key Words: NGOs, the UN, Education for All (EFA), Global Partnership for Education (GPE), public-private partnerships (PPPs)

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論文摘要

本研究目的「公共私營合作制」(Public-Private Partnerships)為框架分析聯合國與非政府組織於實踐兒童教育權議題上的合作與互動。為達上述研究目的,本研究檢視非政府組織自第一次世界大戰來於倡議兒童教育權議題上所扮演的角色,並進一步分析公民社會團體如何與聯合國合作,並在該議題上成為聯合國體系的一部分。本文研究聯合國發起之「全民教育運動」,並分析一非政府租織"Global Campaign for Education"(GCE) 在世界銀行組織提出的資金計劃「全球教育夥伴關係計畫」(Global Partnership for Education)中扮演之倡議與執行之角色,並以該計劃實施於肯亞之結果作為案例研究。經研究結果發現,在「公共私營合作制」的研究架構下,非政府組織在聯合國體系中扮演實踐全民教育倡議與執行之角色,並成為該議題相關行為者中實踐兒童初等教育的關鍵角色。

關鍵字:非政府組織、聯合國、全民教育運動、全球教育夥伴關係計畫、公共私營合作制

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Abbreviations

CRC Convention on the Rights of the Child

CSEF Civil Society Education Funds

DRC Declaration on the Rights of the Child

EFA Education for All

ECOSOC Economic and Social Council

EYC Elimu Yetu Coalition

FTI Fast Track Initiative

GPE Global Partnership for Education

GCE Global Campaign for Education

MDGs Millennium Development Goals

PPPs Public-Private Partnerships

SDGs Sustainable Development Goals

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UN United Nations

UPE universal primary education

UNICEF United Nations Children's Fund is a United Nation

UDHR Universal Declaration of Human Rights

WEF World Education Forum

WCEFA World Conference on Education for All

Chronology of Events

Year	Events
1924	Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child
1948	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
1959	Declaration on the Rights of the Child
1989	Convention on the Rights of the Child
1990	World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand
1999	Global Campaign for Education
2000	World Education Forum in Dakar, Senegal
2000	The Millennium Summit & MDGs
2002	Fast Track Initiative
2011	Global Partnership for Education
2012	Post 2015 Development Agenda & Education 2030
2015	World Education Forum in Incheon, South Korea

Chapter One

Introduction

As the studies on nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) started to emerge in the 1980s, debates concerning NGOs as actors in the domain of international relations (IR) have been intense in the past decades. Some scholars refer to them as "conscience of the world" (Willetts 1996) and others call NGOs "norm entrepreneurs." (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998) However, what concerns IR scholars the most is whether or not NGOs can develop a systematic framework under which NGOs and their global coalition can wield influence. What are their aims and what roles can they play? NGOs' emergence in the international arena has essentially changed the disposition of international sphere from state-centric to a multi-centric one where diverse issues are concerned. Among these issues, the field of children's educational right is where NGOs devoted their advocacy with great efforts. In 2000, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2000a) did an overall assessment on global education and realized the crisis in sight: less than one third of 800 million children under the age of six have access to any form of early childhood programs, and some 113 million children in the world are denied primary education. As education is fundamental to the cultivation of an individual's personhood, such setback is an international grievance. Hence the Education for All campaign (EFA) as a global commitment is launched, aiming at providing quality basic education for all children on the globe. In the movement, NGOs play the role of UN's most crucial partners and strategically use their knowledge and expertise to advance children's right to universal primary education (UPE). In this research I seek to explore NGOs' decades of advocacy on the issue and the global partnership between the United Nations and the civil society organizations (CSOs) in the course of EFA campaign.

Motivation and Research Question

Some IR scholars have reservations about NGOs' roles in global politics, arguing the long-term impact of NGOs remains to be determined because they are simply too young compared with nation states (Gilpin 2002). However, it is because these NGOs are young so they are potential in generating new ideas that make change. As UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) have brought up new global issues to light, governments find it increasingly hard to address them alone. NGOs' rise in the 1980s is no coincidence since globalization too accelerated non-state actors to mobilize for new agenda across and beyond borders.

Among the MDGs, achieving UPE is one of the issues that are most urgent.

According to The United Nations Children's Fund is a United Nations (UNICEF), nearly one in four of the 109.2 million children between 6 and 15 years living in conflict areas are missing out on their education today; girls aged 15 or younger are prevented from formal education because of early marriage and childhood pregnancy (UNICEF 2014). The International Labor Organization (2013) estimated that 168 million children at the age of 5 to 17 are still working long hours and deprived of schooling. This research is an exploration of the UN and NGOs' collaborative effort in addressing this global issue, particularly NGOs' evolving roles in the UN system as they advocate the right to UPE for children.

NGOs have been working for decades advocating children's right to education, but it was in the year 2000 as the World Education Forum (WEF) was held by the UN in Dakar, Senegal, that the international society began to evaluate the seriousness of the crisis. Long before World War II, several teachers associations and suffragette

groups had tried to lobby the League of Nations to form an educational body, but failed. The member states later joined the Swiss based private institute International Bureau of Education (IBE), and after World War II, member states of the UN founded UNESCO as the prominent agency in the UN system to address educational issues. However, contentions about educational authority and priorities and very limited organizational budget allocated to UNESCO were two major hindrances to substantial achievements at the early years of UNESCO (Mundy 2007).

Despite being marginalized, NGOs had been playing the key role of issue-framing and agenda-setting in lobbying children's rights as the issue came to its importance (Mundy & Murphy 2000). As NGOs pressed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948 to transform a moral manifesto to customary international law, they have proved not merely catalytic. Their advocacy carried on for years until the Declaration of the Rights of the Child (DRC) was launched by the United Nations General Assembly in 1959, where "free education" for children around the world was emphasized. NGOs kept marching on to negotiate and using their expertise and knowledge to gain accountability in the UN. In1989, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was officially adopted by the General Assembly, enhancing children's rights from political, cultural and economic perspectives with binding force. However, during these phases, the role of NGOs was still limited and systematic international cooperation is yet to materialize.

In 1990, at the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in Jomtien,
Thailand, the international society determined to make UPE accessible to all children
and to massively reduce illiteracy before the end of the decade. The World
Declaration on Education for All which reaffirmed the notion of education as a

fundamental human right was adopted, and urged governments to intensify efforts to address the basic learning needs of all. Although considerable progress had been made, by the year 2000 the Jomtien EFA targets were not achieved as they were hampered by reluctant participant countries.

Ten years later in Dakar, Senegal, in 2000, the world gathered again at the World Education Forum (WEF) to promise a further and comprehensive commitment. The meeting enhanced the World Declaration on Education for All in Jomtien and carried on what's left undone; hence ambitious visions and agendas were set in Dakar. In the campaign, UNESCO was mandated to unprecedentedly mobilize governments, international organizations, donors and civil societies to enforce a new framework for action. The framework established in Dakar is indicative of two trends that set the tone for the international cooperation in the field of education in ensuing years: 1) The civil society organizations (CSOs) play the part in advocating children's right way beyond instrumental and catalytic. 2) The UN and CSOs have strategically formed a global partnership that pinpoints public-private partnership (PPPs). In this research on children's right to education I focus on the collaboration between the UN and an education NGO coalition, Global Campaign for Education (GCE), on the issue of EFA funding, and draw the PPPs in delivering quality UPE in Kenya as a case study.

Literature Review

The international system we know is a state-centered hub with non-state actors marginally positioned. However, the rise of NGO in the 1980s impacted this atmosphere. As the once considered legit system of Westphalia is losing its ground in the climate of globalization, underpinning this phenomenon is the rise of the global civil society. The multi-centric system where non-state actors coordinate is

increasingly eroding the legitimacy of sovereign states and posing threats to the state-centric international order (Strange 1996; Amin 1997; Mathews 1997). While some scholars praise the impetus NGOs brought to the international society, others criticize the cacophony they induced (Cooley & Ron 2002) and question their accountability in influencing international political decisions (Kaiser 1971). Cooley and Ron proposed the principal-agent analysis, arguing the performance-based contracts between funding donors and NGOs as agents tend to result in material competition, leading to NGOs' dysfunctional organizational behavior.

Other theoretical perspectives on the NGO phenomena are illustrated by IR scholars as followed. First, movements across borders and aims of multi-faceted issues are two essential attributes that have generally been identified as prerequisites (Keohane and Nye 1971; Mathews 1997; Cusimano 2003). Second, the major quality that NGOs possess is the knowledge and expertise, which have in turn resulted in issue-framing, agenda-setting and norm-creating, as they strategically make use of information, ideas to influence states' output of policy making (Hass 1992; Checkel 1997; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Risse 2002). Lastly, the people power, or grassroots interest they represent (Clarks 1997; Risse 2002) contribute to NGOs' gaining accountability in IR.

A mounting literature on NGOs has agreed to the change they brought to IR and influenced policy outcomes. But presently, the research focus is to pinpoint how NGOs' activism works. As many paradigms are now emerging to illustrate the NGO phenomena, most of them are general conceptualization of how NGOs function and what roles they play in global politics. Transnational advocacy network (TAN) and Public-private partnerships (PPPs) are two prominent propositions in the literature

about NGOs. TAN, brought up by Keck and Sikkink (1998), is a framework focusing on NGO initiated campaigns and activism. Early studies on NGO-state relationship focus on the diffusion of norms, the erosion of state authority, and the rivalry between public and private sectors. PPPs, on the other hand, emphasize the cooperation between governments and private sectors, defining each other as crucial partners to set up international norms (Andonova 2006). This research will draw on PPPs to elucidate the global partnership between the UN and NGOs and how such global commitment can initiate reciprocal cooperation in the field of education.

PPPs have become an emerging research framework among IR studies, to which scholars described as a "hybrid type of governance" (Schaferhoff, Camp, and Kaan 2009). PPPs aim at addressing collective goods with both state and non-state actors involved in transnational interactions. Why and how states and private sectors cooperate? Scholars examined the paradigm through constructivist approach, functionalism, and rational choice perspective. Functionalist approach, critically, addresses PPPs by illustrating governmental "governance gap," as in states collaborate with NGOs as skills and knowledge entrepreneurs to fill in their dysfunction (Reinicke and Deng 2000; Reinicke and Witte 2000).

In this research, two reasons will illustrate why PPPs matter. Firstly, in the veins of globalization, states are facing global challenges (Walker 2007), and education is among the issues that governments can't address alone. The EFA movement significantly marked a NGO-state cooperative partnership, advancing child education as a global issue. Secondly, in the campaign NGOs play the crucial role of partners to governments, proving they can do more than merely facilitate. They are donors and recipients at the same time.

The cooperation between governments and private sectors has proved crucial in the fields of health and environment. The Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) is an international achievement where states, international organizations and NGOs cooperate to get vaccines to the poorest countries in the world. The Global Compact, on the other hand, is a UN initiative to engage states, business, and the civil society on a global scale to create norms that support the MDGs and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). EFA develops in the similar strands as the Global Compact as UNESCO was mandated to lead the partnership between governments and the civil society to deliver basic education worldwide.

Most scholars on EFA so far have focused on analyzing the facts, events and budget issues of the campaign, but a systematic research framework on the cooperation of the UN and the civil society has yet been brought forward. Chabbott (1996) analyzed in the WCEFA that" professionalism", rather than state interest, contribute to the standardization of international norms. Some scholars advanced "Fast Track Initiative" as a new approach to donor financing, focusing on country-level reforms rather than individual projects, especially in terms of the poorest countries (Birdsall, Levine, & Ibrahim 2005; Birdsall &Vaishnav 2005). Other scholars had their research specifically on the roles of CSOs in EFA: Mundy and Murphy (2001) brought forth the "emerging evidence" of the transnational advocacy of CSOs in the field of international education, shedding light on the work of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE), one major international NGO coalition that supports the EFA campaign. Mundy (2007) delved more into the aims and roles of UNICEF, UNESCO and World Bank, referring to them as the "global governors" in EFA.

