Public good over private profit

A toolkit for civil society to resist the privatisation of education

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Cover pic: Citizens to demand expansion of public education in Tanzania during GCE's Global Action Week for Education, 2017.

Image courtesy of Tanzania Education Network/Mtandao Wa Elimu Tanzania (TEN/MET)

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Introduction to this toolkit – what, who and why?

What is this toolkit & who is it for?

This toolkit is intended as a resource for civil society coalitions and organisations with a rights-based understanding of education, who want to better understand the development and impact of privatisation in the education sector in their country, and who may be thinking about, or have already embarked on, advocacy against the harmful effects of privatisation. While reflecting primarily the context of the Global South – both low- and middle-income countries – the toolkit draws on experiences and examples from around the world, and should provide useful background, insight and ideas for activists in any context or country.

Who created it and why?

The Global Campaign for Education (GCE), founded in 1999, is a global civil society movement that advances the right to education through advocacy and public campaigns. GCE is a network of member organisations, networks and coalitions, present in more than 100 countries. Our members bring together civil society organisations, NGOs, teacher unions, child rights activists, parents' associations, young people and community groups.

GCE is driven by the conviction that quality education for all is achievable, and that citizen action to put pressure on and monitor governments is critical to ensure that governments take prompt, effective and accountable action to realise this right.

GCE recognises that the right to education implies both that states have a responsibility to ensure access to equitable, quality education, and that education should be free. Recent experience of our members and allies has raised concerns about ways in which growing privatisation and commodification in and of education systems has worsened inequity in education, deepened broader economic inequality, threatened progress towards quality education for all and undermined the delivery of quality public education.

Given this, GCE has been working with members to track developments relating to public and private education around the world, and understand their impacts. Since 2013, GCE members have undertaken research on the impact of private provision on the right to education, and GCE has produced a report, *Private Profit, Public Loss*, focused largely on 'low-fee' private schools. In this toolkit, GCE draws on member experience and expertise to produce a resource that can be of wider use in supporting the GCE movement, and civil society in general, to challenge those aspects of the privatisation of education that threaten to undermine the achievement of the right to free, public quality and equitable education for all.

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1. What is the big picture?
Understanding the global context

What is privatisation of education and what are the different types of private schools?

'Privatisation of education' is the process by which a growing proportion of an education system is being owned, funded, or operated by non-state actors, while the term 'private school' can refer to any school which is not managed or administered by the state. In normal conversation, people typically use 'private school' to refer to a school that is (at least mostly) both run by a private operator and funded by private resources, typically fees or scholarships. But there are a variety of forms of private school, and many ways that the private sector can get involved in education provision. Privatisation of the education system might look very different in your country from how it is unrolling in other countries. The chart below, adapted from GCE's recent *Private Profit Public Loss* report, illustrates and categorises different forms of education provision:

The top left square describes what might traditionally be thought of as private schools, and the bottom right fully public schools. The two other squares describe a variety of 'mixed' models – publicly-operated schools partly or fully funded by private finance, or privately-operated schools partly or fully

Chart 1A: forms of public and private education provision

	Private provision	Public provision
Private finance	• Private schools, ranging from elite and highly expensive schools to so-called "low fee" private schools • Home schooling • Non-subsidised community schools, religious schools, or NGO schools/learning centres • Non-subsidised after school coaching / tuition	• State-run public schools that charge fees • Individual or corporate philanthropy to public support schools • Private sponsorship of public schools
Public finance	• Private schools funded through government vouchers, subsidies, or scholarships • Education service contracts • Public schools managed and operated by private companies (sometimes called 'charter' or 'free' schools) • State-subsidised community schools, religious schools or NGO schools/learning centres.	• State-run public schools without fees

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funded by the government. These mixed models are often called 'public private partnerships' or 'PPPs'. Privatisation of education might involve expansion of any of the mixed forms of education provision, and encroach upon provision which is currently fully public.

Private education providers also vary hugely; they can include both for-profit actors like private companies, and not-for-profit actors such as non-governmental organisations and faith groups. Your country's education system is likely to include a diversity of non-state actors. Some of these (particularly NGOs, religious groups and communities themselves) run schools that are not-for-profit and often don't charge formal fees for attendance, while others depend on fees. You may find that these play an important role in providing education for under-served groups, and they are not the primary focus of GCE's concern.

