

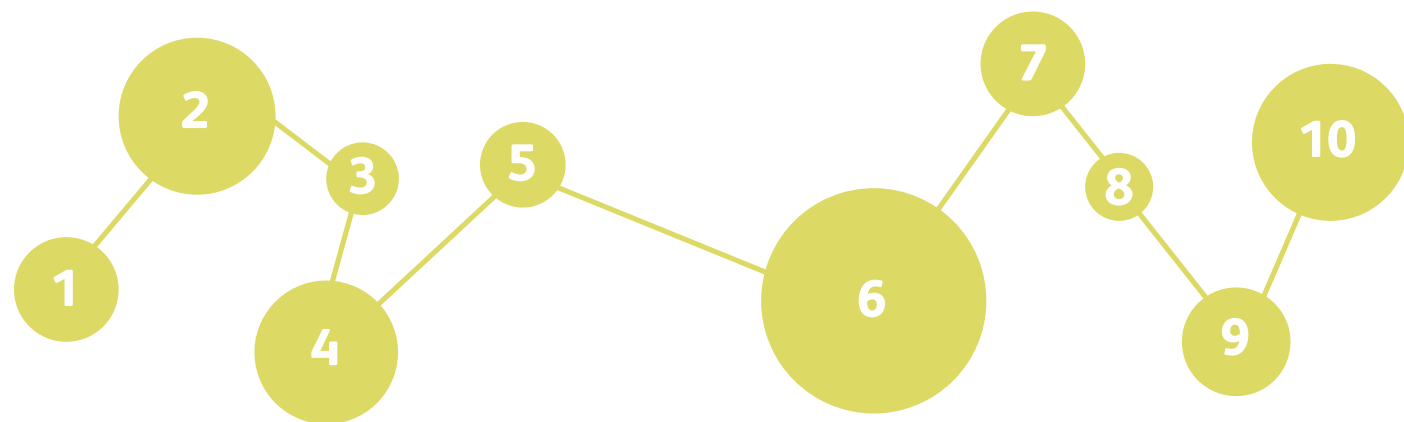
A photograph of a man and a young girl looking at a book together. The man, wearing a striped shirt, is leaning over the girl, who is wearing a red and white checkered shirt. They are both looking down at an open book on a blue surface. The background is blurred, showing other people and a bright outdoor setting.

FUND THE FUTURE
EDUCATION RIGHTS NOW

**A ten point plan
for transforming
aid to education**

GLOBAL CAMPAIGN FOR
EDUCATION

A ten point plan for transforming aid to education



Ten years ago donors came together in Amsterdam to launch the Education For All Fast Track Initiative (FTI) with the aim of harmonising their efforts in support of developing country governments with credible plans to deliver education for all.

It was widely hoped that the FTI would be a catalyst for accelerated progress towards achieving the Education for All goals. Whilst the FTI has played a useful role it hasn't lived up to its original promise.

Beyond the FTI progress in securing the right to education has been far too slow and on present trends the vast majority of the 67 million children who are still out of school today are unlikely to be in education in 2015.

There is no doubt that the past decade has witnessed remarkable progress on many fronts. The number of children not in school has been falling, gender gaps are narrowing and more children are completing a basic education.

Some of the world's poorest countries have demonstrated that universal primary schooling and wider education goals set for 2015 are attainable.

But with only four years to go before both the education related Millennium Development and Education for All goals fall due we urgently need a renewed effort in support of education.

The Fast Track Initiative, newly named the Global Partnership for Education has a central role to play in that effort.

In recent years there have been significant reforms and over recent months the Fast Track Initiative has been reinvigorated and re-branded. The first full meeting of the new Partnership, in Copenhagen in November 2011, must be the moment for change – for serious commitments to secure the funding of the Partnership, to close the broader global fund gap for education, to improve the quality of aid to education and to accelerate the process of reform.

The Global Campaign for Education has identified ten key principles for improving the amount, quality and effectiveness of aid to basic education which we urge the Global Partnership for Education to make its own.

Building on the FTI's work to date the Global Partnership for Education could, by securing commitments from its various members to these principles play a central role in transforming aid to education and accelerating global progress on Education for All.

- 1 Pay a fair share for basic education.** Low income governments dedicate an average of 8.9 % of their budgets to basic education but donors only allocate 4.1 % of their aid to basic education. It is time for donors to match developing country commitments and both should work towards allocating 10 % of their budgets to basic education.
- 2 Untie aid and ensure technical assistance is country-led.** All too often aid to education is tied to scholarships or to the purchase of goods and services from the donor country, rather than focusing on the MDGs and the EFA Goals.
- 3 Harmonise aid behind government plans.** Increase the use of the Global Partnership for Education and the development of national education sector plans as the best means to harmonise aid to education.
- 4 Use the most aligned aid modalities.** The Global Partnership for Education should commit to sector budget support and encourage its partners to do so too, which would help reduce transaction costs and delays in disbursements.
- 5 Deliver predictable aid to basic education and focus on teachers.** Donors should, make commitments for at least 3 years, preferably to 2015, so that funds can be spent where they are most needed, especially on quality, trained teachers. Work out a mechanism so that the Global Partnership can make collective commitments to partner countries that are even more predictable over the longer term (5 years plus).
- 6 Ensure country ownership and civil society engagement.** More must be done to increase the accountability of governments to their own citizens. Partners should recognise the crucial roles of civil society, for example in budget monitoring exposing corruption, innovating, promoting dialogue and uniting citizens' voices to speak truth to power.
- 7 Focus on Education For All and on education rights.** We need to expand the agenda and recognise the inter-dependencies within the 6 EFA goals and the indivisibility of education rights. Recognise that making progress on the important priorities of girls' education, fragile states and learning outcomes for the most disadvantage communities depends on a holistic approach to securing education rights for everyone.
- 8 Address strategic issues in domestic financing of education.** Partners need to be proactive in making the case for education with Ministries of Finance and the IMF. They should also promote progressive macro-economic policies and an expanding domestic tax base because education systems will be a major beneficiary.
- 9 Deliver on promises.** Making pledges is easy – but we must make sure that these are delivered in practice. We will track commitments and will expose those who break their promises!
- 10 Build a true Global Partnership for Education.** In addition to meeting the replenishment funding targets we must work together to create a stronger, more independent, more equal, more truly global and more ambitious partnership.

A unique moment for education

Education rights are enshrined in countless international conventions and almost every national constitution - but these rights continue to be routinely violated.

In November 2011 the international community has a unique opportunity to make a major breakthrough on education rights - and we call on everyone to seize this moment. Almost ten years ago donors came together in Amsterdam to launch the Education For All Fast Track Initiative (FTI) - harmonising their efforts behind governments with credible plans to deliver Education For All. But progress has been far too slow and on present trends the 67 million children out of school today are unlikely to be in school and learning in the coming years.

There have been lots of supportive statements on education rights and the Education For All Goals have been agreed by virtually every government - but not all are putting their words into action. One important way to go beyond the rhetoric and platitudes - to see the real commitment and priority being given to the right to education - is to analyse the share of expenditure on basic education.

In the past decade governments in FTI-eligible low income countries have shown that they value education and many have delivered their side of the compact. Many African governments in particular have shown that they understand the critical role that basic education plays in lifting families out of poverty, in boosting productivity, in saving lives and in promoting equality. Indeed, many have made education the number one area of government expenditure and it is clear that they see fulfilling the right to education as a key route to a better future.

Given that donor governments are unlikely to fund certain areas of government expenditure, such as the military, it is reasonable to consider that the emphasis donors give to education, as a percentage of their aid budget, would be higher than national governments. Indeed, you would expect donors to make basic education a priority investment area given the wider benefits of

universal education to donor priorities such as reducing poverty, fostering economic development, challenging corruption, strengthening democracy, improving health and promoting gender equality. Investing in education has such substantial and sustainable outcomes that it may also help to reduce the need for aid in the future. But this briefing shows that donors are falling short - and by a long way. The latest figures show just how low a priority most donors give to basic education. It seems unfair for donors to be calling for governments in poor countries to raise their spending on basic education - whilst not matching this target in their own aid budgets.