However, shifting the literature one might reasonably argue that NGOs have been sidelined in the study of IR despite the fact that they have been making tremendous contributions to the human history. With their professional knowledge, experts, and keen enthusiasm, NGOs are gaining legitimacy in the public sphere on a wide variety of issues. However, critics are concerned with the booming numbers of NGOs that are rising as "global idiots" (Simmons 1998) and some scholars' belief in NGOs' altruism are being criticized as "disillusioned love affairs" (Wapner 2007). The arguments presented in this article serve three purposes: to highlight how NGOs transform through decades of interactions with other actors in the public sphere, how they adapt themselves to gain insider status in global policy setting and finally how they came to become the UN's most valuable partners on the issues that demand global endeavors.

Research Methods

The purpose of this research is to analyze NGOs' role in the UN-initiated EFA campaign, and how they cooperate with the UN to advance children's right to universal primary educational. It will be conducted by applying a qualitative method of examining the current research from academics and published materials and documents from participant NGOs and UN agencies, especially UNESCO. *The EFA 2000 Assessment* examined the situation of global education and revealed the challenges. *The Dakar Framework for Action* presented the goals and strategies to the campaign and included six other Regional Frameworks for Action. *The EFA Global Monitoring Report* from 2003 to 2016 evaluated the achievements and limitations of EFA throughout the years. With *The Incheon Declaration: Education 2030* as the next phase of EFA, the international society is marching on to "equitable"

and inclusive quality education and lifelong learning for all by 2030." To lay out the current predicament of international child education, a historical review of children's rights and attempts to educational cooperation will be examined. In the last part, the analysis on the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) network in EFA presents the empirical documentary of the strategic network of NGOs in cooperation with the UN under PPPs as a resulting pattern.

Scope and Limitation

The scope of this research aims at analyzing NGOs' roles and strategies in their issue-oriented coalitions, drawing on the Education for All campaign as a case study. Particularly, the main theme to be explored in the discussions is NGOs in the field of children's right to education. To achieve this, literature on relevant NGOs' evolving history in the field, relations with the UN on the issue and the legal background of children's right to universal primary education is crucial. However, the limitation in this research is that no any sort of interviews or surveys are conducted; only literature from previous studies and official publications from participant NGOs and the UN are referred to. Thus, this research, still on its explorative phase, is a preliminary inquiry into NGOs and international child education that demands further studies.

Chapter Layout

There are five chapters in this research. The first chapter is an introduction of the research; motivation and research questions, literature review, research methods and research limitations are enclosed. The second chapter sheds light on the review of the evolving roles of NGOs, particularly in the UN system. The third chapter reviews NGOs' decades of advocacy for children's rights to education and introduce the GCE as a new actor in the EFA campaign and a new partner of the UN. The

fourth chapter focuses on the PPPs initiated by the UN and the civil society on the issue of education funding in Kenya. I argue that a cooperative framework can be discerned as NGOs evolved both internally and externally to become the UN's most crucial partners in international affairs, contributing resources and monitoring each other's performances. In this research, I hope to achieve certain implications to future study that will contribute to improve children's rights and well-being in every country and territory worldwide.



Chapter Two.

The Evolving Roles of NGOs in the UN System

Introduction

The former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan (1997-2006) pointed out that the twenty-first century is the "era of NGOs", referring to them as "conscience of the humanity". Over the decades, a growing volume of scholarship from the field of IR has focused on the NGO phenomenon. NGOs are broadly characterized as groups of not for profit and not related to government individuals gathered to organize activities for the common good. Hence, they are labeled as "private in form, public in purpose" (Salamon and Anheier 1994). However, up to the present, there's no single universally recognized definition of what constitutes an NGO. This chapter begins by looking at the elements of the civil society and their rise to global influence. In what follows, an analysis of NGOs' strategies of participating in the UN and their evolving roles in the UN system are elaborated. Then it proceeds to explore IR theories concerning NGO-UN relationship to pinpoint the theoretical ground of the global partnership. In light of these efforts, I find there is considerable evidence indicating that NGOs have transformed from being outsiders to insiders that states find their contributions indispensable.

The Emerging Roles of the Civil Society

The rise of NGOs and their advocacy have political and social background. Politically, the end of Cold War marked a new page for NGOs to begin rapidly emerge as a civil power in the 1980s. As many scholars have pinpointed, the "worldwide democratic openings" after the fall of Berlin Wall saw the idea of civil society as a comeback to the international society (Edwards 2011). But more significantly, NGO activism has benefited immensely because of globalization.

(Stigliz 2002) The issues that NGOs address are inseparable from all humanity and every nation in the world. With "open societies, open technologies, and open economies," NGOs get to strategically organize advocacy transnationally (Cusimano 2003). The diamond regime Kimberley Process and the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) wouldn't have been successful without the impetus of globalization.

What makes NGOs matter in global affairs are their 1) concerns for the grassroots people, 2) issue-oriented feature, and 3) possession of professionalism.

NGOs are characterized different from nation states because of their broad-based concerns for humans. They emblematize "public-oriented" advocacy (Lang 2013).

NGO representatives "typically argue that they represent the collective interests of the general public and underrepresented groups." (Jenkins 2006) The human security concerns today have significantly gone beyond the boundary that cut across states and non-state actors. While governments have the legal authority to protect its people and involve in issues regarding national interests, NGOs have the moral imperatives to attend to the human society as a whole.

Taking the Jubilee 2000 Coalition for example: as the international society was soaked up in the neoliberal environment of "structural adjustment¹" policy of International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, a group of activists and NGOs came to quick notice in 1999 that the IMF conditionality on loans and excessive sovereign debts could have irreversible destruction on the economy of highly indebted

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¹ Structural adjustment programs consist of loans provided by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) to countries that experienced economic crises. The programs are created with the goal of reducing the borrowing country's fiscal imbalances in the short and medium term or in order to adjust the economy to long-term growth.

poor countries (HIPCs). The campaign was waged to protest against excessive sovereign debts. The result was the urgent issue of debt relief and poverty reduction officially on the agenda of G8 Summit in Cologne.

NGOs are motivated by normative commitments and values. Since 1997 Security Council meet regularly with NGO representatives for briefing on current issues. NGOs introduce global issues to the international society to raise public awareness. Issues that involve ideas about right and wrong have the power to arouse strong resonance (Keck and Sikkink 1998). Human rights, environment, women's rights, development assistance, humanitarian aid, peace, and family are among the issue areas that NGOs are most active (Smith 1997; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Boli and Thomas 1999).

NGOs' legitimacy of advocacy lies in the professionalism they possess. Knowledge and expertise allows NGOs as challenging actors to compete governments in the international system because it is the niche of resource in dealing with transnational issues. (Collingwood 2006) International organizations are increasingly relying on NGOs for expertise as major information input (Willets 1996, Gordenker & Weiss 1996, Martens 2005). Some scholars refer to this as information power or information politics (Cusimano 2003; Keck & Sikkink 1998), as NGOs know well of what specific influence that certain policy will have on the grassroots people they care about. With normative intentions, the transnational network makes use of information, ideas, and strategies to influence states' output of policy making (Haas 1992; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Checkel 1998; Risse 2002).

Joachim (2003) illustrated how expert groups can make contributions in

systematically identifying the social evidence of violation of women's reproductive rights and seek to develop solutions to it. NGOs' sought to establish the linkage between women's reproductive rights to human rights is a strategic move, which wouldn't have succeeded without the expertise of epistemic communities.

NGO Strategies of Participating in the UN

The revolution of information and communication technologies teams up with NGOs' expertise to advocate important issues and mobilize the civil society. Hence DeMars (2005) addresses NGOs' role in global issues as organizing both the publicness and public. With their professionalism, NGOs enter the career tracks in the UN, going from the status of outsider to insider. For decades scholars working on NGO studies have been trying to find out the conditions under which NGOs can have influence. In this section NGOs' techniques of advocacy are discussed as twofold: internally, they adapt themselves to bureaucratize and institutionalize. Externally, through allying with partners, they focus on normative objectives and how to influence the mobilizing structures. In so doing, NGOs get to make strategic progress to practice their activities of initiating issues, setting up agendas, and implementing policies in the UN.

Adapting organization from within.

Keck and Sikkink's classic Boomerang Pattern deems NGOs as the major source of pressure to push target states to terminate violations on human, women's and environmental rights (Keck and Sikkink 1998). The mobilization can involve traditional lobbying, campaigning and holding public hearings. However, over the years of advocacy, NGOs have outgrown themselves by not just campaigning for specific issues of importance, but also strategically adapted themselves from within

the organization to get the results they opt.

In what Warkentin (2001) called exhibiting "dynamism," NGOs adjust their organizational activities to meet the ever changing political environment and at times altering mission highlights when deemed needed. Lang (2013) considered the "bureaucratization" of NGOs a crucial process as they manage to establish hierarchical structure to better monitor their operations. Such organizational evolution prepares NGOs to achieve the" insider status" in international decision-making settings.

In the similar logic, Take (1999) elucidated the necessity of NGOs' internal transformation from institutional perspective. He marks "the higher the degree of organization of civil society actors, the greater is the likelihood of their behaving co-operatively towards the state and international organization." Lang (2013) also stressed that "development of consistent norms, functions, and routines" of an organization is adapted from within its internal structure in order to better work with an official institution.

Responding to institutional structure.

Apart from adaptation from within NGOs respond to the structural environment to evaluate mobilizing constituents. With normative mandate and their outreach to powerful allies, NGOs further advance their global influence (Demars & Dijkzeul 2015). Meanwhile, the purpose of advocacy should be twofold, aiming at both public and institutional (Lang 2013). The institutional structure serves as "gatekeeper, tool kit, and windows of opportunity." (Joachim 2003) With "symbolic events" as access and resourceful allies to amplify the target issue, NGOs get to

advance their objectives (Keck and Sikkink 1998).

Take Bye-Bye Plastic campaign for example: two young girls in Bali started small in 2014 with local students and teachers advocating the ban on plastic bag use but later made it to the Bali government and finally the UN by registering one of the communities of Ocean Action for supporting implementation of SDG 14. There are more examples of NGOs reaching to powerful allies. By inviting celebrities on board, NGOs stimulate citizen voices. When Bono takes the lead in the ONE Campaign to eradicate poverty with World Vision and Oxfam, more online communities and volunteers join to raise public awareness. As Rihanna advocates education alongside Global Partnership of Education (GPE), more countries donated and pledged to support equal education.

NGOs in the UN System: from Consultative Status to Partners

Many scholars have consented to the positive influence of NGOs' participation in IGOs in that IGOs serve as mediators that channel NGOs activities (Martens 2005) and they enable state-NGOs interactions (Risse-Kappen 2002). The UN system is the venue where NGOs fight hard over the years for the expansion of their role in the policy process at the UN.

Long before the UN came into its existence, NGOs were accepted and consulted by the League of Nations and were often able to participate in the League's meetings and committees. For this recognition, NGO participation was granted in the Article 71 of the UN Charter when the UN was created in 1945. The door to NGOs in consultative status was opened and also the first time that NGOs took a formal role in UN deliberations through the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1946.

In 1972, NGOs debuted in the UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. The unprecedented number of NGOs attending the events set the precedent NGO participation in high-level UN conferences held in the 1990s. By the time when the UN held the "Earth Summit" in 1992, some 1420 NGOs were already accredited to attend the Rio conference, while perhaps 25,000 NGO participants from 9,000 NGOs attended the parallel NGO Global Forum outside of the UN. However, 1990s participations in UN conferences realized the consultative mechanism/procedure was inefficient and poorly designed, and NGOs came to aim at their access to the UN Headquarters.

With NGOs' unprecedented keen participation in the UN conferences in the 1990s, in 1996 ECOSOC finally approved the Resolution 1996/31, advancing NGOs' role in the UN from "arrangements for consultation" to "consultative status." NGOs are provided with 1) *general consultative status* (organizations concerned with most of the activities of the Council and broadly representative of populations in a large number of countries), 2) *special consultative status* (internationally known organizations with special competence in a few of the fields of activity of the Council), and 3) *roster consultative status* (other useful organizations).