Why does GCE care about privatisation?

GCE's vision is a world in which every girl, boy, woman and man realises their right to education and lifelong learning. This is the vision agreed by the world's governments in 2015 as Sustainable Development Goal 4, to *"ensure inclusive and quality education for all and promote lifelong learning"*. Just as every individual has the right to education, every state has the responsibility to respect, protect and fulfil that right. GCE member coalitions and organisations advocate for national and local state policies and practices – and for international norms, funding and agreements – that further the achievement of education that is universally accessible, free and of good quality, for all children, regardless of identity, location, disability or any other characteristic.

In this context, GCE and many of its allies are deeply concerned with the ways in which growing privatisation and commodification of education is impacting on progress towards achieving the right to education. This concern goes beyond the operation of individual private schools (which may range from excellent to appalling), and focuses primarily on whether privatisation trends are helping – or hindering – movement towards making a good quality, free education

available to ALL children. GCE recognises the reality that private education is a significant part of the education sector in many countries, and it acknowledges the important role that many not-for-profit private providers have played and are playing in providing education, such as NGO-supported education in fragile states. Nevertheless, the experiences of many GCE members, and the evidence gathered by academics, think tanks and others, make clear the dangers of current trends in privatisation. In particular, the expansion of for-profit and fee-paying education is contributing to increased inequality and exclusion in education systems, while diverting much-needed funds from public sector approaches that could reach goals of universality, equity and quality. This is why GCE's campaigning is focused on these for-profit and fee-charging actors.

Box 1: *A note on fees*

Both public and private schools can charge formal fees for attendance, or be fee-free. In some schools that officially have no fees, principals or teachers still require that parents pay something for their children to attend – so-called 'informal'' fees. GCE believes that all children should have access to education without fees, whether formal or informal. In addition to fees, families may need to fund other out-of-pocket costs associated with attending school, such as the costs for text books, uniforms, meals or other materials. In this report, GCE uses 'fees' to refer to a payment (formal or informal) that must be made solely in order to attend a school, while recognising that other costs exist (in both public and private schools) and can be problematic.

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What are the recent trends in privatisation of education?

The extent, pattern and nature of privatisation is unique in every country: Chapter 2 describes some of the key sources of reliable information about what is happening in your country. Here, we highlight a few overall global trends to provide a context.

- **Growth with variation:** while statistics are not always reliable or complete, available evidence shows a growth in private education provision across the world in at least the last 10 to 15 years. But there is significant variation within this global growth:

  - *Geographical variation*: there is greater enrolment in private schools in the Global South than in OECD countries, and individual countries – both north and south – vary from having a large private sector in education to almost none at all; growth patterns are similarly varied.

  - *Variation by level*: there is at present greater private enrolment at pre-primary and secondary levels than primary level.

- **Corporate-backed for-profit growth:** there has been an expansion of corporate, profit-seeking involvement in the education sector globally, fuelled by growing perception of the education sector in low-income and middle-income countries as a lucrative market in which global businesses and investors can make significant profits.

- **Shift to larger-scale for-profit providers:** correspondingly, there has been a shift in the style of for-profit, private education providers, from largely local, small-scale actors, to large-scale, often corporate-backed, with a range of investors, many based in the US or the UK. These include, for example, Bridge International Academies (US-owned), Omega Schools (UK- and Ghana-owned), and APEC Schools (Philippines- and UK-owned). A GPE briefing issued in early 2017[1] identified 28 corporate entities – including venture capitalists etc. – that are investing across borders in private education in developing countries, and referenced a recent study of education finance in sub-Saharan Africa which found that one quarter of education sector investors were new to the sector. (See Table 4A in Chapter 4.)

- **'Low-fee' private schools; 'charter' schools; vouchers; 'shadow' schooling:** some of the major forms of expansion of private engagement in the education sector globally are the phenomena of so-called 'low-fee' (also known as low-cost) private schools; public-private partnerships where private operators run and manage ostensibly 'public' schools, sometimes making a profit (sometimes called 'charter' schools); 'vouchers' or individual government grants to cover or subsidise private school fees; and so-called 'shadow' schooling in the form of paid after-school tuition or coaching. (See Annex B for more resources on these topics.) Available evidence shows that while there may be significant profits to be made from expansion of these forms of private education, they are leading to violations of the right to education and creating significant barriers to the achievement of equitable, quality education for all.