But it is not just about more aid – it is also about the quality and focus of aid. Harmonisation mechanisms like the Fast Track Initiative, which has delivered funds to countries with credible plans, have been ignored by too many for too long. Now that the Fast Track Initiative has been reinvigorated and re-branded - as the Global Partnership for Education – we need to see a breakthrough in donor commitments. The first full meeting of this Partnership, in Copenhagen in the week of 7th November 2011, must be the moment for change. It is the moment for serious commitments and principled action from donors to match the efforts being made by developing countries. For the immediate needs of the Global Partnership for Education at least \$800 million a year is needed over the next three years (\$2.5 billion in total) – and donors also need to mobilise at least \$5.5 billion more in bilateral pledges. The full resource gap on achieving education for all globally remains larger – at \$16 billion a year - and this report shows that reaching such an apparently ambitious figure is not unrealistic. But alongside quantity there is an urgent need for donors to deliver high quality aid if recipient governments are to deliver high quality basic education. To support this process we lay out ten principles that should guide aid to basic education.



Pay a fair share for basic education

1

Across the board, it is imperative for governments to invest in basic education and to ensure that both aid and national budgets are effectively used to achieve concrete results for people living in poverty.

Similarly, governments providing external financing for education must ensure that their aid is real and is in line with globally agreed standards in effective aid.

Spending On Education In Partner Countries

Low income countries that are eligible for support from the Global Partnership for Education are struggling with multiple development challenges. However, the table below shows that developing countries generally are making a significant commitment to education and that within domestic budgets (where data is available), they are making basic education a significant priority (allocating on average 8.9% of their budgets to basic education). The FTI established a recommended benchmark for domestic spending on education at 20% - and it is widely agreed that at least 50% of education budgets should be allocated to basic education – which would amount to 10% of the overall government budget being spent on basic education. Most developing countries seem to be making progress towards reaching this target and we urge them to continue on this path – and to report on this spending clearly so that progress can be tracked.

Of course the record is uneven – and some countries still spend far too much of their education budget in supporting elites with access to higher education – but in general developing countries (often called “partner countries”) are putting resources behind the education goals that have been agreed internationally. Indeed, the poorest countries have

raised the share of national income they allocate to education from 2.9% in 1999 to 3.8% today (Global Compact on Learning, Brookings Centre for Universal Education 2011) As well as increasing their domestic investment in education, partner countries are making progress on other aspects of the aid effectiveness agenda. The OECD Development Assistance Committee’s Paris Declaration Monitoring Report 2011 notes: “Several of the indicators for which responsibility for change lies primarily with partner country governments show important progress. For example, significant efforts – often requiring deep reforms going beyond aid management to broader aspects of government processes – have driven improvements in the quality of planning, financial, and results management tools and systems in a number of partner countries.”

The same report adds: “The proportion of developing countries with sound national development strategies in place has more than tripled since 2005.” It seems that partner countries are making good progress in fulfilling their side of a global compact on aid effectiveness and education

TABLE 1: SPENDING ON EDUCATION IN PARTNER COUNTRIES

Developing countries with data available	Average Expenditure on Education as a % of total government expenditure (2010 or last year when available)	Average Expenditure on Pre-primary and primary education as a % of total government expenditure
Bangladesh	14.0%	5.8%
Benin	18.2%	11.0%
Burkina Faso	21.8%	14.4%
Burundi	23.4%	11.9%
Cambodia	12.4%	
Central African Republic	11.7%	5.9%
Chad	12.6%	7.2%
Republic of Congo	8.0%	2.2%
Cote d'Ivoire	24.6%	
Djibouti	22.8%	
Ethiopia	23.3%	11.9%
Gambia	22.8%	11.5%
Guinea	19.2%	
Kenya	17.2%	9.5%
Kyrgyzstan	19.0%	
Lao PDR	12.2%	5.6%
Lesotho	23.7%	8.5%
Liberia	12.1%	
Madagascar	13.4%	7.1%
Malawi	12.1%	4.4%
Mali	22.3%	9.1%
Mauritania	16.0%	6.9%
Mongolia	14.6%	6.9%
Mozambique	21.0%	11.8%
Nepal	19.5%	12.1%
Niger	19.3%	12.9%
Pakistan	11.2%	
Republic of Moldova	21.0%	7.6%
Rwanda	20.4%	9.2%
Senegal	19.0%	8.7%
Sierra Leone	18.1%	9.0%
Tajikistan	18.7%	
Timor-Leste	15.5%	
Togo	17.6%	8.9%
Uganda	16.0%	9.6%
United Republic of Tanzania	27.5%	
Vanuatu	23.7%	12.1%
Vietnam	19.8%	
Yemen	16.0%	
Zambia	22.0%	13.0%



Spending by Donors

In this context it is only reasonable to expect international donors to show equal commitment and match the investment that partner countries are making – with the same target of 10% of their ODA budgets being committed to basic education. The table below shows what OECD DAC donors are presently spending on basic education – which reveals an average expenditure of just 4.1% of aid (less than half of the 8.9% invested by partner countries). If an estimate for lower secondary education is included in the definition of basic education (and given no-one thinks children should go to work at 11 GCE believes it must be) then the average expenditure of aid is 5.5% less than half of the 11.4% invested by partner countries.

The penultimate column of the above table shows what additional resources would be mobilised for education if donors each matched the recommended partner country commitments and dedicated 10% of their existing aid budget to basic education – which would amount to an additional \$7 billion annually. If these same donors all reached the recommended level of 0.7% of GNI going into aid then (as the last column shows) this 10% would translate into an additional \$21 billion annually – which would be sufficient to make meaningful progress towards fully delivering on education rights in every country.

The table shows that some donors have performed relatively well in recent years, spending over 6% of their aid on basic education, for example Norway, the Netherlands, UK, New Zealand, Ireland and Canada. But this table fails to show the most recent developments, especially following the financial crisis. The Netherlands have recently reduced their aid to basic education, Canada has frozen its aid at 2009 levels, Denmark has been reducing bilateral aid to basic education (even as it increases commitments to the Global Partnership) and Spain and Ireland are looking to reduce commitments. The UK has maintained its commitment to increase overall aid and to meet

commitments made on basic education and Australia has emerged as the latest champion on basic education, with Kevin Rudd providing new energy and leadership. It is important to use such leadership to inspire and cajole others to deliver. Indeed maintaining momentum in existing donor countries that have performed well is essential if new donors are to be attracted (e.g. from Arab countries, emerging economy donors, the private sector, major foundations) or innovative financing solutions are to be found.

Clearly the overall target of increasing overall aid (to 0.7%) remains important. However, in difficult economic times this table shows that significant gains can be made by allocating a greater percentage of existing aid to basic education. This does not require new money and it does not require taking resources from health or other important sectors. Rather, it requires aid to be better-spent: a lot of existing aid is poorly-spent on sectors that do not help to reduce poverty or achieve the MDGs.

Even with existing levels of aid, a clearer prioritisation of aid for basic education would be more than sufficient to fill the replenishment target for the Global Partnership for Education. We call on politicians in donor countries to set a target of a minimum of 10% of aid to be allocated to basic education – in line with the commitments that are expected of partner governments. Progress towards this target should be closely monitored.

But it is not only about the quantity of aid. Quality also makes a huge difference – and the other nine principles outlined below focus on different aspects of aid quality and efficiency. On all of these there are concerns about the need for more progress. The Paris Declaration Monitoring Report 2011 shows that donors have met only 1 of 13 targets on the Paris Aid Effectiveness Agenda. In the field of education the Fast Track Initiative made some important steps in the right direction – and the replenishment of the Global Partnership for Education must be the moment to accelerate progress.