Other than the relations with ECOSOC and participations in the UN conferences, NGOs have accreditations from and working relations with other UN departments. The *UN Department of Public Information (DPI)* was created in 1946 with aims to promoting global awareness and understanding of the work of the UN. NGOs are usually mandated around specific issues, providing the UN with evaluations, information and expertise. The association with DPI enhanced NGO access and

Dialogue on SDGs, contributing their expertise to the implement of Sustainable Development Goals. Another essential UN-NGO relation is promoted through the Non-governmental Liaison Service (NGLS), an inter-agency program with task to enhance UN-civil society partnership. NGLS provides NGOs with great assistance as organizing funds from governments and support NGOs' engagement in negotiations, conferences and events held in the UN. In 2017, NGLS assisted in organizing the High-level SDG Action Event on Education to facilitate NGOs partnership with the UN on implementing the Sustainable Development Goals 4, education. NGOs are most influential in the issues regarding human rights (Mingst, Karns, and Lyon 2017), and thus when a group of about thirty NGOs came to aim at access to the Security Council in the 1997, the NGO Working Group was founded. The council members recognized that NGOs have much professionalism and information to offer, so they are delegated to have regular meetings with ambassadors and occasionally with top UN officials. The working group plays key role in identifying key issues and influencing decision making process and policy formation Chen chi Ur (Alger 2002).

The participation of the civil society in the UN has never been easy. The opposition from the state governments, financial difficulties, and competitions among NGOs themselves are problems NGOs have to deal with and overcome. (Alger 2002) But still, NGOs aspire to seriously enter the career tracks in the UN. For several decades, there has been increasing demands for the creation of a NGOs' own forum. In 2000, the UN held the Millennium Forum, in which Secretary-General Kofi Annan encouraged all participants to learn to "govern better together". The civil society responded with the Declaration and Agenda for Action, addressing their aspiration for

the UN, governments, and the civil society and they proposed the creation of the Global Civil Society Forum as a permanent body within the UN.

In 2003, Secretary General Kofi Annan initiated the panel of "eminent persons," aiming at setting up new relationship between the UN and NGOs. Despite the fact that in the report NGOs problems and proposes were largely ignored and unattended, "The Cardoso Report²," produced by the panel in 2004, still shed light on the "multi-stakeholder" dialogue, which significantly re-position the UN as a place of partnership between the UN, governments, private sectors and the civil society (Willets 2006).

IR Theories on NGO-UN Relationship

Years of social, political and academic debates have weaved NGOs from a descriptive phenomenon to a civil power capable of shaping the global politics today. Their transnational coalition and advocacy has demonstrated their capacity to mobilize across borders (Smith & Johnston 2002). Over the years, the research focus of NGOs has been shifting. There were pioneering scholars in the late twentieth century discussing the erosion of state authority (Strange 1996; Mathews 1997; Tarrow 1998). Other scholars based on the NGOs' normative claims and their activism, calling NGOs "global associational revolution" (Salamon1994), "conscience of the world" (Willets 1996), "activists beyond borders" (Keck and Sikkink1998), and "moral compass" (DeMars 2005).

However, there was a research departure from the discussion of what NGOs are and

² The Report of the Panel of Eminent Persons on United Nations-Civil Society Relations (i.e. The Cardoso Report) was published in June 2004. It strongly endorsed the case for wider participation of civil society in all aspects of the UN's work, both at the headquarters and at the country level.

what they do to under what conditions they can bring up global influence. In this account, scholars have come to claim that through cooperation with intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), NGOs have better chance to promote their ideals and objectives, thus influencing the result of policy making (Martens 2005; Reinalda 2015). This section undertakes the task of exploring three prominent propositions in the IR studies that upholds the partnership between NGOs and the UN: transnationalism, institutionalism, and public-private partnerships (PPPs). The theoretical ground of this research is built on an integration of the import aspects of these theories as I find they each take up imperative roles in investigating the advocacy of NGOs in EFA.

Transnationalism.

The work of Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye in the 1970s had built up a new line of research that drew the attention of the IR academics to transnational relations (Keohane & Nye 1971; Keohane & Nye 1979). They pointed out that the "reciprocal effects" resulted from the interactions between" transnational actors" are critical in understanding the contemporary world politics (Keohane and Nye 1971). By introducing the notion of "transnational actors", the international sphere is seen as a pluralistic structure where states or non-states actors are equal in etymological terms. In the late 90s, there was the burgeoned discussion of transnationalism when scholars focused on the emergence of NGOs. Transnational relations are defined as the domain where "interactions across national boundaries with at least one actor is a non-state agent is involved" (Risse-Kappen 1995) Similarly, Keck and Sikkink (1998) heralded NGOs' chartering role in introducing new ideas to the international society, lobbying and persuading global policy change in the "transnational advocacy network" (TAN).

As NGOs are experts in their fields, we can reasonably argue that cooperation is fruitful for both NGOs and the UN as transnational actors. On the one hand, NGOs' involvement in the UN system, such as initiating new norms, developing policy and implementation, has help expanded UN's transnational character. On some issues that governments try to avoid such as human rights and arms control or areas that states simply lack the information and resource to handle, NGOs are mandated to work with specialized agencies (Cronin 2002). On the other hand, the UN, as both a forum of diverse issues and network of specialized agencies, is a transnational organization that channels NGOs activities and advocacy that would have been blocked because of domestic structures (Risse-Kappen 1995).

Institutionalization.

Institutionalization is a liberal approach to study NGOs-UN relationship from the perspectives of how NGOs change the way they organize their activities in order to better adapt the political environment (Campbell 2005). The notion of institutionalization can be subdivided into internal and external analytical concept (Fowler 1998). noted that NGOs are "mobilizing themselves to better understand how international institutions work and their policies can be influenced." NGOs may be admired as decentralized and flexible, but this virtue has fallacious impacts as it makes it difficult for coalitions to develop concrete programs and likewise campaigns can easily disband or turn violent (Tarrow 2005). Internally, NGOs adapt new doctrines, norms, or functions to ensure organization survival; externally, advocacy is sometimes redirected depending on the political environment and institutional atmosphere.

Coalition for the International Criminal Court (CICC) is an example of how NGOs

adapt and respond the environment that triggers such adjustments. The CICC did not disband or shift issues after the International Criminal Court (ICC) was created, but instead modified its identity and mission to begin providing service to the ICC (Haddad 2013). Joachim and Locher (2009) also discussed NGO-UN relationship from institutional perspectives, arguing "the growing complexity of the international system affects the nature of collective action on the part of civil society actors". Taking NGOs in the UN and the European Union (EU) for example, they propose that despite the various elements of NGOs activism, their advocacy is still somehow confined to the "political opportunity structures" of the UN and EU.

Public-private partnerships (PPPs).

Public-private partnerships (PPPs) have become an emerging research framework among IR studies, to which scholars described as a "hybrid type of governance" (Schaferhoff, Camp, & Kaan 2009), aiming at addressing collective goods with both state and non-state actors involved in transnational interactions. The implication of PPPs for global politics is worth pondering.

The theoretical trace, according to scholars, can be examined through constructivist approach, functionalism, and rational choice perspective. *Constructivism* has the emphasis on the process of interactions between agents/actors, and thus the creation of normative institutional environments for new policies and decision making (Ruggie 2004). *Functionalist* approach addresses governmental "governance gap" by collaborating with NGOs as skills and knowledge entrepreneurs to fill in the dysfunction of states (Reinicke & Deng 2000; Reinicke & Witte 2000). *Rational choice perspective* ascribes the partnership to overlapping interests among private and public actors (Witte & Reinicke 2005). While governments aim at non-state actors'

expertise to gain control over policy formulation and implementation, private sectors cooperate to gain public reputation (for business sectors) or contracts to secure organizational survival (for NGOs) (Andonova & Levy 2003). Andonova (2006) conceptualizes PPPs in an institutional context which characterized public-private partnerships as "modus operandi" instead of "ad-hoc" lobbying or interactions. Public-private institutions, according to Andonova, emerged to provide functions as policy formation and implementation, filling in as a solution to governance gaps and transnational problems.

An ostensible implication of PPPs is the non-traditional relationship between states and non-state actors embark in global politics. The emergence of the PPPs as a new line of research is "an emphasis on non-hierarchical modes of steering," wherein all partners play their respective roles on equal terms (Menashy 2015). The international society began to realize the growing influence of non-state actors is not about "the retreat of the states" or "sovereignty at bay," but about different situated actors understanding each other as "stakeholders." The interactions between states and non-state actors will leverage information sharing and resource exchange, which in turn influence decision making process and outcomes (Reinick & Deng 2000).

Accumulative scholarship efforts have argued that states have been increasingly incapable of addressing a wide spectrum of international issues single handed.

Transnational coalitions, lobbying or advocacy have triggered the rise of global civil society, and PPPs as a solution to such governance problem (Savedoff 2012).

International endeavors as the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malarias in 2001, the establishment the World Commission on Dams (WCD) in1998, the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) in 2000, and also the UN

initiated the Global Compact, are cases of PPPs that have profound implications on global partnership in different fields.

As I find the theoretical strands of transnationalism and institutionalism can further pinpoint how NGOs and the UN coordinate, this research aims to explore transnational PPPs in the UN initiated EFA in the context of Global Partnership for Education (GPE), formerly the Education for All Fast Track Initiative (FTI). The main purpose of this research is to explore convincing evidence that suggests the framework under which the civil society and the UN cooperate in the EFA campaign can be institutionalized in the field of child education.

Conclusion

At present, NGOs' prime roles in the UN can be highlighted as a three-phase process: initiating issues of importance, setting up agendas, and implementing policies.

NGOs with their normative claims, networks of transnational advocacy and strategic advances in the past decades have earned them a position as partners in the UN.

Years of rivalry, contentions, and spectulations resulted from reluctant state members have made ways as NGOs strive to strategically adapt themselves from within the organization and also adjust means and objectives to constraints from structural conditions. A wide variety of partnerships is forging particularly in the areas of development, health, women, and children. The rest of this research takes up the issue of child education as it is the very foundation of human beings but in reality it is still way behind deliverance. With the belief that the right to education is a human right, NGOs dedicate themselves for almost a century to commit and advocate child education. In this account, as the international society determined to deliver "Education for All," NGOs saw the window of opportunity and mobilized a campaign

of advocacy. This time they work in tandem with the UN to set up agendas and implement EFA by building up "fast-track" and "global partnerships" around the world.



Chapter Three

NGOs, the UN, and Children's Rights to Education

Introduction

The idea of "education for all" (EFA) was first introduced in the UNESCO charter with its commitment to achieve "full and equal opportunities for education for all." However, on account of political frictions, competitions, and disagreements within the UN bodies, the goal was barely met. Despite the adoption of the Universal Declarations of the Human Rights in 1948 and the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959, in which the right to education as a fundamental human right was recognized, the idea of universal primary education (UPE) for children was only realized when the Convention on the Rights of the Child finally adopted by the UN in 1989. During the momentous years leading up to setting forth children's right to education, NGO advocacy had never been absent; in fact they had been playing steerage role from the very beginning. However, very limited light had been shed on provide an overview of NGOs' decades of advocacy of the children's right to education. Then I will proceed to examine the EFA Movement since 1990 because it is the watershed of the existing EFA framework since 1945. The last focus is on the evolving role of the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) as the NGO coalition that strategically became the UN's partner in voicing EFA financing.

NGOs and Children's Rights: before WWII

The early western international movement for child and youth protection began in the field of public welfare and penal reform in the late nineteenth century. The idea of child protection at that time was related to issues that are subordinated to general welfare, such as medical service, juvenile penal codes, and pedagogy. At the turn of

the twentieth century the main focus of child welfare has shifted from establishing code of punishment to preventive protection, aiming at improving social conditions for deprived children (Fuchs 2007).