- **Outsourcing of public education provision to for-profit providers:** while not a global trend, the government of Liberia has initiated a pilot scheme to outsource a large section of the public education system to private operators, which is worth keeping an eye on. The 'Partnership Schools for Liberia' (PSL) project currently includes a combination of non-profit and for-profit providers, including chains such as Omega Schools and Bridge International Academies (see Case Study 2A in Chapter 2).

- **Resistance to privatisation:** growing resistance to these trends has included actions by parents and communities, human rights organisations, and various civil society organisations. In particular, Education International (EI, the international federation of teachers' unions) has been a leading global actor in resisting privatisation, working with its member unions around the world. Some governments – for example, those of Uganda[2] and the 84 members of the International Francophone Organisation (OIF)[3] – have also been pushing back or speaking out against certain forms of privatisation and the commercialisation of education. Civil society resistance is becoming increasingly networked and linked, including through the work of GCE and EI, regional networks such as the Asia South Pacific Association for Basic and Adult Education (ASPBAE), Campaña Latinoamericana por el Derecho a la Educación (CLADE), the Arab Campaign for Education for All (ACEA), the Africa Network Campaign for Education for All (ANCEFA), and other global and regional actors, such as the Privatisation in Education and Human Rights Consortium (PEHRC). This toolkit will present examples of such resistance, while Chapter 6 in particular will discuss how to support community-level action and how to link that to national, regional and global efforts.

- **Condemnation from the United Nations and rights bodies:** resistance is gaining strength from the statements and actions of global rights and education bodies. Past and current UN

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1 GPE briefing for March 2017 Board of Directors meeting: BOD/2017/03 Financing and Funding Framework Background Document. See Chapter 4 for a list of relevant actors.

2 See e.g. The Guardian, 4 November 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/nov/04/judge-orders-closure-low-cost-bridge-international-academies-uganda

3 17th summit of Francophone countries, November 2016, The Antananarivo Declaration, www.francophonie.org/IMG/pdf/som_xvi_decl_antananarivo_vf.pdf

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Special Rapporteurs on the Right to Education have spoken out against privatisation, for example stating in 2015[4] that *"privatisation is detrimental to education as a public good"*, while a United Nations resolution in 2016, for example, discussed the importance of addressing *"any negative impacts of the commercialization of education"*.[5,6]

What are the key arguments for education privatisation and their flaws?

The promotion of privatisation relies in large part on a story being told about how private education works, particularly in LICs and LMICs. If activists are to understand and, where necessary, challenge privatisation, it is important to understand this narrative, its ideological underpinnings, its language, and its flaws – both conceptual and in terms of evidence.

Key arguments are set out in Table 1B below on page 10); more information is available in a series of accompanying GCE briefings and other resources listed in Annex B. While policies that further privatisation are often described neutrally as 'education reform', they in fact represent a flawed ideology, based on weak evidence, which must be challenged, while the case for effective public sector reform is made.

Civil society demonstration to demand government accountability for the sustainable development goal for education during GCE's Global Action Week for Education in Nepal, 2017.
Image courtesy of National Campaign for Education (NCE) Nepal.

4   Singh (2015) Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/70/342
5   Human Rights Council resolution A/HRC/32/L.33 (2016) - www.right-to-education.org/sites/right-to-education.org/files/resource-attach-ments/HRC_Resolution_Right_to_Education_2016_En.pdf
6   The Global Initiative for Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights has summarised all UNHR bodies' comments and observations adopted from September 2014 to June 2017: http://globalinitiative-escr.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/GIESCR-CRC_CESCR_CEDAW-synthesis-state-ments-on-private-actors-in-education.pdf

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Table 1B: Common pro-privatisation claims, and the reality