TABLE 2: EDUCATION EXPENDITURE BY DONORS

Country % of GNI spent on	aid (target = 0.7%) Overall ODA 2009 (\$ millions)	% of aid to education 2009 % of aid	to basic education 2009 (OECD- DAC	definition of basic) Additional aid to basic education	if 10% of aid was spent (\$ millions) Additional aid to	basic education if ODA met 0.7% target and 10% was spent on basic. spent (\$ millions)
Australia	0.29%	2,761.61	12.1%	4.7%	145.50	527.71
Austria	0.30%	1,141.78	25.0%	1.0%	103.11	253.55
Belgium	0.55%	2,609.60	14.7%	2.7%	190.65	261.84
Canada	0.30%	4,000.07	11.6%	6.1%	156.92	680.72
Denmark	0.88%	2,809.88	5.1%	2.6%	207.86	150.29
Finland	0.54%	1,290.18	6.3%	3.4%	85.68	123.21
France	0.47%	12,600.02	22.1%	4.2%	726.89	1,341.32
Germany	0.35%	12,079.30	20.8%	3.5%	787.55	1,961.97
Greece	0.19%	607.27	32.6%	4.2%	35.22	199.61
Ireland	0.54%	1,005.78	13.6%	8.4%	16.31	44.99
Italy	0.16%	3,297.49	11.3%	5.3%	156.22	1,283.38
Japan	0.18%	9,468.61	8.2%	2.4%	721.46	3,430.79
Korea	0.10%	815.54	12.3%	2.9%	57.99	562.50
Luxembourg	1.04%	414.73	2.2%	4.1%	24.28	10.64
Netherlands	0.82%	6,426.08	11.8%	6.9%	197.45	103.07
New Zealand	0.28%	309.28	21.8%	9.9%	0.36	47.39
Norway	1.06%	4,085.84	9.7%	6.4%	145.86	7.16
Portugal	0.23%	512.71	24.4%	4.4%	28.56	130.53
Spain	0.46%	6,584.11	8.1%	4.5%	362.42	707.73
Sweden	1.12%	4,548.23	4.1%	2.9%	321.69	150.78
Switzerland	0.45%	2,310.07	3.7%	1.5%	197.39	326.42
UK	0.52%	11,490.59	12.0%	7.7%	269.25	676.26
USA	0.21%	28,831.34	3.4%	2.6%	2,147.73	9,072.30
TOTAL				4.1%	7,086.37	2,054.16

Source: OECD/DAC Database Oct 2011

Untie aid & ensure technical assistance is country-led

2

National governments should be in the driving seat in developing and implementing credible plans to address Education For All and aid should come without conditions to support these efforts.

Unfortunately too much bilateral aid to education is tied aid or comes in the form of technical assistance – linked to the recipient government paying for goods and services from the donor government. Often the aid ends up paying for high-paid consultants (who parachute in) or for imported materials that could be more cost-effectively purchased locally. The 2011 OECD DAC report notes clearly that “Making progress towards untying aid remains largely a challenge for bilateral donors.” Indeed, according to the 2011 Real Aid 3 report, over 50 % of aid fails to qualify as “real aid” (ActionAid 2011).

The quality of aid is as important as the quantity. Aid should fund the core running costs of basic education (teachers, textbooks and schools) rather than being spent on scholarships, expensive consultancies or overpriced goods and services in the donating country. The Netherlands have been the top donor in this regard (GCE 2007, 2008, 2010) with Norway, United Kingdom, Switzerland and Ireland each also providing a good example for other donors follow.

In contrast over 50 % of aid to basic education from Germany, the USA, Belgium, Portugal and France is spent on technical assistance. Whilst capacity development can sometimes be important, tying aid to technical assistance supplied by the donor country is problematic.

Too often aid comes with ties or conditionalities that appear progressive but have negative consequences. For example, complex procurement procedures are often imposed, supposedly to prevent corruption in the allocation of tenders.

However, the terms of these often stop contractors from the recipient country having a fair chance – thus limiting the potential to use aid to boost employment and develop national skills and capacities. Tenders are often laid out in such large lots and with such complex eligibility criteria that small companies from low income countries cannot credibly compete. Similarly, local civil society organizations and institutions, who are often better-positioned to support teacher training or school management training programmes are not able to bid for these large tenders. Foreign consultancy groups with little contextual knowledge invariably win the tenders.

The Real Aid 3 report shows that by untying US\$5 billion of aid between 2005 and 2007 donors may have increased its value by as much as \$2 billion. This is progress but even better would be to allow countries to apply sustainable public procurement policies, which take developmental, social and environmental criteria into account.

THE EMPEROR'S NEW CLOTHES: education aid that does not contribute to EFA Goals

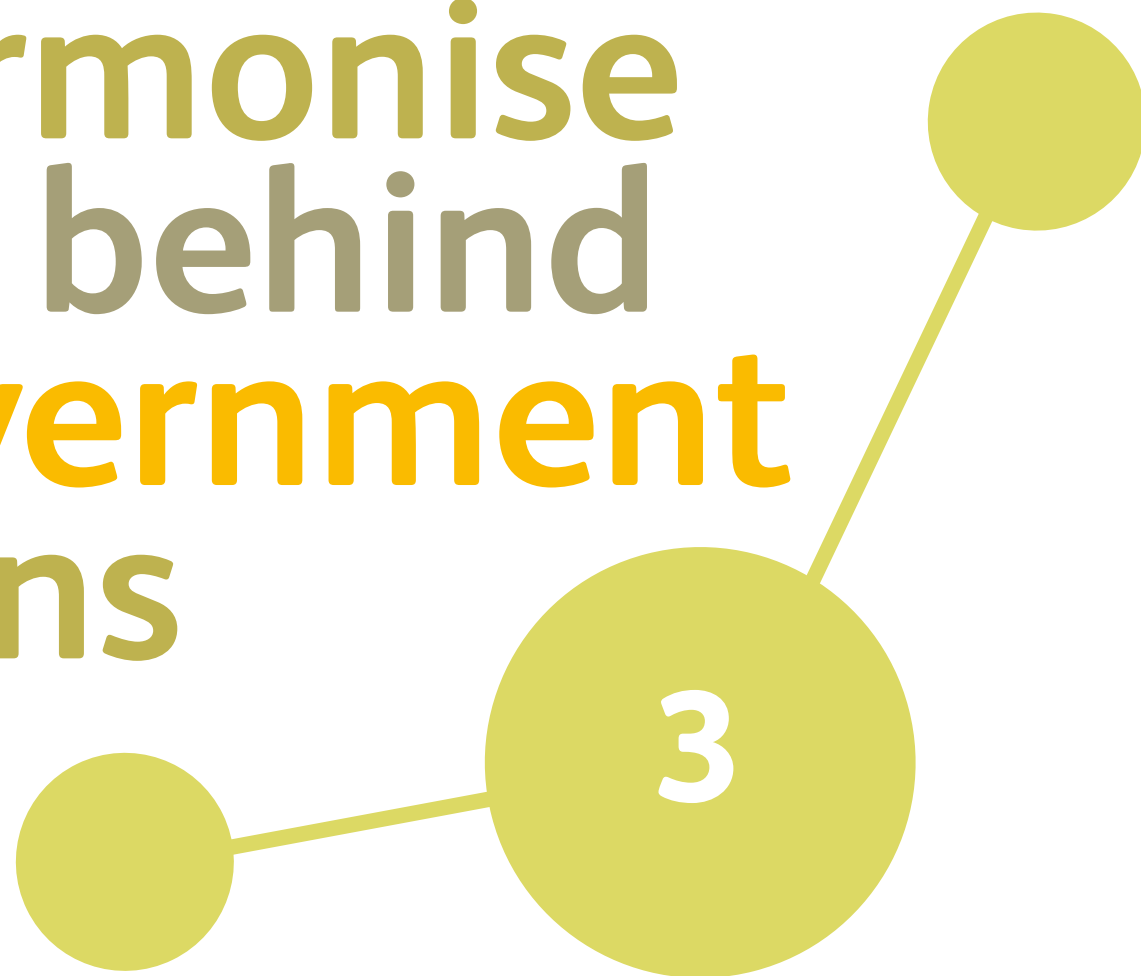
While the overall amount of ODA contributed by France and Germany appears to be high – collectively over \$24.5 billion with both countries spending over one fifth of this money on education – a deeper exploration of how this education aid is spent reveals an uncomfortable truth.