The devastating results of the two World Wars were definitive triggers for the almost immediate adoptions of the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child and the UN Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1924 and 1959 (Fass 2011). After WWI, previous networks dedicated to improving child welfare found an organizational basis under the League of Nations, but yet the drafters of the covenant did not include education as part of the object of jurisdiction as the member states deemed education as a domestic issue. The issues of child welfare were loosely mandated to International Labor Organization (ILO) (Droux 2013). It was the League of Red Cross Societies and Save the Children International Union (SCIU), two non-governmental organizations newly founded in 1919, proposed the League of Nations to establish a bureau for child welfare. In 1924 the League of Nations finally established the Child Welfare Committee and hence marked the beginning of intensive international research work. The members of the committee include representatives from eleven countries, various intergovernmental organizations, and leading NGOs who have developed similar agenda.

SCIU played a key role in raising awareness of general children's rights on the international stage. Aligning with the New Education Movement³, Eglantyne Jebb, the founder of Save the Children, link the idea of children's right to the issue of

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³ New Education Movement began around 1880 and continued into the twentieth century contributed to a continental pedagogic discourse, which saw children being conceptualized as equal human beings. Two fundamental points demonstrate its ambition to use pedagogy for social change: "First, in all education the personality of the child is an essential concern; second, education must make for human betterment, that is for a New Era."

human right, claiming that children have human rights.⁴ SCIU's efforts joined hands with The Red Cross and League of the Red Cross Societies, pushing the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1923 onto the agenda of the Fifth General Assembly of the League of Nations and was unanimously adopted in 1924, known as the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

Next year, SCIU held an international congress that aimed at three issues central to children's rights: hygiene/medicine, social welfare, and education. The congress played an important role in setting the agenda for the League of Nations to address children's rights and educational issues thereinafter (Fuchs 2007). In 1925, the League of Nations decided to put all independently operated children's right departments under the same roof; hence the Liaison Committee of the Major International Associations was established as the leading organization to deal with educational issues in the league. Also, the International Bureau of Education (IBE) was a major NGO that served as the coordinator that had a joint commission with the ILO regarding the subject of education, and it also a member of the Liaison Committee of the Major International Association (Butt 1944).

NGOs and Children's Rights in the UN System: Post-WWII

After WWII, during the final negotiation in 1945 in San Francisco Conference states were debating if the UN Charter should include education as a mandate, or whether the UN should establish a specialized agency to deal with education-related issues. Very limited amount of scholarship had spent on analyzing the momentum gathered by the global civil society. However, since the very beginning NGOs and UN-based

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⁴ See Veerman (1995), in Part C, for an insightful analysis of educational pioneers Ellen Key, Eglantyne Jebb, and Janusz Korczac.

lobbyists have been mobilizing internationally with educational NGOs from around the world to form a network to advocate an official body dedicated to education (Coleman and Jones 2005). The birth of UNESCO and UNICEF demonstrated the UN's determination to push forward the issue of child welfare. From the start NGOs worked closely with UNICEF as grass-roots partners. Since UNICEF's prime concern by then was the control of epidemic disease and coordination of emergency aid, it was the International Union of Child Welfare (IUCW), a merger of SCIU and IAPCW, two most active NGOs in the field of children's rights, proposed the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child onto the agenda of ECOSOC. NGOs' persistent mobilization catalyzed the creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) in 1948, in which its Article 26 states:

Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

However, the coordination between UNESCO, UNICEF and pre-war children's-rights related activities was weak, and with all final decisions lied only within the hands of states, NGOs' lobby and advocacy were very limited, not having direct influence on international educational politics (Karen and Mundy 2001; Fuchs 2007). Despite the finalization of UDHR, a non-binding declaration is far from enough for advocacy NGOs. They managed to keep the issue alive and ceaselessly mobilized the children' right oriented Geneva Declaration onto the General Assembly's agenda. This time they advanced further by focusing on the necessity of compulsory elementary education; the International Union of Child Welfare (IUCW), International Catholic

Child Bureau, and International Teacher's Federation were among the network of advocacy. Their work paid off in 1959 when the General Assembly finally adopted a Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which expanded the original five principle of the Geneva Declaration to ten principles, one of which was to entitle children's right to receive education. The observation is that it is the years of persistent advocacy of human rights and children's rights that increasingly channeled NGOs' activities into the UN system, despite governmental reluctance and hesitation.

NGOs kept pushing forward and in each of the campaigns they morally appealed that the issue of education was downright legit and should be implemented in the UN. The International Year of the Child (IYC) was the milestone for the issue of children's rights to enter global discourse as a new field of international attention, with much accredited to NGOs' partnership. IYC was an overture of Canon Joseph Moerman, the General Secretary of the International Catholic Child Bureau. He thought of raising officialdom of children's rights in the UN system as other issues like population controls and women's liberation.

Moerman's proposal was welcomed by IUCW and other supporting NGOs. In 1976 the General Assembly declared the year 1979 as the International Year of the Child and named UNICEF its coordinator. The Secretary General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, at the closing ceremony of the IYC, recognized NGOs' contribution:

At both international and national levels, NGOs not only provided the impetus but also sponsored innovative projects that enlivened and enriched the Year. ... I hope that the process of which the International Year of the Child marked only the beginning will be an important part of policies and programs of social development

throughout the world.⁵

Since IYC, many governments started to allocate resources to the support of child welfare and more importantly, drawing a linkage between the idea of development and education and the idea was well received by states, hoping to achieve socioeconomic development through education (Black 1986; Chabbott 2003).

Although the Declaration of the Rights of Child adopted in 1959 did include children's right to education in the fifth principle, the declaration is non-binding and is not implemented by all countries in the world. The Polish government initially proposed a draft of the Convention in 1978, aimed at a binding international obligation. But then the General Assembly appointed the Commission on the Human Rights as its coordinator and created a Working Group to prepare the draft for adoption. In the Working Group, 41 NGOs with consultative status attended the meetings and played leading roles in the drafting process (Willetts 1996).

The participating NGOs solidarity formed a transnational alliance called the NGO Group to prepare for the drafting, and among the NGOs were Defense for Children International (DCI), Save the Children Alliance, and Rädda Barnen International, and International Catholic Child Bureau. The alliance developed its own hierarchical structure with DCI agreed to be the secretariat for the NGO Group, and later UNICEF became one of its members.

It is the NGO Group's participation that tremendously improved their professionalism

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⁵ UNOGS-A, S-0910-0016-01 UN. SG Waldheim-IYC-UNICEF (1980-1981), Secretary General's Message at the Opening of Final Plenary Session of NGO/IYC Committee, 15 May 1980: 2.

and lobbying skills. Their contribution in the drafting of the Convention gradually gained respect and influence internationally (Fuchs 2007). The cooperation between states and NGOs became evidential and intense in the course of drafting the Convention. In 1989, The General Assembly finally adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child, with Article 28 realized children's right to education and other articles shed lights on new perspectives of the rights of children.

NGOs, the UN and Child Education in EFA since 1990

In each of the instance of NGOs' mobilizing saga enshrined in the previous sections, the legitimacy of education as a field for international cooperation was enhanced with NGO persistence. In fact, there is considerable evidence that indicate the system of multilateral cooperation on the field of education emerged well before 1990. Eglantyne Jebb and the 1924 Geneva Declaration on the Rights of the Child highlighted the need for children to receive both "spiritual and material normal development" in the very first Article. NGOs that were keen on the issue marched on to push forward the Declaration on the Rights of the Child in 1959, which materialized children's entitlement to free and compulsory education. Finally, in 1989, children's right to primary education was ratified with binding force by the General Assembly in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Although the education movement had been heavily depending on the support of states from the start (Mundy 2007), looking back on these key historical conjunctures, NGOs have steadily built momentum in steering policy change. In the next phase of advocating for child education, the Education for All Movement, NGOs have proven to be the UN's most important partners in achieving EFA goals.

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⁶ To date, only the United States, Somalia and South Sudan have not ratified the Convention, bringing the number of states parties to 193 out of 196.

EFA and Education for Development

After WWII, the notion of education was revolved around the idea of socioeconomic development in the international society. Hence, education is more of a national issue than a global responsibility, and is states supported and dominated (Mundy 2007, Mundy and Manion 2015). The original idea of EFA can be found in the UNESCO charter which commits to achieve "full and equal opportunities for education for all" (UNESCO 1946) but the notion of educational cooperation at that time, right after WWII, was a consensus for "peace building" and "international understanding" (Unterhalter 2015). The French delegate Léon Blum at the Conference for the Establishment of UNESCO held in November 1945 also supported the idea by arguing: "[p]opular education ... must be steered in the direction of that 'ideology' of democracy and progress which is the psychological basis of international solidarity ⁷Education for development was also a regime that served to enhance and peace". western governments' geopolitical and economic ties with newly independent countries when the formal colonial relationship ended (Mundy 2006). Despite UNESCO's spearheaded commitment to realize EFA, with insufficient funds from the governments to implement educational programs in poor countries, OECD member governments increasingly lost faith in UNESCO in the 1970s (Jones 1988). Hence, as the UNICEF had already took up the issue of education and gender as its mandate (transforming from a humanitarian to a development organization), it came in to fill in the gap playing coordinating role (Black 1996).

⁷ UNESCO Online Archives (UNESCO-OA), http://unesdoc.unesco.org, "1946–1950: First steps in a war-devastated world" (Conference for the Establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Institute of Civil Engineers, London, 1–16 November 1945), ECO/CONF/29:27.

Millennium Development Goals and EFA

The successive events after the adoption of the Convention on the Rights of the Child in the 1990s changed the existing regime of education for development (Torres 2000; Chabbott 2003). In1990, the international society agreed in the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) held in Jomtien Beach in Thailand that the most urgent children-related issue is their right to education (Fuchs 2007). The WCEFA yielded the *World Declaration on Education for All* which reiterated education as a fundamental human right and urged participant countries to deliver basic education as both a national and international responsibility (UNESCO 1990).

Ensuing the UNESCO and *World Declaration on Education for All* was the new global consensus on EFA after 2000 (Mundy & Manion 2015). The Millennium Summit in September 2000 adopted the Millennium Declaration and the General Assembly passed the resolution promulgated universal primary education as its second goal of eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The inclusion of delivering basic education in the MDGs meant universal primary education is an important task in achieving development (Kitamura 2007). In this account, MDGs became a rallying point among the global civil society as international cooperation in education is impossible without global partnership. The substantial growth of NGO advocacy for children's rights in the UN system in the 1980s had anchored momentum for NGOs to advance EFA under the MDGs initiative on a global scale (Fuchs 2007, Mundy 2007). In next section, I will examine a NGO campaign that runs independently in advocating EFA but in turn increasingly becomes part of the UN system that upholds public-private partnerships (PPPs) in international cooperation on education: the Global Campaign for Education (GCE).

Global Campaign for Education: New Actors, New Partners in EFA

The Global Campaign for Education (GCE) is a coalition formed in 1999 that brings together educational and developmental NGOs around the world to advocate EFA. Its transnational advocacy network is composed of four major NGOs: Oxfam, Educational International, ActionAid, and Global March against Child Labor. Oxfam shifted from a relief NGO after WWII to a transnational development NGO today and became active on the issue of debt relief and poverty reduction in the 1990s. In 1999, Oxfam turned its campaign to education and initiated *Education Now* and later became the leading actor in the GCE. Oxfam interrogated the failure of governments to get children to free and compulsory education, and hence got invited as NGO representative on the EFA steering committee.

As Oxfam's chief partner in educational advocacy, Educational International (EI) is a NGO focuses on the improvements of international standards on the status of teachers and is also active on the defense of children's rights. Its campaign *Quality Public Education for All* in 1998 demanded public funded and provided free education with the belief that public education is necessary in battling economic and social inequality. EI's contention for teachers' rights to participate in educational related policy brings new reflections on the issue of education. Two other members came from ActionAid, a British NGO that has strong connections to Southern NGOs and is active in advocating the education of developing countries, and Global March against Child Labor, also a Southern-based NGOs that has education on its agenda as the best way of ending child labor. The GCE members have their own core mobilizing framework and strategic repertoires to advance educational advocacy (See Table 3-1).