Key word	False claim	Reality	Example fact	See GCE (2016) Private Profit Public Loss
Quality	Private schools offer better quality education than public schools, which are failing.	While some individual private schools (including, of course, elite ones) are better than some individual public schools, many do the same or worse. There is no evidence that private schools overall provide better quality, especially once students' backgrounds are taken into account; there is plenty of evidence of poor quality private schools, especially 'low-fee' private schools.	An IADB study of education in Latin America found no difference in public or private school outcomes once the student's background and family factors are taken into account. [a]	Pages 20-23
Efficiency	Private schools – and the private sector in general – are more efficient than the public sector	This is an ideological claim with no basis in reality. Some private providers are more 'efficient' at making a profit, but this is not relevant to students. There is overwhelming evidence that there is no private school advantage in delivering better education, which is what matters.	A national study in the US found that privately-run 'charter' schools on average spend US$774 MORE on administration than traditional public schools and US$1,141 LESS on instruction. [b]	Pages 28-29
Choice	Having a range of private providers allows parents to choose the school that best fits their child.	Education policy should focus on providing quality for all – not pander to the market ideology of 'choice'. Education is a public good that is the right of all children, regardless of whether parents have the capacity, will or resources to make a well-informed 'choice'. In practice, expanded private provision may offer greater 'choice' for the wealthy, but not high quality for all. Similarly, not all parents have a choice in practice – such as in rural settings, or in informal urban settings.	Repeated studies – for example – from Ghana, India, Nepal, and elsewhere – shows parents 'choosing' schools based on inaccurate or irrelevant information, such as the performance of unrelated schools, newspaper advertisements, or whether uniforms include belts. [c]	Pages 30-31
Accountability and quality through competition	Because they are chosen, private providers are necessarily more accountable to parents, and will compete to attract and retain pupils – leading poor quality schools simply to close and improving quality across the education sector.	Evidence does not show that parents hold private providers accountable as this theory suggests, and certainly do not switch schools (and school changes and closures are anyway harmful to students' education). Operators often feel most accountable to their shareholders. In public-private partnerships, contracts with private providers are often opaque, and the private contractors may have been guaranteed returns by the state, making them less responsive to communities. Democratic accountability in public education is crucial – but bringing in private providers is not improving it. Evidence shows that 'choice' in education leads to inequity, not accountability and improvement across the board.	A DfID review of accountability in private schools (including 'low-fee' schools) found "no evidence of users actually exiting schools due to quality concerns". [d] An OECD study found that countries with more private provision do no better than countries with a smaller private sector in education. [e]	Pages 30-31
Affordability	'Low-fee' private schools are already cheap enough to be affordable for all, and voucher or subsidy schemes can make other private schools affordable also.	Even leaving aside the fact that human rights law requires education to be free, not 'affordable', the fact is that the poorest families cannot afford even the cheapest of 'low-fee' schools – as private school operators admit. When poor families do make this sacrifice, they often limit it to boys, or children without disabilities, and take out risky loans or miss out on crucial healthcare in order to 'afford' it. The argument that vouchers, or government subsidies, can make fee-paying education affordable for all ignores the poor functioning of and inequities created by such schemes.	In Ghana, fees for just one child at an Omega 'low-fee' school cost 40% of household income for the poorest families. [f]	Pages 23-25

a) Inter-American Development Bank (2011) Do private schools do a better job of teaching in Latin America?, IADB
b) Arsen, David & Ni, Yongmei (2012) Is administration leaner in charter schools? Resource allocation in charter and traditional public schools, Education Policy Analysis Archives
c) See studies listed in Walker et al. (2016), Private Profit, Public Loss: why the push for low-fee public schools is throwing quality education off track, Global Campaign for Education
d) Day et al. (2014), The role and impact of private schools in developing countries: A rigorous review of the evidence, DFID
e) OECD (2011), Private schools: who benefits? PISA in focus, OECD
f) Riep (2014), 'Omega Schools Franchise in Ghana', in MacPherson et al (2014), Education, Privatisation and Social Justice: case studies from Africa, South Asia and Southeast Asia, PERI

Box 2. *Education as a human right*

Education is a human right, formally recognised in the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and enshrined in several international instruments, including the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (articles 13 and 14), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (articles 28 and 29), and the UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education. Under international law, States are obliged to respect, protect and fulfil the right to education for all without any discrimination.