The French aid programme appears to provide substantial resources for education (\$1.7 billion in 2008). However, very little of this goes to the countries where the need is greatest and the largest amount goes to higher education, supporting students from French-speaking countries to gain scholarships to French universities (which accounts for 54 % of the aid to education). This is not real aid. Indeed, only \$132 million a year is spent on supporting basic education in sub-Saharan Africa (equivalent to just over \$1 per child of primary school age). Looked at more closely the record is even poorer. Unbelievably, over 50 % of all of the education aid to sub-Saharan Africa goes to the tiny island of Mayotte (part of the Comoros Archipelago) – where the need is low but French geo-political interests are high. Indeed, since Mayotte officially became a department of France in a referendum this year it can no longer credibly be supported from the aid budget. The present situation means that every primary child in sub-Saharan Africa receives only \$0.53 per year, but every primary school-aged child in Mayotte receives \$1099 per year from France. President Sarkozy promised to make a difference on basic education, pledging alongside Gordon Brown (in November 2008 at the Emirates Stadium in London) to help 16 million children in Africa. Now is the time to deliver on that promise by shifting the focus of French aid – working in a more harmonised way with other donors and prioritising basic education in the poorest countries.

In “Back To School? The Worst Places in the World to be a School Child in 2010” (GCE 2010) Germany comes 17th in the league table out of a total of 22 donors. Its position is so low primarily because it scores the 3rd lowest in respect of quality of aid. In 2008, total German aid to education was \$1.65 billion – making Germany the second biggest national education donor in the world. However only €100 million of this supports education in Africa. Indeed only around a quarter of what is counted as bilateral ODA to education comes from the budget of the Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, a lot of what is counted as education aid takes the form of covering costs for students coming from developing countries to study in domestic institutions. These “imputed student costs” accounted in 2009 for well over half of Germany’s aid to education - but do not contribute to the MDGs or the EFA Goals. Moreover, the vast majority of the subsidized students are from the elite in developing countries who have the initial financial resources to study in Germany and afford the living costs (the largest number in 2009 came from China, Turkey, Cameroon, Morocco and Syria). With its new draft strategy “Ten Objectives for Education”, the German government aims to put education higher on its aid agenda and the Minister has recently announced a plan to double aid to education in Africa to €200 million by 2013. This is a step in the right direction but now is the time for the German Minister to emphasize his ambition and demonstrate leadership by committing more substantial resources specifically to basic education and to the Global Partnership for Education.

With the Global Partnership for Education Replenishment Conference taking place in Denmark, home of Hans Christian Andersen, it seems appropriate to demand that donors do not present us with the emperor’s new clothes: aid must be real, and it is vital that it makes a positive contribution to the achievement of the MDGs and the EFA Goals.

Harmonise aid behind government plans



One of the great successes of the FTI which the Global Partnership for Education can build on has been to focus donor efforts on providing harmonised support to credible national education plans – massively reducing transaction costs.

In a number of countries, many donors have coordinated their efforts well, and proactive leadership by a particular donor (such as The Netherlands in Bangladesh) has resulted in strong and coordinated support to the national government's education planning process. But too many donors continue to run their own separate projects rather than joining this common effort. The Paris and Accra "aid effectiveness agenda" (to be re-asserted shortly in Busan, Korea) emphasise the importance of aid harmonisation and it is clear that the Global Partnership for Education is the best mechanism available to deliver this in practice in the education sector. Indeed, the FTI was a signatory to the Paris Declaration and its vision was firmly rooted in the Paris Declaration principles. The renewed Global Partnership should seek to be a model of excellence in aid effectiveness.

The impression is sometimes given that donors are progressing well in harmonising their efforts but the 2011 OECD DAC Paris Declaration Monitoring Report dispels this myth, observing that: "Aid fragmentation is worsening despite some efforts to reduce it." The same report adds: "Little progress has been made towards targets on common arrangements or procedures and joint missions and analytic works designed to reduce the burden on partner countries of often fragmented donor processes." In this respect the Global Partnership for Education is a positive exception, so for donors who are serious about harmonisation in the education sector the best option is to invest resources and energy into the Partnership.

USA:

The Moment for Harmonisation is Now

The level of aid to basic education as a proportion of total aid from the US government is shockingly low – and ongoing budget constraints make it difficult to argue for new allocations. But also a lot of US aid to basic education is ineffectively spent, goes unspent or does not support objectives in national education strategies. Most aid from the US is still channelled to specific projects that have been tendered out through USAID to sub-contractors, the majority of which are located in Washington D.C. Yet the large overhead costs, risk of fraud and misuse of funds (as recently occurred with one of the largest USAID sub-contractors, the Academy for Educational Development), and fragmented delivery of technical assistance managed with little connection to ministries of education amounts to a vast waste of resources. Yet President Obama and Secretary Clinton have repeatedly given lip service to the importance of education. To deliver on this rhetoric the US must improve the effectiveness of its aid while increasing its investments in basic education.

If USAID want to ensure that their resources are well utilised in supporting basic education then they ought to be channelling a substantial sum through the Global Partnership for Education – especially when there is a clear link between US foreign aid policy and the Global Partnership's priorities in girls education, learning outcomes and fragile states. This contribution to the Global Partnership would allow the US to channel their education aid more cost-effectively, ensure that the US has a seat at the table with governments engaging in sector wide reform efforts, and clean the tarnished image of the US as an ineffective and self-interested education donor. Substantial support from the US government (for example allocating at least \$375 million in this replenishment process) would be a major boost to the Global Partnership for Education – and could help to leverage increased support from many other governments.



Use the most aligned aid modalities

Untying aid and harmonising efforts to support government plans makes a big difference - but it is equally important to use aligned aid modalities so that Ministries of Education can use the aid resources as part of their sectoral budget.

Too often where aid to education was being pooled through the FTI, there were still serious problems with disbursements and the imposition of additional conditionalities by the World Bank.

At country level the World Bank has not been using the most aligned aid modalities for channelling funds from the old Catalytic Fund— and this created delays and unnecessary bureaucracy. These challenges are well documented (GCE Spain, 2008).

As the FTI Mid Term Evaluation noted: “Adopting the most aligned aid modality has often been difficult because of the WB’s limited flexibility and a heavy reliance on the WB as the supervising entity in FTI countries”. This has resulted in “high transactions costs ... misunderstandings ... and extra work”.

The EFA FTI Modality Guidelines, produced in November 2008, are clear that education sector budget support offers the most aligned aid modality, which can use the government’s own systems, reducing transaction costs.

Now that a new Global Partnership for Education Fund has been established it is essential that the default means of channelling funds should be through education sector budget support.

4



Deliver predictable aid to basic education & focus on teachers

No country can make a real effort at systemic education reform without confidence in the levels of funding that will be available over at least the medium term. Education requires long term commitments.

To tackle class sizes and expand access, the largest cost will be salaries for qualified teachers – and this is a recurrent cost. Indeed, the greatest educational need in most low income countries is to develop and retain more and better trained teachers. Therefore, to contribute effectively towards education, donors need to make their aid predictable. Individual donors need to commit education aid for at least 3 years (and logically now to at least 2015) and the Global Partnership needs to develop a collective mechanism that guarantees resources for even longer – so that governments can use these resources for investing in what is most needed: more trained teachers.