The launch of the GCE is a new kind of coordination and mobilization among nongovernmental actors that in turn take the lead in the international cooperation in the field of education (Miller-Grandvaux, Welmond, & Wolfe 2002; Mundy 2007). The strategic actions they take enhanced their accumulative influence and eventually earned the GCE members an insider role in critical EFA venues (Mundy 2012). As table 3-1 has shown, he core mobilizing frames for EFA includes 1) the argument for education as a basic right and requirement for national development, 2) the achievement of EFA depending on debt relief, 3) the advocacy of the rights of teachers to be protected, and 4) expansion of the definition of public education.



Table 3-1. GCE: Partners, Repertoires, and Mobilizing Frames

	Core Mobilizing Frame	Strategic Repertoires
Education for All: Official Frame Oxfam Interna-	Education is a basic right and a requirement for national development. It depends on national political will and better "partnerships."	 Global declarations: persuade developing country governments to sign on to the goal of education for all. Shift educational aid to target basic education. Provide better technical solutions and more careful data for monitoring progress.
tional: Educa- tion Now	The achievement of the right to education depends on debt relief, reform of international organizations, and a clear commitment by governments to the provision of free, quality public education to all.	 Use aggressive popular media campaign and high-level lobbying to expose failure of Western governments to meet their Jomtien commitments. Link efforts to other campaigns for debt relief (Jubilee 2000). Form broad coalition of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs). Focus on lack of resources at global level.
Education Inter- national: Qual- ity Public Edu- cation for All	Quality, free, and equal publicly provided education for all is a global priority. To achieve this goal the working conditions and rights of teachers must be protected and teachers must become part of the policy-making process, and neoliberal reforms must be fought.	 Union-like structure with access to wide geographic membership. Utilize formal links to the International Labor Organization, Unesco, the United Nations, and other international trade union bodies for high-leve lobbying. Uses language of trade unionism and labor rights.
ActionAid: Elimu (Education for Life)	Expand definition of public education to include right to literacy and adult education. Involvement of local communities and NGOs in educational decision making is crucial.	 Brings distinctive record in community based literacy and adult education programs. Strong local NGO partnerships and commitment to giving poor and marginalized populations a voice in national policy making.

Source: Mundy & Murphy (2001).

In 1999 the GCE approached to World Bank, indicating that they intended to make the World Education Forum (WEF) in Dakar a key event in their campaign. They blamed governments' failure to build constituency for EFA and demanded "a global plan of action through which civil society's voice can be heard and included in policies." In support of the GCE's claim, Oxfam once quit the EFA Forum Steering

Committee as an act of protest.

The Dakar experience substantially enhanced the GCE's advocacy and network density. There was convincing evidence that showed the educational advocacy network was steadily organized toward bureaucratization and increasingly built up allies and constituency to galvanize for change.

The GCE had developed a cohesive strategy for coordination in that they held preconference strategy sessions, meetings to elect representatives, and conducted daily briefing (Mundy and Murphy 2001). The GCE Coalition also adopted an organizational constitution to set up its governing structures: The General Assembly, Board of 13 members, and the Secretariat. The EFA Global Action Week was a major mobilizing event that severed as the fora gathered a plethora of millions of participants (Culey, Martin & Lewer 2007). Founded in 1999, GCE was originally seen as a short-term coalition, but in time it has evolved into "an example of a coalition that has developed in structure, activities and position over time" (Tomlinson & Macpherson 2007).

In 2008, the GCE developed strategic plans with three demands to meet its three campaign goals: 1) Focus on impact and results to demand governments to make measurable progress at the national level in poor countries. 2) Focus more on the quality of the achievement of EFA to reach quality aid in poor countries. 3) Embark on bolder networking and message delivering to expand the GCE scale and strength (GCE Three Year Strategic Plan 2008). The GCE members believed mass mobilization and campaigning techniques are critical in generating public pressure and the necessary political will which have hampered achieving the goals of EFA

(Mundy 2012).

Table 3-2. Goals and Themes of GCE's 3-year Strategic Plan, 2008

Goals	Strategic Themes
To demand that state bodies make	Focus on Impact and Results
measurable progress towards the achievement of	
education for all at the national level in poorer	2. More focus on Poorer
countries.	Countries, Quality and the Full
2. To demand that richer countries and	EFA agenda
international institutions deliver good quality	
aid to reach the "fair share" investment and	3. Bolder messaging and
conducive policies to realize a global compact	actions all year round
on EFA.	
3. To Have Grown the Scale and Strength of the	
GCE, GCE members and the Education for All	
Movement.	

Source: Mundy (2012).

In the first Monitoring Report UNESCO pointed out there were three major problems of the EFA in the 1990s, which are inadequacy of partnership, lack of continued monitoring, and lack of any framework for comprehensive financial assistance (UNESCO 2002). The competition between EFA's "governors" resulted in fragmentation of advocacy of EFA and civil society's effort being ignored (Mundy 2007). However, in the late 1990s, there was a consensus of "new development compact" in which education was embedded (Mundy 2007; Therien 2004). The World Education Forum (WEF) held in 2000 tremendously increased NGOs' influence on the issue of education while at the same time MDGs gave the GCE a new framework for action.

In 1984 UNESCO created the Collective Consultation of NGOs on Literacy as the mechanism to facilitate dialogue between UNESCO and NGOs on the theme.

Proceeding 1990 was the new thematic focus of the CCNGO/EFA as an expanded vision of basic education in the effort of the World Conference for Education for All (WCEFA) in Jomtien Beach. In 2000 after WEF in Dakar CCNGO/EFA was better reformed in response to the drawbacks of EFA trials in the 1990s and also for the new role of civil society to be EFA's policy partner.

The Global Action Week for Education (GAW) is a campaign initiated by the GCE with the support from UNESCO under the framework of CCNGO/EFA (UNESCO 2016). It is an international event that is run each year by the GCE in order to raise awareness of the importance of EFA. GAW is currently focusing on of the importance of financing the education for achieving Sustainable Development Goal 48 Education 2030, asking the states to "keep their promises" and actually working together towards financing public, equitable, inclusive and free education (GAW 2018).

The GCE members on the one hand build up organizational constituencies by including more experts and entrepreneurs in the network and building up its own hierarchical structure to better function the campaign. On the other hand they seize the opportunities by having the *World Declaration on Education for All* as an access to the educational issue and allying with UNESCO under the framework of CCNGO/EFA. However, as the up-to-date 2018 GAW highlights, the GCE members' top concern was the fact that the lack of sound funding and financing mechanisms had been foreshadowing the result of EFA.

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⁸ The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are a UN Initiative that is a collection of 17 global goals set in 2015, with an aim of proceeding MDGs ended in 2015. Achieving quality education in 2030 is its fourth goal.

The state-centric structure of the international society and the education for (economic) development regime had UNESCO, UNICEF, and World Bank as official actors.

EFA funding was primarily supported by governments, IGOs and bilateral donors.

The global level coordination of bilateral education for development activities in the 1960-1990s failed to meet the targets and the essential resources promised to support the target were also not being provided (Mundy 2007). In fact OECD members even failed to fund UNESCO with the resources necessary to coordinate EFA on a global level. Hence UNESCO increasingly lost confidence in OECD countries in the 1970s and 1980s (Jones 1988). Meanwhile, the World Bank started investment in education for economic outcome in the 1960s and had become the most important UN actor in terms of both expertise and funding resources (Mundy 2002; Resnik 2006).

The EFA actors acted independently and competitively, resulting in the lack of coordination and systematic framework for action. The post-WWII education for development regime was only short-term projects and bilateral aid aiming at geo-political/economic interests of donor governments that is far from realizing universal primary education (Mundy 2010). However, the World Bank president James Wolfensohn brought up the idea of a 'fast track' to support free primary education by 2015 at the 2000 Dakar WEF (ActionAid 2003). The GCE became World Bank's active partner in achieving EFA targets.

Conclusion

Ever since the beginning of mobilizing children's rights in the UN system NGOs have been playing chartering roles. From the Geneva Declaration in1924 to the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989, for decades NGOs have never been absent in the campaign. NGOs were using their increasingly gained accountability

in the UN system to exert influence. The pioneering NGOs on the issue of children's rights, among which were the Save the Children International Union (SCIU), the International Bureau of Education (IBE), the International Union of Child Welfare (IUCW), and the Defense for Children International (DCI), have paved the way for children's right to education to come of age in the 1990s. In each of the participation NGOs overcame reluctance and doubts from the UN member states, strategically mobilizing, seizing the political opportunity, and building up network and constituency to galvanize for change. The Global Campaign for Education (GCE) is the one coalition that established its organizational hierarchy in the course of advocacy, made the Dakar experience and MDGs count, and united north and southern NGOs to aim at delivering universal primary education around the world. In the next chapter I will draw on the World Bank proposed funding program "global partnership for education "(formerly "fast track initiative") as a case study of how the GCE, World Bank and the UN cooperate under the framework of public-private partnerships (PPPs). Chengchi University

Chapter Four

PPPs: Global Partnership for Education

Introduction

The Millennium Summit in 2000 and the Rio+20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012 had encouraged the world with global partnership to support the MDGs and SDGs. In both commitments, education is among the ambitions that give the international society the framework under which NGO advocacy can have tremendous influence. The international cooperation in the field of education had evidence in the past decades that showed the partnership between the governments, the UN, private sectors and the civil society. Since the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) in the 1990s, quality and strategic financing mechanism has been one of the major demands in each of the proceeding UN-held conferences on education. The Global Partnership for Education (GPE) (formerly the Fast Track Initiative) is the financing program that focuses on the shared responsibility between all stakeholders, demanding strategic plans from education sectors in recipient countries, monitoring mechanism and quality funding from donors. In this chapter, the achievements and limitations of the current funding system will be evaluated. Then it proceeds to provide an analysis on the role of the GCE, the evolvement of GPE and how it became the major funding mechanism that supports the ambitions of EFA. The last part examines the implementation of the GPE in cooperation with the GCE as a case study that demonstrates PPPs on delivering strategic and monitored financing mechanism in realizing quality UPE in Kenya. I conclude that the civil society actors have become relatively influential in the public-private partnerships (PPPs) constructed by the UN and its partners in the education for all (EFA) campaign.

EFA Assessment and Global Partnership for Education

There had been some major worldwide achievements since the Jomtien Declaration since 1990 as the Dakar Framework for Action reflected on the international efforts since the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) and concluded several exciting results: The number of children enrolled in school rose from an estimated 599 million in 1990 to 681 million in 1998. Eastern Asia and the Pacific, as well as Latin America and the Caribbean are close to achieving UPE (See Table 4-1). (UNESCO 2000b) The achievements wouldn't have been possible if it were not for NGOs' decades of striving to push forward the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in the 1989; thereby virtually all countries in the world have accepted an obligation to ensure the right of every child to a basic education.

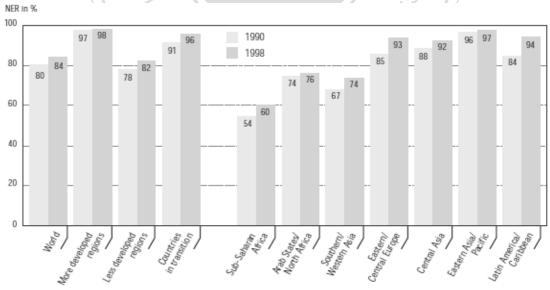


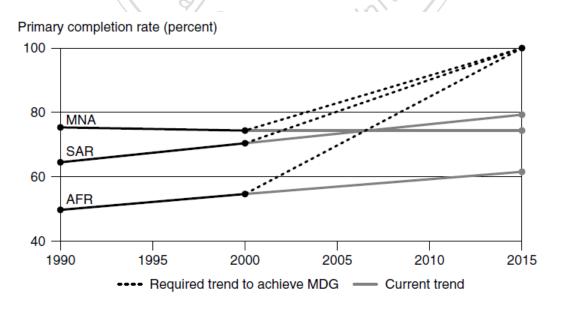
Table 4-1. Net enrolment ratios in primary education by region, 1990 and 1998

Source: UNESCO (2000 b).