The right to education goes beyond access. States have the obligation to ensure the full enjoyment of the right to education for all through a fully accountable, free, publicly-supported education system of good quality. The former UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Katarina Tomasevski, unpacked the right to education, as it is defined in the various treaties and conventions, as including these essential and interrelated features:

Availability – Education is free, government-funded and there is adequate infrastructure and trained teachers able to support the delivery of education;

Accessibility – The education system is non-discriminatory and accessible to all, and positive steps are taken to include the most marginalised;

Acceptability – The content of education is relevant, non-discriminatory and culturally appropriate, and of quality; schools are safe and teachers are professional;

Adaptability – Education evolves with the changing needs of society and challenges inequalities, such as gender discrimination; education adapts to suit locally specific needs and contexts. (CESCR, General Comment 13, paragraph 6)

International law also recognises the right of private actors to establish and manage educational institutions, and parents to choose any school for their child. However, this is subject to the requirement that private actors must meet standards laid down by the State, supplement rather than replace public provision, and must protect human rights, specifically the right to non-discrimination. States must also ensure that a system with multiple providers does not create discrimination and inequalities, nor undermine the concept of free quality education as a public good available to all.

See also the website of the Right to Education Initiative, www.right-to-education.org

What are the key rights-based objections to education privatisation?

The arguments in favour of education privatisation, as highlighted in the previous section, are often flawed and sometimes are shown to be simply untrue when compared to the evidence. The actual impact of privatisation, moreover, raises several rights-based concerns, as outlined here.

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Table 1C: Rights and justice concerns raised by privatisation of education

Rights/justice issue	Problem	Conclusion
Universality (availability): all children – poor or rich, girls or boys, with or without disabilities – have the right to education.	The fact that fee-paying schools are not affordable to the poorest immediately creates a barrier to universality. The massive increases in enrolment after many governments abolished school fees in the late 1990s and early 2000s show the importance of fee-free education to achieving education for all. For-profit private operators have so far shown little interest in operating in rural or remote areas, while studies from India suggest that their models are not feasible without the infrastructure provided in urban areas.	Evidence has repeatedly shown that only governments can achieve the scale, and tolerate the costs, required to achieve truly universal education. Governments must focus on strengthening their own capacity to deliver, not pursuing policy routes that will weaken that capacity while providing for only a few children.
Sustainability: children need continuity and security in their education.	Far too many private schools close down – often without notice – when their model becomes unsustainable or unprofitable, for example, or subject to the decisions of investors. Even non-profit private operators withdraw when priorities or funding patterns change. Parents who can no longer afford fees have to withdraw their children. These changes are extremely harmful to children's education.	The state has a permanent responsibility to secure education for all its children, and is uniquely placed to assure sustainability.
Equity (accessibility, adaptability): the right to education implies all children should have access to education of good quality, without discrimination.	One of the fundamental problems of all forms of privatisation – in particular, voucher schemes, privately-run public schools, and an expansion of private provision (including 'low fee') – is the significant stratification and segregation that such approaches create. Private-led models have an overwhelming tendency to separate children by socio-economic status.	Policy should be directed towards making it possible for all children to attend public schools which are being supported to achieve high quality, and with funding models that actively aim to compensate for differing levels of income and advantage.
Quality (acceptability): the right to education requires that all children have good quality education.	The argument for 'low-fee' private schools relies on an unspoken assumption that poor quality education – one that can be bought for a few dollars a week and still make profits for investors – is good enough. Teachers are employed without qualifications and given very low salaries and no job security; teaching is from a script provided by school managers. Infrastructure is poor and often lacking even basic sanitation facilities. A DfID rigorous review of private schools found that *"many children may not be achieving basic competencies"*;[g] a study in one Indian school found that three quarters of eight-year-old children in private schools could not solve simple mathematical problems;[h] the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child found that many private schools in Ghana are *"in poor condition"*.[i] The argument made for such schools is that they are better than the public school down the road – or that there isn't a public school nearby. Even when these claims are true (and they often aren't), that isn't good enough. We should not be in a 'race to the bottom' where the standard of education that we aim to provide for the poorest children is 'slightly better than the worst'.	All children deserve and have the right to quality education. The state and citizens should be promoting and investing in a strong system for all, not relying on low-fee private education for the poor.
Workers' rights: education should not be delivered to children at the expense of the rights of teachers and other school staff.	In many 'low-fee' private schools, teachers are employed without training and job security, and at poverty wages. This 'de-skilling' of the teaching profession both exploits those teachers, and leads to poor quality for students.	Training and valuing teachers and other workers is a win-win situation that protects their rights while improving education for pupils.