In practice too much aid to education is short-term and unpredictable. This encourages attempts to find short-term, low-cost solutions such as the recruitment of non-professional contract teachers – which proves unsustainable and contributes to deteriorating learning outcomes. In addition, in many countries without predictable levels of funding,

teachers can go for long periods without pay, working in large classes – all the while reducing the attractiveness and status of a career in teaching. Too often past efforts have accepted the unpredictability as a given and have failed to address the negative impact this has had on teaching and learning conditions (despite the increasing focus on learning outcomes – which has been too narrowly focused on testing and assessments). No single in-school factor is as important to the quality of learning as the quality of teaching – but this basic truth is often alarmingly overlooked when uncertainty over money drives decision-making. FTI sought to address this and offer greater predictability in education aid - but the lack of long-term funding commitments into its core funds meant it was unable to break this cycle and recipient governments were unable to plan with confidence over more than a year or two. The Global Partnership for Education must make a breakthrough - and must be able to issue collective promises of longer term (5 years or more) predictable support to governments with credible education plans.

The case for female teachers

The Global Partnership for Education has girls' education as a strategic priority and to deliver on this in many countries it will need to support the recruitment of more well-trained female teachers. Whilst primary teaching as a profession may be dominated by women in much of Europe and in America, it remains male-dominated in many parts of Africa and Asia, especially where there are the biggest gender disparities in education. There is growing evidence that, particularly in rural schools, female teachers make a significant difference to the enrolment, retention and success of girls, offering positive role models (see Make it Right: Ending the Crisis in Girls Education, GCE 2011). In some contexts this means developing special initiatives to bring in a new cadre of female teachers, who may need new forms of training and professional development: sandwich or vacation courses, distance education, mentoring support etc. It also means providing incentives and support for them to work in rural schools.

The importance of predictability was one of the key observations of the FTI Mid Term Evaluation which remains valid today. It recommended: "Making multi-year renewable commitments with an expectation that countries would be able to draw on the fund for the necessary length of time as long as they were showing improvement (i.e. a presumption that funding would be long term)."

The OECD DAC Paris Declaration Monitoring Report 2011 raises concerns that this is one area where donors are falling very short. "Progress in improving the medium-term predictability of aid at the country level has been limited. The communication of forward-looking indications of future aid flows to individual partner governments by donors remains isolated rather than being the norm." This connects importantly to the issue of aligned modalities, as the same report highlights: "some evidence suggests that sector budget support may be more predictable than general budget support". But the changes needed are not easy: "

It requires deep structural changes within donor governments and their development agencies which need to adopt internal multi-year programming systems, with rolling spending ceilings revised annually in order for them to be able to share reliable aid projections with partner governments".

Whilst it may not be easy, increasing medium term predictability of aid to education is absolutely essential if progress is to be made on delivering on quality Education For All.

5

Ensure country ownership & civil society engagement

One of the strengths of the FTI was its emphasis on the idea that education sector plans should be country-owned and country-led. But this term is rarely unpacked.

Whilst governments, particularly Ministries of Education, must lead the process, being country-led and country-owned means much more: it means promoting a much broader engagement of citizens across the country, involving civil society organisations, teachers unions, the media and parliamentarians. The FTI made some positive strides in the recognising this and with continuing reforms the Global Partnership for Education could be in the forefront of good practice in this area.

In line with the principle of harmonisation, donors to education are often working in consortiums at national level (often called local donors groups), engaging together in a dialogue with Ministries of Education. This is a positive step forward from the fragmented efforts of the past, but the collective voice of donors in this new harmonised era can be overwhelming - significantly influencing the direction of national education reforms. Even where this influence is well-informed and progressive, the dynamic is problematic if other counterbalancing forces and processes are not in place. The direction of education reforms should be a central concern of any government and should be subject to intense parliamentary scrutiny as well as public and media debate. Civil society organisations can play a key role - especially where

they are organised in alliances and coalitions - consolidating their learning and sharing their inputs in a coherent manner. Engaging all these actors is essential to build true country ownership that can guarantee continuity of education reforms beyond the lifetime of particular governments (that may be in power only for a few years). Indeed, it is part of ensuring that there is a long term commitment to education.

The Paris Aid Effectiveness agenda committed donors to “strengthen country ownership by supporting demand-driven efforts to increase the capacity of all development actors. This means working through representative bodies such as parliaments, as well as civil society organisations (CSOs), the media or political parties, research institutes and the private sector. Donors and partner country governments have an obligation to provide an enabling environment to help maximise their contributions to development.” This is far from being delivered in practice. The OECD DAC Paris Declaration Monitoring Report 2011 observes that: “There are still challenges to providing an enabling environment for civil society activities.”

The FTI made some important steps towards addressing this, including through involving CSOs on the Board, recruiting

people with a CSO background into the secretariat and supporting a major initiative, the Civil Society Education Fund, since 2009 (see box). The Global Partnership for Education needs to build on this and go further.

The FTI was premised on three pillars - governments, donors and civil society organisations – working together at international level and in each country. At national level the key governance structure has been the Local Education Group – which should involve the three actors. On paper this is very progressive but in practice there have been challenges. One of the problems is that civil society organisations are highly diverse. Most government are likely to find someone in civil society who will agree with them and, where they cannot, they have sometimes been creative in setting up their own government-organised NGOs (GONGOs) or government organised teachers’ organizations (GOTOs) which they can then consult. Such practices need to be challenged as they do the opposite of building country ownership. Rather, there needs to be broad-based participation of civil society to ensure the process is more genuine – and the best means to achieve this is to work with civil society coalitions, campaigns or alliances that convene all the key actors, including teacher organisations. Such coalitions can help in popularising new policies and

commitments across a country, providing training and support so that teachers, parents and citizens in general understand proposed changes and are prepared for them. There is also a key role for them in supporting budget tracking in education – from national to district to local level – to ensure that government budgets are used effectively and arrive in schools.

The FTI recognised the significance of this in 2009 when it supported the Global Campaign for Education’s project on Civil Society Education Funds which has led to a transformation in the capacity of civil society to participate in national education processes in FTI-endorsed countries (see box below).



The Civil Society Education Fund: A Model for the Future

The Education Programme Development Fund of FTI approved a grant to the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) in 2009 which has transformed the capacity of civil society to engage with FTI processes at a country level – creating an excellent model which the Global Partnership for Education can build on.

Through this grant, GCE worked with regional and national coalitions of civil society – linking NGOs, teacher unions, parents groups, community organisations and social movements. Over the past two years, largely owing to CSEF, the number of registered national education coalitions has expanded from 13 to 32 and the number of CSOs involved in national coalitions has grown from 1,129 to 3,341 organisations. Many national coalitions have now formed provincial and district level coalitions, ensuring that voices from diverse regions inform national policy debates. Whereas in 2009 only 14 coalitions were engaged as partners in the Local Education Groups, today 32 coalitions are formally recognised in LEGs, contributing to the development of education sector plans and participating in sector reviews – and producing 69 significant policy or research reports. There has also been a transformation in the participation of women in the Boards of national coalitions, rising from just 20 women in 2009 to 120 women elected today.

Below are just a few examples of the difference that CSEF is making:

The National Education Coalition in Ghana (GNECC) facilitates an annual civil society review of the education sector, ensuring inputs from a broad range of civil society organisations at national and local levels spread across the country. Through these processes GNECC has been able to promote numerous policy demands, which have later been adopted by the government. For example, the coalition has influenced the government to expand the School Feeding Program, increase the amount and timely delivery of capitation grants to schools and construct more classrooms at basic level as part of the national Education Sector Plan.

In **Kenya**, the Elimu Yetu Coalition (EYC) initiated a process to fast-track the revision of the Education Act of 1968 and other current policies, and spearheaded the development of a draft National Education Policy and a new Education Act. The coalition represented civil society in the national review process, led by a Committee of Experts (CoE) appointed by the President.

In **Bolivia**, the National Education Coalition (CBDE) influenced the review, adjustment and enactment of “Avelino Siñani - Elizardo Pérez (ASEP)” Education Law. A national mobilization campaign was used to generate policy proposals that were presented by civil society groups to strengthen the ASEP Education Bill, with seminars and round tables being held at different stages in the process.