However, looking at the historical trajectory of EFA endeavors, coordination from

1960s to 1990s on the global scale have failed to meet the international goals that were set in the UN-held conferences over the decades. This was in part because the education for development regime was deemed primarily a means for donor governments to secure its political and economic interests (Mundy 2007). The financial aid was unpredictable and at times withdrawn for no reason, resulting in a phenomenon that is termed as "aid shock." (Birdsall & Vaishnav 2005) To make it worse, many donors have focused on providing aids to the targets that are easy to reach; hence neglecting regions with political, social or geographical difficulties. The education of girls, remote countries like South-Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa are the cases that are far from successful. (UNESCO 2000b) The World Bank also pointed out that there were some serious regional disparities on the improvements of primary completion rate, and Africa has been the lowest in primary completion rate. (See figure 4-1)

Figure 4-1. Primary Completion Progress in Africa, Middle East and North Africa, and South Asia Regions, 1990–2015, Country-Weighted



Source: Bruns, Mingat, and Rakotomalala (2003).

Millions of children are still out of school with which 60 percent are girls and the average rate of primary school completion in the developing world improved only from 72 to 77 percent by the end of the 1990s. (World Bank 2003) As the world began to realize the close connection between low enrollment and poverty in developing countries, World Bank and the IMF jointly initiated the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP)⁹, drawing global attention to the necessity to incorporate educational plans to development programs and agenda (United Nations Millennium Project 2004). The international society also began to realize the importance of strong political commitment from the donor/ recipient countries, engagement of global partnership and mechanism that support strategic funding. (UNESCO 2000b)

Fast track initiative and global partnership for education.

The cost of putting every child in the world into primary school is estimated to be 7-17 billion dollars a year, according to research conducted by UNICEF 2001, UNESCO 2003, Oxfam International 2002, and GCE 2003. (Birdsall, Levine, & Ibrahim 2005) One of the mutual indicative findings of these reports is that if a country is to achieve the completion of primary education for every child, domestic finance must be allocated to fund educational programs. The GCE further pointed out that external funding are necessary because 1.1 % (as UNICEF suggested in the report) is far from enough.

Fast Track Initiative (FTI) was the brainchild of the World Bank as a mechanism that

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⁹ PRSP are documents required by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank before a country can be considered for debt relief within the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. The recipient states are required with commitment to create plans that targeted poverty reduction and improving socioeconimic development. It has since replaced the loan program of structural adjustments.

upholds EFA and demands "new, concrete financial commitments be made by national governments and by bilateral and multilateral donors" in the Dakar Framework for Action. (UNESCO 2000a) It was designed to emphasize greater donor/recipient coordination and focus on predictable financing to developing countries. FTI is premised on the notion of mutual commitments: 1) partner countries have agreed to give priority to primary education and to develop sound national education plans, and 2) donors have agreed to increase support in a transparent, coordinated manner. (World Bank 2005)

In June 2002, a first set of 18 low-income countries was invited to join the initiative and to submit their EFA plans. These countries, including Albania, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Honduras, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Tanzania, Uganda, Vietnam, Republic of Yemen Zambia, all together account for an estimated 18 million children without access to education. (World Bank 2003) On condition of having adopted the PRSP and a well-conceived educational plan, Vietnam has virtually achieved the goal and other countries as The Gambia and Uganda are considered on track. (GPE 2003)

FTI is operated in the way to ensure that universal primary education (UPE) will be achieved with clear plans which involve political commitment from all partners and sufficient financing. (Unterhalter 2013) It builds on the cooperation between donors (by providing pooled funding), local governments (with educational plans) and civil society representatives (by assisting in coordination and providing consultation) to forge the partnership that contributes to universal primary education as a collective good. (GCE 2012b, GPE 2012a, GPE 2012b) Since the initiation of FIT donors around the world have been pledged to pool in funding to support EFA. The total

aid to basic education has increased since the launch of FTI, but has fallen by over 1.3 billion since 2010, which resulted in the rebranding of FTI into GPE. (See Figure 4-2)

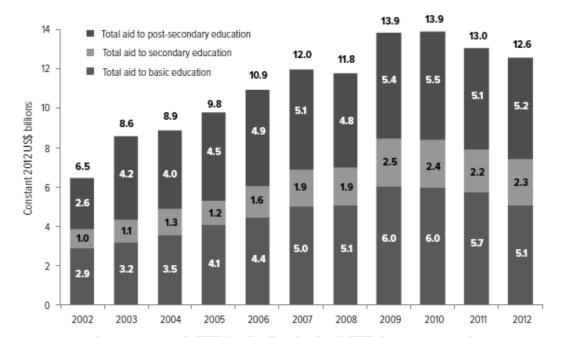


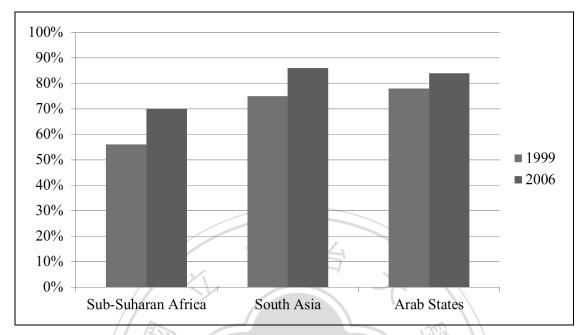
Figure 4-2. Total aid to education disbursements, 2002–2012

Source: Global Monitoring Report (2014).

Global Campaign for Education and Global Partnership for Education

FTI has been yielding fruitful results since its initiation. Between 1999 and 2006 the average primary school net enrolment ratio increased from 56% to 70% in sub-Saharan Africa (an annual increase six times greater than during the decade before Dakar), from 75% to 86% in South Asia, and from 78% to 84% in the Arab States. (Cambridge Education, Mokoro, and Oxford Policy Management 2010; UNESCO 2009) (See Figure 4-3)

Figure 4-3. The Average Primary School Net Enrolment Ratio between 1999 and 2006



Source: UNESCO (2009).

On the global scale, it is indicated that the primary school net enrolment ratio increased from 84% in 1999 to 91% in 2010, also with the greatest increases observed in sub-Saharan Africa, South and West Asia, and the Arab States. (See Table 4-2) (UNESCO 2012) However, during its implementation, FTI has also been under criticism for being over-dependent on the World Bank and the donors have been so dominant that not all partners get to have a voice. (Menashy 2015, GCE 2012b) The participation of developing countries and the voice of the civil society were very limited, and these criticisms have also led to FTI's rebranding into the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) and Global Campaign for Education (GCE) playing the important role in leading the global civil society in ensuring quality financing being delivered.

Table 4-2. Key Indicators for EFA Goal 2

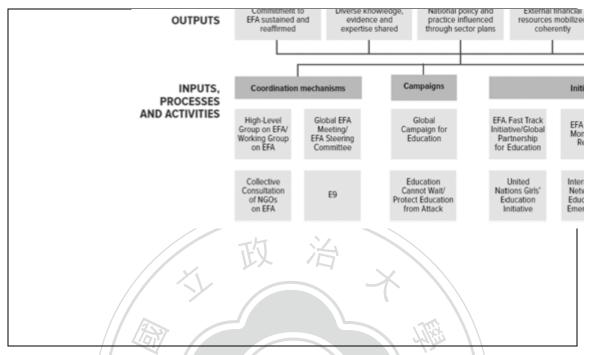
	Total primary enrolment		Primary gross intake rate		Survival rate to last grade of primary education		Primary adjusted not onrolment ratio		Out-of-school children	
	2010 (000)	Change since 1999 (%)	1999 (%)	2010 (%)	1999 (%)	2009 (%)	1999 (%)	2010 (%)	2010 (000)	Change since 1999 (%)
World	690 665	6	105	110	87	91	84	91	60 684	-44
Low income countries	122 465	64	100	123	55	59	59	81	22 244	43
Lower middle income countries	293 373	19	111	112	71	78	79	90	29 362	-47
Upper middle income countries	202 165	-20	101	103	90	95	95	96	7 230	-31
High income countries	72 663	-5	103	100		98	97	97	1 848	-18
Sub-Saharan Africa	132 809	62	92	115	62	62	59	77	30 641	-27
Arab States	41 741	19	29	101	88	93	79	88	5 036	-40
Contral Asia	5 461	-20	100	100	96	98	94	94	317	-28
East Asia and the Pacific	185 304	-17	101	106			95	96	6 579	-36
South and Wost Asia	188 366	21	116	115		66	77	93	13 261	-67
Latin America and the Caribbean	66 413	-5	120	119	83	89	94	95	2 652	-26
North America and Western Europe	51 140	-3	104	100	98		96	97	1 267	41
Central and Eastern Europe	19 433	-22	97	99	97	98	93	95	931	-43

Source: UNESCO (2012).

In the opening ceremony of the World Education Forum (WEF), Kofi Annan (2000) had addressed to the international society that the views of the Global Campaign for Education should be heard, and their expertise, energy, and expansive reach valued. In fact it is also the GCE members who have influenced the World Bank's first version of the Education for All Fast-track plan, with an aim of ensuring that "no countries seriously committed to Education for All will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by a lack of resources." (Rose 2003; Verger & Novelli 2012)

Ever since founding the GCE has expanded rapidly on a global scale. Years of advocacy and persistence had earned them strong presence at international meetings and permanent representation on the EFA mechanisms, initiatives and campaigns. The FTI Board, the UNESCO High Level Working Group, the board of the United Nations Girls' Education Initiative (UNGEI), and the board of the UNESCO EFA Global Monitoring Report are venues where the GCE's advocacy can have strong influence. (See Table 4-3)

Table 4-3. EFA architecture: mechanisms, initiatives, and campaigns at the global level supporting EFA.



Source: UNESCO (2015).

Sitting on the Board of FTI, the GCE remained critical of the program. (2003 Rose) The GCE coalition has developed its own organizational structure by not only having its own secretariat, constitution and source of funding, but also strategic plans that help them gain legitimacy in the UN system, becoming part of the institution.

In spite of some significant success in recent years, many countries remained a long way from the goal of UPE. The 2009 Global Monitoring Report estimated that, on current trends, the global target of achieving UPE by 2015 would be missed. With around 19% of the world's primary-school-age population, sub-Saharan Africa accounted for 47% of out-of-school children. It was anticipated that the number of children out of school in 2015 would still be around 60% of what it was in 2006 mainly because of child labor, ill health, and disabilities. (See Figure 4-4)

Figure 4-4. Projections of out-of-school populations in 2015 for countries with more than 500,000 children out of school in 2006

	TNER for latest year (2004–2007)	Children out-of-school in 2004–2007 (000)	Projected TNER (2015)	Estimated out- of-school children in 2015 (000)	Average annual change in out-of school population (%)
On track to achieve UPE	in 2015				
India	94	7 208	99	626	-24
Bangladesh	92	1 371	98	322	-15
Brazil	96	597	98	248	-9
Not on track to achieve	UPE in 2015				
Nigeria	65	8 097	73	7 605	-1
Pakistan	66	6 821	81	3 707	-7
Burkina Faso	48	1 215	64	1 062	-1
Ethiopia	72	3 721	93	1 053	-13
Philippines	92	953	93	919	-0.4
Niger	44	1 245	72	873	-4
Kenya	76	1 371	89	859	-5
Ghana	65	967	81	712	-3
Turkey	91	729	91	710	-0.3
Mali	61	793	76	628	-3
Mozambique	76	954	94	289	-12
Yemen	75	906	94	265	-13
Iraq	89	508	95	246	-8
Senegal	72	513	90	228	-9
Subtotal	-	37 969	-	20 352	-
Remaining 117 countries included in projection	-	10 387	-	8 341	-
Total	_	48 356	_	28 693	_

Source: UNESCO (2009)

In 2011, EFA-FTI officially changed its name to the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) to better reflect its dedication to international education. The GCE members had been staying watchful of the global financing trend and were being critical on the evaluation of FTI mechanism by jointly published a report that marked this transition from FTI to GPE in 2012. The GPE is designed to be a partnership of donors and developing country governments, multilateral organizations, civil society, private

Concerns had emerged indicating that FTI was not living up to its promise. See Cambridge Education, Mokoro, and Oxford Policy Management 2010; Rose et al. 2012; and Winthrop & Steer 2014

companies and foundations, dedicated to increasing access to quality education worldwide. (See table 4-4) Its practice is indicative of transnational public-private partnership and global governance¹¹.