In **Malawi**, The Civil Society Coalition for Quality Basic Education (CSCQBE) supports and operates District Education Networks (DENs) located across the country, whose key task is to support school budget monitoring processes conducted by school-based and community-based groups, such as school boards and parent-teacher associations – exposing corruption and making the case for better distribution, allocation and use of resources. Furthermore, after campaigning for several years, CSCQBE helped to influence the government to place education as the 3rd priority in the newly revised Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS) which previously never included education among the top national priorities. Through continued public pressure the coalition contributed to an increase in the national budget allocated to education, from 15.7 % in 2009 to 21 % in the 2010/11 financial year.

The Global Partnership for Education now needs to take the next step and ensure sustained long-term support for civil society engagement in national processes. The Global Partnership must lay out clear and binding minimum guidelines for the involvement of civil society and must define a mechanism that can finance civil society engagement which preserves their independence (funds cannot be routed through governments). Such a mechanism should facilitate full engagement of CSOs and the teaching profession in Local Education Groups, in every stage of policy dialogue, planning and reviewing of education sector plans. The Local Donor Groups need to be proactive in all countries, ensuring that governments are properly engaging national civil society – as has already been the case, for example where UNICEF has been the Supervising Entity for FTI.

Civil society can play an important role in involving teachers, parents and children themselves, and in opening up media and public debate on education – and in many cases national coalitions have also helped to support parliamentary committees or caucuses on education. But the Global Partnership must also define stronger minimum requirements around the country process – ensuring that there is proper parliamentary debate and ongoing oversight. The Global Partnership needs to support and reinforce domestic efforts to track results – especially with the new focus on results-based aid. The emphasis must be on strengthening the accountability of governments to their own citizens – rather than creating a parallel system or distorted accountability to external donors.



Focus on Education For All & on education rights

7

Education is a fundamental right - and delivering quality Education For All is an obligation of governments everywhere. A powerful case can also be made for education as a sound economic investment.

But even if the economic returns to investing in education were poor, this would not diminish the case for delivering on education rights. Education rights are embedded in national constitutions and international conventions ratified by almost every country - and they go far beyond guaranteeing access to free primary school. For example there are clearly established rights to adequate infrastructure, to quality trained teachers, to a safe and non-violent learning environment, to relevant education, to transparent and accountable schools and to quality learning (see www.right-to-education.org and the charter of ten core education rights under Promoting Rights in Schools).

There are also clear obligations on donors in the 1966 Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Right, which calls on rich countries to support the progressive realisation of education rights by providing sustained development cooperation. These commitments significantly pre-date the Dakar promise that no government with a credible plan would be allowed to fail for lack of resources. It is a time for a paradigm shift – to recognise that progress on achieving Education For All is not a charitable option – it is about delivering on the progressive realisation of rights that have been nationally and internationally agreed.

One key concept in rights frameworks is indivisibility. This resonates strongly with the idea of inter-dependency in the six Education For All goals that were reasserted in Dakar in 2000. Sadly, the FTI was too narrowly focused for too long on making progress only around one of these: universalising access to primary schooling (with a secondary interest in gender parity). The FTI Mid Term Evaluation raised some concerns here: “There is a case that other EFA goals (such as adult literacy) have tended to be neglected by governments and donors alike, and that the FTI has not challenged this. A narrow focus on primary education may be less appropriate in the context of fragile states (where secondary education and adult learning may have an important role in addressing causes of fragility). And the more success there is in expanding primary education, the greater the pressure on other levels of the education system (as manifested in the increased political attention to secondary education in several of the case study countries).”

There was strong debate within FTI about broadening the agenda – and in recent years there has been agreement that education sector plans could include early childhood education, adult literacy and secondary education. But the dominant impression remained that FTI resources were earmarked only for primary schooling. The Global Partnership for Education needs to signal a real change – a move towards requiring education sector plans that address the full EFA agenda and the progressive realisation of education rights.

Worrying signs in Haiti

FTI support in Haiti seems to include, even focus on, support for rebuilding private schools - recreating the low quality, unequal scenario of the past. This seems to be in direct contradiction with the evidence that where children have to pay to go to school the poorest will be excluded. The new Global Partnership for Education needs to take a clear position on this at an early stage and avoid being part of a privatisation agenda – or any programmes that undermine education rights. The private sector has an important role to play in the Global Partnership but its energies need to be clearly focused on enhancing rights and making public education systems work effectively.

The case for an integrated approach is made in countless publications, not least in the various EFA Global Monitoring Reports which have argued, for example, for greater attention to early childhood education or women’s literacy. The idea that education goals can be achieved by looking only at what happens in schools is clearly naïve when research universally shows that the biggest determinant of learning success in schools is the home environment. When schools are oases of literacy in rural areas and hundreds of millions of women are unable to read and write, it is clear that a more holistic approach is needed. The Global Partnership for Education’s new focus on learning outcomes in early grades is welcomed - as long as this is matched by support for a broader set of interventions (including in pre-schools, women’s literacy, better trained and supported teachers etc.) which are pivotal to achieving this.

Moreover, the conception of learning outcomes needs to be broadened beyond the cognitive realm – valuing wider learning outcomes such as values of tolerance, collaboration and mutual respect (which may be particularly significant in countries emerging from conflict). The EFA GMR on ‘The Quality Imperative’ (UNESCO 2005) provides useful ideas for recognising and valuing a wider set of learning outcomes. And the welcome focus on learning outcomes must not take attention away from the continuing crisis in access. There are still 67 million children that are not in school, whose education rights are violated on the basis of locality, ethnicity, ability, poverty or gender. Girls now make up 53 % of all out of school children, but closing gender gaps in enrolments has not matched in achievement or transition to secondary school – and disaggregation of the data reveals significant regional and socio-economic disparities when it comes to girls’ education. Moreover, whilst progress on access has been

made in recent years it is stalling. Major gains were made by campaigns to abolish user fees – but the costs of education (direct and indirect) continue to be the big factor in excluding tens of millions.

In this context there are serious concerns that the World Bank and UNESCO are starting to support private sector provision of education, without serious consideration of the likely impact of this on diverting resources from those most in need, creating a two-tier system and producing a new wave of exclusion for children from the poorest families.

The Global Partnership needs to channel its resources unequivocally into public schools and examine critically the role of public-private partnerships. It needs to reassert the centrality of public sector provision, with the focus on making government schools work more effectively and deliver improved learning outcomes. A more holistic approach is needed by the Global Partnership to ensure continuing progress on making education genuinely free.

The Global Partnership for Education is launched with three important strategic priorities – on learning outcomes, girls’ education and fragile states. These are all to be welcomed – not least because each leads to important inter-connections with the wider Education for All and education rights agenda. These three priorities should not end up producing a new reductive agenda but rather should be a means for advancing a more holistic approach. For example, on girls’ education there is a need for explicit gender strategies and for disaggregated data at all levels (from early childhood through to secondary education and women’s literacy), there is a value to involving women’s organisations in policy dialogue and there is urgency to the recruitment of more trained female teachers.

Address strategic issues in domestic financing of education

Aid to education is never going to be a permanent solution - and indeed creating aid dependency is never desirable. For this reason, the Global Partnership for Education needs to use its collective weight to ensure that strategic progress is made on expanding domestic financing for education.

As Table 1 shows, many partner countries are already spending substantial parts of their national budgets on education (in line with the recommended benchmarks of 20% of national budgets and 6% of GDP) – though there is clear room for improvement in some countries (for example in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Malawi). The 2011 report to the UN General Assembly by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education entitled, ‘The Promotion of Equality of Opportunity in Education’ reminds governments that progressive realisation of education rights requires them to mobilise the “maximum available resources” and to “move as expeditiously and effectively as possible towards the full realization of that right”. It also emphasises the “strong presumption of impermissibility of any retrogressive measures”. In effect, budgets for education should be rising year on year.

The Special Rapporteur specifically recommends domestic legal frameworks (like the one in Brazil) whereby “at least a minimum level of investment is indispensably assured for quality education”, using percentages of GNP or national budget allocation as the reference points (UNGA, 2011)

But the share of the national budget spent on education is only a part of the story. There are more fundamental questions that need to be addressed around the overall size of the national budget. Education spending will be one of the biggest (often the biggest) beneficiaries of any increase in the overall national budget – so it is necessary to engage in strategic discussions with Ministries of Finance. The UN Special Rapporteur specifically recommends this: “To ensure that education receives priority attention, it would be expedient to promote public dialogue among ministers of education and ministers of finance and planning on the necessary steps to secure maximum funding for education.”

The FTI Mid Term Review certainly agreed with this, observing: “Finance ministries, other relevant ministries, as well as relevant sections within aid agencies (related to macro finance), have not, in general, been sufficiently involved in FTI-related processes”. It went on to recommend: “Engaging with Ministries of Finance, and pursuing the original objective of ensuring that education sector plans and budgets are strongly anchored in national budgets and plans”.

Making the case for macroeconomic reform

In its report “The Worst Places in the World to be a School Child in 2010”, GCE observed that the following specific IMF indicators undermine EFA achievement:

- Low single-digit inflation rates: the IMF views additional money allocated as wages to be a source of upward pressure on inflation, which they insist must be held at single-digit levels. Even additional aid flows have at times been viewed by the IMF as upward pressure on inflation rates.
- No-to-low deficit spending targets: fiscal policy tools, especially large infusions of money into the economy from government coffers or government borrowing, are seen by the IMF as disruptive to the smooth functioning of a ‘free market’. The stimulus packages that many rich countries adopted when their economies contracted in the current financial crisis were denied to the vast majority of low income countries due to this orthodoxy imposed by the IMF. While short-term deficit spending was observed in some LICs, IMF programming documents forecast strong reductions in deficit spending and this has also been accompanied by pressure for countries to reduce their wage bills.
- Alongside this, the IMF also promotes high interest rates and high levels of foreign reserves in Central Banks. This has been shown by the IMF’s own Internal Evaluation Office to disrupt the flow of aid intended for education, as funds are instead redirected to Central Bank vaults by borrowing governments striving to comply with this condition of IMF lending.

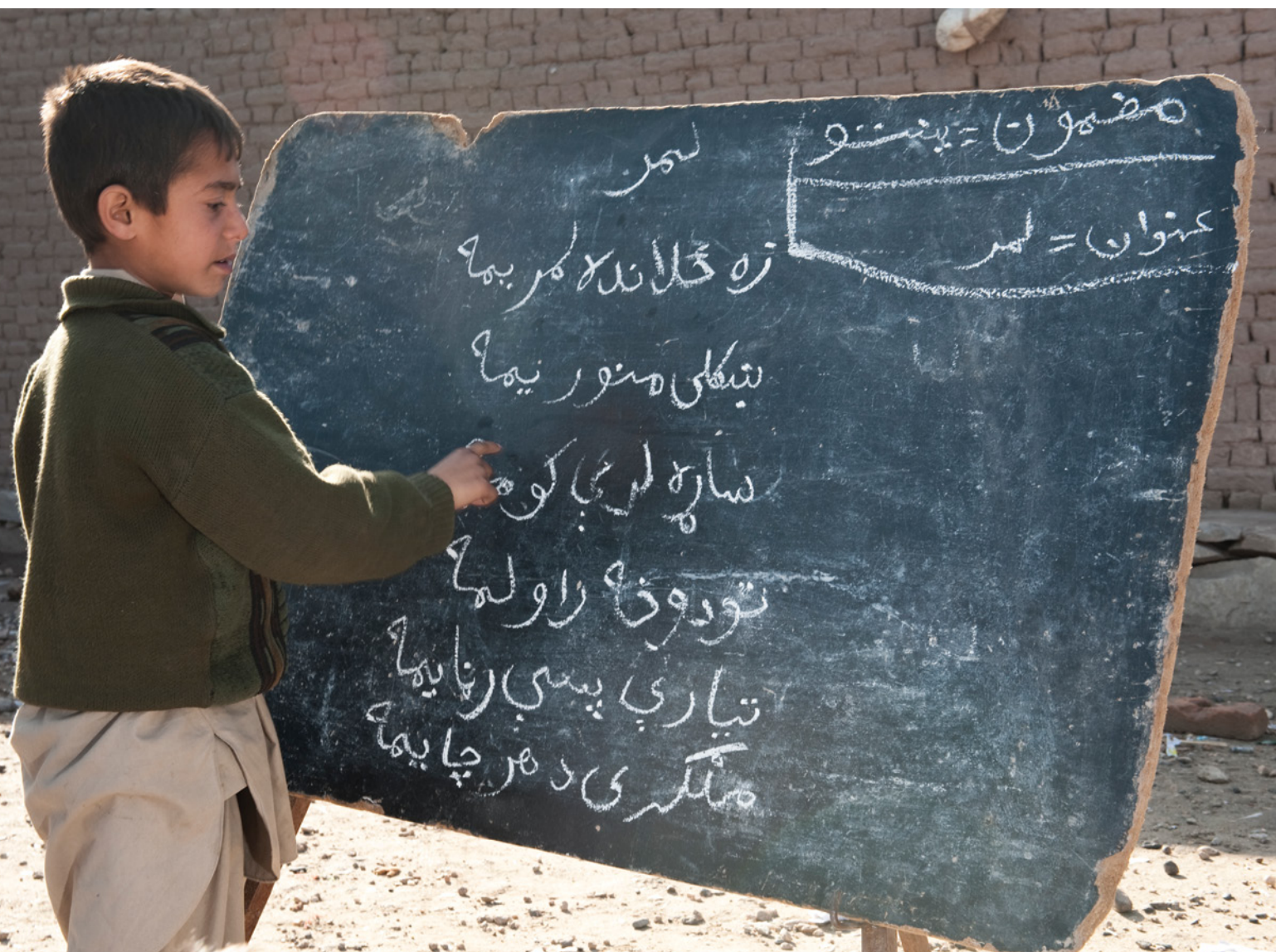
The Global Partnership for Education needs to signal a new approach – opening up much higher level strategic dialogue with Ministries of Finance and the IMF in at least three critical areas:

- Ensuring that the domestic funding base for education is secure and expanding as a share of the national budget – that the funding is there now and in the longer term to progressively realise education rights.
- Ensuring a strategic engagement in macro-economic policy debates, challenging constraints that block governments from investing more in education now (see box below).
- Ensuring discussion of long-term trends in revenue/ domestic tax intake. Any expansion in the efficiency of the tax system will significantly benefit education spending – and any tax evasion effectively robs money from education. There are serious concerns about massive loss of revenue in many low income countries from the tax arrangements of large corporations (see the Tax Justice Network Africa: <http://www.taxjusticeafrica.net/>).

It is time for the international community to be speaking with one voice on education, making the case for investment rather than having the aid community advocating for education whilst at the same time G8 finance ministries support policies at the IMF which undermine spending on education. The Global Partnership for Education can make a dramatic breakthrough both internationally (in taking the debate to the IMF) and nationally (ensuring strategic dialogue with Ministries of Finance).

Deliver promises!

9



It is very easy to make promises and pledges at high profile meetings like the one in Copenhagen. The real challenge is to deliver these in practice.

This November, the Global Partnership for Education will measure the political will of its partners at its Pledging Event. This event, showcasing commitments towards the \$8 billion target for basic education, will provide a litmus test for governments around the world. Unfortunately too many promises have been broken in the past, and inspiring pledges made in the light of a high profile event often never materialize. As has been often said, promises made to children are sacred; they should not be broken. The Global Campaign for Education will be closely tracking commitments that are made to ensure that this time the promises are kept.

The World Bank: Broken Promises and a Way Forward

At the opening of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Summit in September 2010 Zoellick announced an additional US\$750 million funding of basic education: “To help countries achieve the education MDGs, the World Bank has committed to increasing its IDA resources for basic education. From 2010-15, IDA support will increase by an additional \$750 million, with a focus on countries that are not on track to reach the education MDGs by 2015, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia.” The WB website adds “The resources will be used to support innovative interventions that improve the access to good quality schools for underserved populations and address the barriers to demand for those services”.