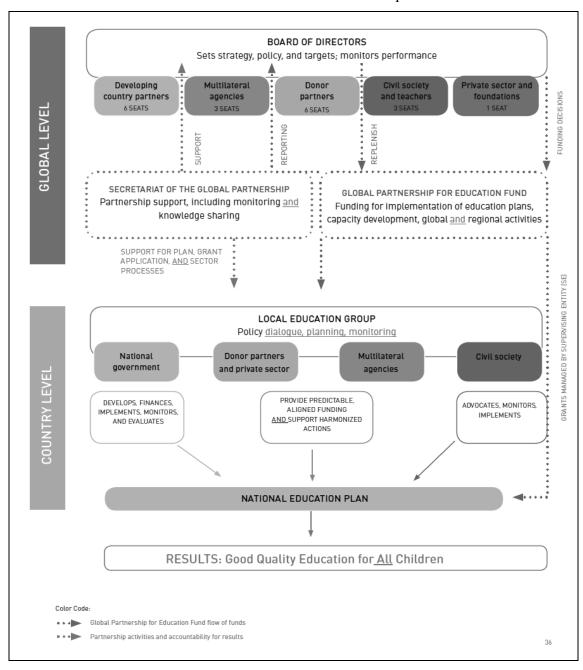


Table 4-4. Governance Structure of the Global Partnership for Education

Source: GPE (2012a)

Scholars had been analyzing GPE from the perspective of PPPs and global governance. See Robertson,ve et al. 2012; Menashy 2015; Mundy & Verger 2015; Menashy 2018.

The GCE pointed out three major defects of GPE (GCE 2012b):

- 1) As World Bank plays the dominant role, the identity of the GPE is confusing and the organizational mandate is not as focused on education as the Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization (GAVI) on health, which once was hosted by WHO but now a fully independent entity.
- 2) The participation of the civil society is not institutionalized, usually in an ad-hoc fashion. Consultation of the civil society often happens at the last minute and the Local Education on Groups (LEGs)¹² either excludes the civil society or is weak.
- 3) The GPE needs to pay more attention to the children that are living in the regions affected by conflicts by doing much better at providing support and financing that is tailored to the needs of children living in conflict-affected and fragile states.

The GCE has been aware that the key to realize EFA is to solve the financing challenge because quality finding resource is desperately needed. (GCE 2012b) To support campaigning the GCE has been strategic in fundraising. Its first grant was through the Hewlett Foundation, which provided the GCE with core operating costs between 2004 and 2010. Fundraising for special programs had also been successful: the Real World Strategies funded by the Dutch government, 1Goal Campaign from Britain, International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) and other GCE donors, and the ambitious Civil Society Education Funds (CSEF) from the Global Partnership for Education, currently managed by the GCE and supervised by UNESCO. (Verger & Novelli 2012)

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¹² The Local Education on Groups (LEGs) were designed to be multi-stakeholder forums where government ministry officials, donors, civil society organizations, parliaments and other stakeholders come to the table to discuss not just education on sector plans, but ongoing issues such as grant requests, implementation, monitoring etc.

UNESCO's key cooperation with the civil society is through the Collective

Consultation of NGOs on EFA (CCNGO/EFA) and also the CSEF. (UNESCO 2015)

The CCNGO/EFA aims for dialogue, reflection and partnerships with NGOs in the

framework of the EFA movement, while the CSEF's main goal is to support citizen

engagement based on a shared understanding among key stakeholders that "strong,

broad-based and locally-driven civil society participation in these processes is crucial

to delivering on EFA and other national and international education goals." (CSEF

2014)

The CSEF project is provided with \$17.9 million (2009-2011) and \$14.5 million (2013-2015)¹³ with the World Bank serving as trustee and UNESCO as the Supervising Entity to assist national coalitions to foster better engagement of civil society organizations as advocates for EFA. The CSEF was set up and has been managed by the GCE as the Global Secretariat, working with Regional Secretariats (ACEA, ANCEFA, ASPBAE, and CLADE) ¹⁴ and Regional Financial Management Agencies (ActionAid Americas, Education International and Oxfam GB). (See Table 4-5 for the working flow of CSEF) The CSEF provides core financing, technical assistance and capacity support, and opportunities for cross-country learning to national education coalitions (NECs) focused on education in developing countries across countries in Africa, Asia Pacific, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East and Eastern Europe. The next section is an analysis of CSEF funding mechanism in practice in delivering the quality UPE in Kenya.

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During 2012, bridge funding for continuation of CSEF activities was provided by AusAid, while the initial phase of CSEF was evaluated, and a further funding proposal for the present program cycle was prepared

¹⁴ Arab Campaign for Education for All (ACEA), The Africa Network Campaign on Education For All (ANCEFA), The Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE) and La Campaña Latinoamericana por el Derecho a la Educación (CLADE)

WORK FLOW CHART Financial CSEF grant & supervision Management ad coalition activities Coalition financial (eports & all FM reports Agency Fund Manager(FM) Progress reports financial reports \$\$ Coordination grant **CSEF Global Secretariat** Application guidelines CSEF Audit on coordination grant Project Coordinator
 Project Officer 2. Funding application Regional Administrator NEC narrative reports & all Secretariat reports Secretariat 5. Funding decision Accountant NCSEF Project Officer 3. Review funding proposal Capacity Support to National Coalitions 4. Allocation decision Flow of Funds Regional CSEF Progress and Financial Reporting Funding Committee Includes Regional Coordinator, Fund Manager, Global **Application Process** Communication happens between all actors involved Coordinator and CSO The World Bank is the Trust Manager of EFA FTI's Education Program Development Fund (EPDF) through which EFA FTI supports the CSEF

Table 4-5. CSEF Working Flow Chart

Source: GPE (2012c).

Global Partnership for Education in Quality Free Primary Education in Kenya

The Kenya government policy to achieve UPE and offer quality basic education has been seen within developments in international context. At the 1962 conference of African ministers of education, African governments resolved to work towards the provision of UPE by 1980 (Obasi 1997; E.M. Omwami & R.K. Omwami 2010). The stance has been reiterated at EFA conferences since Jomtien in 1990. (UNESCO 1992; UNESCO 2002c) In 2003, The Kenya government implemented its Free Primary Education Policy (FPE) as a direct response to the adoption of the Dakar Framework for Action. (UNESCO 2005; Orodho, Waweru, Ndichu & Nthinguri 2013) Government commitment, constancy in investment of basic education, and the

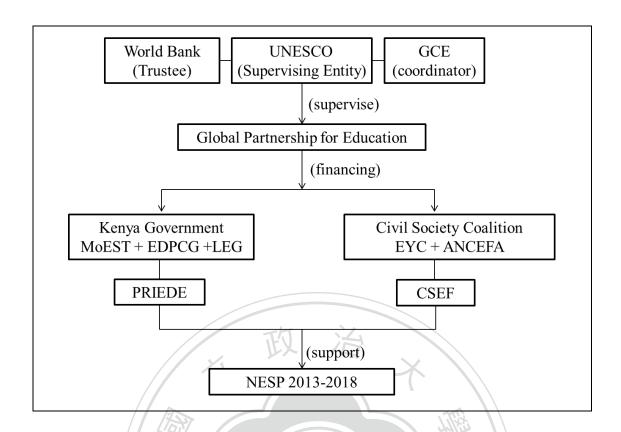
cooperation between partners and donors together achieved phenomenal results: The total primary school enrolment at independence in 1963 was 840,000; a total of 6.2 million students were enrolled by 2000; and the introduction of the FPE in 2003 brought in an additional 1.2 million, raising the total student enrolment to 7.4 million (E.M. Omwami & R.K. Omwami 2010).

However, it is also because of FPE that a large influx of children into the schools had resulted into an "access shock." The shock led to overcrowded classrooms and acute shortages of teachers and teaching/learning materials (Avenstrup, Liang, & Nellemann 2004; Ogola 2010) UWEZO¹⁵ (2016) indicates that only 3 out of 10 children in Class 3 can do Class 2 work. On average, 1 out of 10 children in Kenyan primary schools are completing Class 8 without having acquired the basic competencies. Hence, quality FPE is in desperate need of delivery. Kenya joined GPE in 2005 and has since received two grants supporting the implementation of its education sector plans and progress in education with US\$121 million for 2005-2008. The architecture of Kenya's education financing from GPE is a partnership from the Kenya government, the UN bodies and the civil society, especially the GCE and Elimu Yetu Coalition. (See Table 4-6.)

Table 4-6. The Architecture of Kenya's Education Financing from GPE

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¹⁵ Uwezo is a five year initiative that aims to improve competencies in literacy and numeracy among children aged 6-16 years old in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Since 2009, Uwezo has implemented large-scale nationally representative household surveys to assess the actual basic literary and numeracy competencies of school-age. Each year, Uwezo produces three national reports and one regional report that present the headline findings across the region. The EYC has been conducting advocacy, using research produced by coalition member Uwezo.



The Elimu Yetu Coalition (EYC) is a national education coalition (NEC) and has a great part to play in helping Kenya achieve quality UPE. In 2003, EYC as one of the partners of the ANCEFA coalition¹⁶, and also a member of the Education Development Consultative Group (EDCG)¹⁷, launched a campaign called "Basic Needs as Basic Rights," with an aim of mobilizing popular and legislative support for education as a fundamental human right. In 2009 EYC joined the Civil Society Education Funds (CSEF) and hence gained financial support to strengthen its advocacy campaigns. The EYC lobby for enhanced funding mechanisms and influence constitution-making as well the drafting of a new national education policy and legislative framework. The continued advocacy of the EYC resulted in the new Kenyan Constitution of 2010, which affirms that "every child has the right to free,

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¹⁶ African Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) intent on providing a coherent and proactive African voice on EFA issues felt the need to organize in a representative manner. The Africa Network Campaign on Education for All (ANCEFA) hence emerged in 2000 following the World Education Forum in Dakar in April 2000, and is one of the GCE's regional partners.

¹⁷ The group has been instrumental in formulating education policy within the framework of the Kenya Education Sector Support Program. (EYC 2010)

public, basic education, from early childhood, to primary and secondary school".

(National Council for Law 2010) The EYC has also been active in other Kenyan EFA initiatives such as Ministry of Education free primary education and EFA taskforces.

(Nungu 2014) The EYC is now recognized by the Ministry of Education and donors in the country as a credible partner which represents civil society in education sector policy dialogue and planning processes. (CSEF2014)

The EYC takes the great responsibility of monitoring the full realization of the right to basic education in Kenya through the implementation of the constitution. With support from the CSEF, the EYC helped develop the Basic Education Act of 2013, thereby establishing the foundations of the legal framework around the right to education as found in Kenya's new constitution. (GCE 2014; Orodho, Waweru, Ndichu & Nthinguri 2013) Also in 2013, the EYC led Kenya participating the GCE held Global Action Week (GAW) of 2013 'Every Child Needs a Teacher' to address Kenya's dire need of teachers in the workforce. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics at primary level calculated that 1.7 million additional teachers are needed to deliver UPE (GCE 2012a), and Kenya alone required additional 75,000 teachers to its current workforce. (EYC 2013) As the EYC interviewed Pamela Mang'olio, the Head teacher of Daniel Comboni Primary School, she pointed out the learning condition in Kenya:

...We work in the slums where many people fear, due to the cases of insecurity and the life that has left many very poor and vulnerable to get into crime and other social ills that is unacceptable. Many teachers do not wish to be posted in public schools that are in the slums, but even here the children need to get the quality and compulsory education that we are advocating for.

Janet Muthoni Ouko, the national coordinator of the EYC, remarked in the CSEF 2014 News:

...CSEF has been our lifeline. In advocacy work, presence is everything, and CSEF funding helped us attaining presence in relevant policy spaces and media, and also building civil society's capacity to engage effectively in these forums. Without this support we would not be who we are tight now: a credible, authentic voice and constructive partner in education sector dialogue.

In 2014, the EYC coordinated the Civil Society Organization-Education for All (CSO-EFA) conference, which came at a time when Kenya's education sector was ready to launch the National Education Sector Plan (NESP): the sector's five-year strategic plan (2013-2018) which succeeds the expired Kenya Education Sector Support Program (KESSP)¹⁸. The NESP 2013-2018 has been developed to implement the Basic Education Act of 2013 to align the education sector with the Constitution of Kenya 2010 (GPE 2015). With renewed education The Kenyan government applied for the second grant from the GPE as it would help Kenya to deliver the NESP's goals and improve Kenya's domestic primary education (EYC 2104). In 2014 Kenya received a grant of 88.4 million from GPE (World Bank 2015) in support of the Kenya Primary Education Development Project (PRIEDE). (See Table 4-7.)

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¹⁸ The goal of the KESSP is to provide basic education and improve the quality of education to all children by 2010. There are four program objectives of the KESSP including: (i) ensuring equity of access to basic education; (ii) enhancing quality and learning achievement; (iii) providing opportunities for further education and training; and (iv) strengthening education sector management.

Table 4-7. Project Costs by Components

Project Components	Project cost (US\$)	GPE Financing	% Financing
Improving early grade mathematics competencies	34.5 million	34.5 million	100
Strengthening school management & accountability	38.8 million	38.8 million	100
Building capacity for policy development at national level	10.8 million	10.8 million	100
Project coordination, communication, and monitoring & evaluation	4.3 million	4.3 million	100
GoK Counterpart Funding	8.84 million		0
Total:	97.24 million	88.4 million	

Source: GPE (2015).

The Kenya Government formed the Education Development Partner Coordination Group (EDPCG) to support the successful implementation of the National Education Sector Plan (NESP). EDPCG is mandated to support the coordination, promote policy dialogue and technical support on strategic issues in education with the government, the private sector, and civil society. The EDPCG is a practice of PPPs in Kenya which is composed of a number of agencies and organizations under the EDPCG that support the development of the NESP. Apart from EDPCG, the network includes the United Nations (UN) agencies, multilateral/bilateral partners, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST), LEG and the civil society under the umbrella body of EYC (GPE 2015).

In the 2015 EFA Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO reported that the primary school net enrolment ratio was 84% in 1999 and is estimated 93% in 2015 with the goal of universal primary education not met. While in Kenya would have 89.4 % of primary enrolment, according UNESCO Institute for Statistics, and over 95 percent gender parity in primary education (UWEZO 2015). The total primary enrollment was 7,506,000 in 2005 and has increased to 9,971,000 in 2012. (See Table 4-8) It is

also estimated that among the low income sub-Saharan African countries, Kenya will be one of the first expected to reach universal primary completion by 2019 (UNESCO 2014).

Table 4-8. Trends in Key Indicators of Education in Kenya

Level	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
ECDE								
Total Enrolment '000	1,643	1,672	1,691	1,720	1,914	2,193	2,370	2,406
Teachers (both public and private)				78,230	92,955	94,429	97,146	99,889
GER	57.9	58.8	59	59.8	60.6	60.9	65.6	66.3
GER (Male)	59.6						66.8	
GER (Female)	56.2						64.7	
NER	32.9	33.6	42.1	43	49	50	52.4	53.3
GPI	0.98	0.93	0.93	0.94	0.98	0.99		
Primary								
Total Enrolment '000	7,506	7,628	7,813	8,529	8,777	9,381	9,858	9,971
Enrolment (Public) '000	7,234	7,260	7,441	7,640	7,853	8,283	8,762	8,863
Enrolment (Private) '000	272	368	372	889	924	1,098	1,096	985
GER	107.6	103.8	108.9	109.8	110	109.8	115	115.8
GER (Male)							116.2	
GER (Female)							114.2	
NER	82.8	83.5	91.6	92.5	92.9	91.4	95.7	95.3
NER (Male)								
NER (Female)								
Teachers				170,059	171,301	173,388	174,267	176,243
PTR	42	43	43	45	46			
GPI	0.95	0.96	0.95	0.96	0.96	0.97		
Completion	77.6	76.8	81	79.8	83.2	76.8	80.3	
Transition to secondary education	57.3	59.6	59.9	64.1	66.9	72.5	73.3	

Chengchi Univer Source: Republic of Kenya (2014).

Conclusion

Decades of persistent advocacy and hard work from the UNESCO, World Bank, the civil society, private sectors and national governments had made the PPPs in Kenya possible. The realization of quality universal primary education should neither be rhetoric, nor political. Since WCEFA in 1990, too many targets had been set but so limited had been achieved. Aid shock and regional and gender disparity have undermined quality of international educational financing. The GCE since its debut in WEF in Dakar had managed to keep the essentiality of quality financing on the agenda in all international meetings they attended. They have been motivated in the both in the country and global level, coordinating and monitoring the realization of UPE. In the practice in Kenya, the GCE has coordinated the international cooperation between the UN, donors and the EYC as a local NGOs coalition, and the contribution they made to the improvement of Kenya's quality UPE is a case that the international society can draw upon as a role model that has an implication on the global partnership in the field of education.



Chapter 5

Conclusion

Research Findings

The long-term impact of the civil society remains to be determined, and while making the concluding remark of this research I would still think it does. This research aspires to explore the possibility of a systematic framework under which the UN and the civil society can forge a partnership. NGOs' decades of evolution have solidified its importance and influence in global affairs. Their legitimacy as actors in the international realm was first questioned when there was the phenomenon of NGO boom in the late nineties. However, as they have been playing roles of agenda-setting, issue-framing and policy implementation over the years, NGOs have increasingly become a part of the global structure that was once constructed solely for nation states.

Because NGOs were not considered having the legitimacy as member states, they used to hold parallel conferences outside of the UN-held international conferences to express protests and organize the public to raise awareness of a certain issue. As in the case of advocating children's right to education the civil society in the earlier years the civil society was also not recognized to have the authority to meddle in the field of education, which was deemed of domestic jurisdiction. However, years of pertinacious lobbying and mobilizing have rendered NGOs gaining legitimacy in the field of education.

Sixty-five years after the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1924, in 1989 the Convention on the Rights of the Child was adopted by the UN, largely because of NGOs decades of persistent advocacy. In the convention, children's right to education was finally recognized with binding force.

NGOs have strived for children's education right for almost one century. From early penal reform and public welfare to quality and free primary education, and from Declaration of the Rights of the Child to Convention on the Rights of the Child, the civil society have tenaciously managed to keep the issue of children's right on the agenda of every UN-held educational forum, plenary, and conference. The Global Campaign for Education since its initiation have galvanized impetus on these global avenues for education and inspired other global and national educational coalitions to take action for children's right to education. The partnership between the UN, the GCE, the Kenya government, donors, and the Elimu Yetu Coalition (EYC) is an international cooperation to materialize children's right to quality UPE in Kenya. The network constructed by these stakeholders initiated a framework that upholds the PPPs where the civil society takes up roles that are relatively influential among other actors and has in fact become part of the UN system in practice.

The UN, Civil Society, and PPPs in EFA

As have been explored in this research NGOs have been associated with ideas of lobbying, advocacy, mobilization, and coalitions. The roles they have been playing were once considered primarily catalytic and facilitative outside of the UN system. However, as this research have shown, in the case of materializing children's right to UPE, the GCE's expertise and years of experienced participation in the issue has earned them a seat among the UN agencies, governments and donors, as one of the "governors" monitoring and delivering EFA for worldwide children. The coordinating structure of EFA is the public-private partnerships (PPPs) resting on theories of transnationalism and institutionalism for different situated actors to forge the transnational partnership to deliver UPE as a common good.

In fact, such global partnership has already been recognized when the Fast Track Initiative (FTI) program was criticized for its dependence on the World Bank and not enough participation and voice from the civil society and recipient countries. Hence the program was redesigned as the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) to better serve the idea of PPPs and it has been fruitful in financing EFA. In delivering Kenya's quality universal primary education we can see the partnership was constructed with the World Bank and UNESCO as monitoring bodies, the Kenya government as education program planner, and the civil society (GCE and EYC) as local program organizer and coordinator. Also, the GCE has been playing both insider and outsider roles in the UN system under such framework. While being an insider they participate in UN-held coordination mechanisms, initiatives and campaigns. As an outsider they are critical, monitoring the process, policy outputs and results of EFA.

EFA and Education 2030

There has been tremendous progress across the world since 2000, including decreased number of out of school children, millions of more children gained access to school, and increased gender parity in primary school. However, despite all efforts by governments, civil society and the international community, the 2015 EFA Global Monitoring Report (UNESCO 2105) estimated that the goal of delivering universal primary education for all children in the world will not be realized by 2015, and it indeed wasn't. However, the international society continues to gather impetus for EFA. The Elimu Yetu Coalition applied for its second GPE grant for the next 2015-2019 educational plan; the GCE had organized its Global Action Week in 2016 for Education Rights Now in support of the Incheon Declaration for Education 2030;

2017 for Time to Deliver SDG4; and 2018 for pledging governments to pool in quality funding. In 2000, the GCE's name was not even mentioned in the Dakar Framework for Action, and yet in the Incheon Declaration for Education 2030, the GCE received acknowledgement from UNESCO for being civil society organizations that "participated actively and made critical inputs."

Following the Millennium Summit in 2000 and the Rio+20 United Nations

Conference on Sustainable Development in 2012, the UN launched the Post-2015

Development Agenda with UNESCO as the global coordinator of the EFA movement leading the SDG4 – Education 2030. Through collaboration with the civil society and the international community, the global partnership continues growing strong.

In 2016, the UNESCO replenished the EFA Global Monitoring Report (GMR) with the Global Education Monitoring Report (GEM) to support the new 2030 Agenda for SDG4. It also estimated that on current trends, the world will achieve universal primary education in 2042.

Research Implications and Future Prospects

From the course of the international cooperation of the UN and the Civil Society in realizing universal primary education for children, there is evidence indicating that the civil society has institutionalized internally by developing a hierarchical organizational structure and externally by becoming part of the UN system to seize the political opportunity for mobilization. NGOs are called harbingers, facilitators, and carriers of the civil society because of their role in pushing forward important issues up front, and actually leaning in to make a difference. The PPPs framework constructed in the course of EFA can have so much implication on the international society, not only on the global scale (as in the UN system) but also on a regional or

national level. In delivering quality universal primary education in Kenya, the GCE play the coordinating role among the UN agencies, donors, the Kenya government and the Elimu Yetu Coalition (EYC) to pledge and manage quality funding to support Kenya's education plan. In this research I find the PPPs in the field of education can serve as a paradigmatic instance in addressing other global issues such as poverty reduction, gender equality, sustainable development of ocean resources and climate change---issues that are as well urgently on the current agenda of the international community. As there are discussions about the possibility of a People's Forum or People's Millennium Assembly, NGOs' roles in the UN system still leave much to be explored. The civil society may have more roles to play and contributions to make to the global system of governance.

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