Between 2005 and 2010, the World Bank committed an average of just over a billion annually to support basic education in low income countries. And while its commitment to increase financing for basic education by \$750 million over 5 years only translates into \$150 million additional each year, an investment of roughly \$1.2 billion annually represents a significant portion of total aid to education globally. However, in the first year since this commitment, the WB has only programmed \$327 million for basic education in all low income countries – its lowest level since 1999 and almost \$700 million below average. At the same time, WB investments in higher education have increased substantially, indicating a worrying trend that the WB will cease to prioritize basic education in its country strategies. Unfortunately, this is a case not only of a broken promise, but an alarming withdrawal of the WB from basic education altogether. At the same time, the WB accesses and manages much of the Global Partnership for Education funding, which was meant to accelerate progress towards universal basic education. In several cases, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, there is evidence that the WB is explicitly substituting its own investments in basic education with funding from the Global Partnership’s multi-donor trust fund. The WB’s failure to deliver on its promise to increase its basic education financing indicates that WB leadership at country-level is not treating basic education as a priority. The substitution of WB lending by the Global Partnership’s funds not only threatens the Partnership’s aim to inject additional resources for basic education, but risks undermining the WB’s own mandate to achieve the MDGs. WB senior management need to direct country directors to ensure that IDA continues to support basic education. Ideally, this should involve having a default position of matching all country-level grants from the Global Partnership with a matching IDA allocation to the same basic education plan. This may involve capacity development of country directors – ensuring they understand the value of basic education and that this is clearly expressed in every country assistance strategy. The case for basic education should be a routine part of WB country director discussions with Ministries of Finance – and this should include exploring the potential for greater domestic investment (see principle 8 above).

It will not be enough to wait for this change in the WB’s organisational culture to correct course and ramp up investments in basic education. While this institutional discipline is sorely and urgently needed, the WB should commit in the short-term to an immediate transfer of \$750 million into the Global Partnership for Education Fund. The idea of converting IDA education loans to grants was strongly supported by the FTI Mid Term Evaluation which recommended “using funds to buy down IDA credits to grant level (this would reduce the risk of the WB and Ministries of Finance allowing the CF grant to displace IDA credits, and increase the likelihood of the WB remaining engaged in basic education).” Converting IDA into grants and channelling this funding through the Global Partnership will not only allow the WB to deliver on their promise, but will also ensure that IDA is still supporting basic education – even where WB country directors do not.

Build a true Global Partnership for Education



The newly launched Global Partnership for Education is an excellent opportunity to translate the principles above into effective action. To succeed, the Partnership needs to become a true partnership and global needs to mean truly global.

One of the biggest concerns about FTI was that it was seen as an initiative of the World Bank, with funds managed by the World Bank internationally and in almost every country and with a secretariat hosted by the World Bank and working on World Bank contracts. The FTI Mid Term Evaluation noted: “In its implementation the FTI has been too dependent on the World Bank. The Bank continues to play several roles within the partnership. The World Bank remains vitally important to the FTI. Nevertheless, concerns around these multiple roles – with the lack of a clear demarcation between the FTI and the World Bank, leading to ambiguity and potential conflicts of interest – are still evident. Efforts to make the partnership more balanced – including the recent reforms in governance – have not adequately addressed these points.”

This analysis led the evaluation team to recommend:

- “Reducing dependence on the World Bank, disentangling the different WB roles and guarding against conflicts of interest.”
- “The FTI Secretariat needs to be greatly strengthened. It needs to be operationally independent of the WB and seen as such.”

Further progress was made by the FTI following this evaluation report (e.g. the secretariat has grown from 15 people in 2009 to 40 people today) but the reforms have still not gone far enough. With the re-branding as the Global Partnership there needs to be a substantial move towards building a real global partnership. This needs to include:

- Developing a distinct legal identity for the Global Partnership.
- Ensuring a significant level of fiduciary independence even if the WB remains as a trustee.
- Making the secretariat fully independent and more empowered – able to control its own hiring and firing of staff and building capacity to the level needed to work effectively (though it should always seek to mobilise harmonised capacity across the partnership).
- Ensuring other partners come forward as Supervising Entities at country level. The biggest donors need to match their funding commitment with also taking on the Supervising Entity role in a few countries. In fragile states UNICEF can play a key role.
- Ensuring that global means global – which means accelerating progress on mechanisms for fragile states.
- Empowering partners to participate meaningfully at country level, particularly supporting national civil society coalitions to engage independently and fully in the mechanisms and processes of the partnership.
- Being fully transparent at all times, sharing information with all partners equally.
- Being ambitious: encouraging countries to ask for the full support that they need to deliver on EFA (see the case of Mali below) and holding donors to account for delivering their fair share of the full resource gap.

Don't Dampen Ambitions: The Case of Mali

The government of Mali identified a resource gap of €79 million in their recent education sector plan – but the FTI imposed a ceiling of €48 million as the limit that it could ask for. At the same time funding of education by donors within Mali seems to be reducing (for example, one of Mali's major donors in education, The Netherlands, reduced its budget from €20 million in 2010 to c.€9 million in 2011 and €6.7 million in 2012). The effect is that Mali will not have the resources necessary to deliver on the EFA goals, despite having a credible plan. The Global Partnership needs to be ambitious in its replenishment now and in future years so that such situations do not recur.

10

Funding the future

The Global Partnership for Education can and must be the champion of the best quality aid for basic education.

The ten principles above can guide the Partnership in the coming period to accelerate progress. Individual donors also need to respect these principles in their bilateral aid to education. The resource gap on aid to education is definitely one that can be bridged. It is not about raising money out of thin air but making clear allocations of the money that is already there. It is about spending existing resources effectively and it is about donors matching the allocations that they themselves expect of partners governments. That should be a matter of principle. The benchmark of 10% of spending being allocated to basic education needs to be embedded at all levels – and should apply also to any allocations from global funds raised by innovative means such as the Financial Transaction Tax.

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Education must be perceived and treated in the same way as health or HIV in global aid allocations. It is not and it is time for this to change. Where quality aid to basic education is delivered in practice the impact is immediate. Children's lives are changed the moment they enter school. It is not just an investment in the future but something that delivers immediately on children's right to education – the right to a better life today.

But yes it is also the soundest investment in the future - as education is an enabling right – one that enables people to secure other rights, to improve their health and their income, to hold government to account, to contribute to national development.

That is why the full replenishment of the Global Partnership for Education is so important. And that is why we say, Fund the Future: Education Rights Now!

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The Global Campaign for Education (GCE) is a civil society coalition which works to achieve education for all. GCE brings together national education campaigns and international NGOs in over 100 countries; together, we hold governments to account to deliver the right of everyone to a free, quality public education. Since our formation, 40 million more children have been able to go to school, and a financing mechanism (the Global Partnership for Education) has been established to help meet the education goals. Yet with close to a billion people being denied their right to an education, the fact remains that quality education for all is still far from reality. Find out more at www.campaignforeducation.org

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Regional & International Organisations: ActionAid International, ACEA, ANCEFA, ASPBAE, CAMFED, CARE, CEAAL, Christian Children's Fund, CLADE, Comic Relief, Education International, FAPE, FAWA, Fe y Alegria, Fundacion Ayuda en Accion, Global March Against Child Labour, IBIS, IDAY, Inclusion International, Light of the World: Christoffel Development Organisation, Oxfam International, Pamoja Africa Reflect Network, Plan International, Public Services International, REPEM, Save the Children Alliance, SightSavers International, The Consultative Group on Early Childhood Care and Development, VSO, World Alliance of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, World Vision International

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GLOBAL CAMPAIGN FOR EDUCATION

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In 2011 four individuals were elected from across the membership of the Global Campaign for Education to represent two of the four civil society constituencies on the board of the Global Partnership for Education.

Representing southern civil society are Mirian Chonya from Zambia and Nagi Alshafe from Sudan. Representing international non-government organisations and northern civil society are David Archer from ActionAid and Joseph O'Reilly from Save the Children.

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