g) Day et al. (2014), The role and impact of private schools in developing countries: A rigorous review of the evidence, DfID

h) Singh, R., Sarkar S. (2012) Teaching quality counts: how student outcomes relate to quality of teaching in private and public schools in India, University of Oxford. Young Lives Working Paper 91.

i) http://globalinitiative-escr.org/un-human-rights-body-denounces-the-commercialisation-of-education-in-ghana-as-the-government-defends-its-support-to-private-schools/

Who or what is driving privatisation in and of education?

Chapter 4 of this toolkit, 'Who has the power?', discusses in more detail the major global players and national decision-makers in privatisation-related debates. There is a powerful network of actors which is pushing privatisation and commercialisation of the education sector globally; they are linked to what academics and activists have termed the 'GERM' – or 'Global Education Reform Movement' – which is also pushing ideologically-driven 'reforms' in wealthier countries.

This includes corporations and their leaders, investors – including both those who are high-profile and low-profile in privatisation debates – and a strong pro-private donor and 'philanthropic' network. Some of the most active corporate actors include Pearson. The most active private foundations are often offshoots of large companies – such as the Vitol Foundation and the UBS Optimist Foundation – or corporate philanthropists such as Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook and Pierre Omidyar, founder of eBay. These work alongside institutional donors such as the UK's Department for International Development (DfID), the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank. There are strong links and blurred lines between all these actors. The UK's DfID and the World Bank, for example, provide grants to support privatisation initiatives, and invest in the private company Bridge International Academies (BIA); BIA also includes foundations and individual philanthropists among its investors. See more on individual actors (including a list of select private investors) in Chapter 4; here we also briefly describe some of the key motivating factors.

Key motivators

Given these actors, some of the motivating factors are unsurprising:

- Profit: the desire to find a new and lucrative 'market' is extremely significant for the corporations and investors. A recent review of education finance developments identified 19 different companies[7] investing in private education in low-income countries for whom the primary motivation was profit. While profit might be less relevant to, for example, donor agencies, these profit-driven investors are clearly significant and appear to be growing in number: the same review noted that many were new to the sector. In some countries, profit-making in the education sector is largely – or even wholly – unregulated, leaving open the prospect of huge money-making opportunities, including at the expense of poor families.

- Ideology: there is a strong ideological conviction in the value of 'market' solutions (see below also on choice and competition) on the part of some key players and institutions. In some cases, the prevailing ideology of a government creates incentives for that country's development agency to favour private sector engagement in delivering public services; this is at least in part the case at present with DfID, the UK's development agency, for example. In other cases, prominent individuals within an agency act as internal cheerleaders for market-based ideologies of 'choice', 'competition', and the profit motive as a key driver of progress.

- A desire for immediate solutions: nearly 30 years after the World Conference on Education For All at Jomtien, the world has not achieved education for all. Doing so is a complicated and expensive task – and one that on a global scale is, so far, chronically underfunded. Governments and donors are looking for solutions, in particular ones that apparently do not require additional funds. In this context, the promotional efforts of the corporate-backed privatisers – who devote considerable effort to marketing what they offer, to selectively producing and highlighting research that backs up their claims, to presenting facts and figures that show them in the best possible light – are extremely powerful, both for under-pressure staff at donor agencies and for southern government officials hampered by limited budgets. The claims made by the privatisers do not hold true, and the danger of going down the privatising path and the trajectory of privatisation is that it puts quality education that is truly *for all* even further out of reach.

Contested motivator: parental demand

Champions of education privatisation often claim that a – or *the* – key driver is parental demand; that is, private schools are growing because parents are demanding or choosing them. But this claim is disingenuous at best, and false at worst. It is true that parents want a good education for their children – indeed, as the UN's *My World 2015* global survey showed, it is the most frequently cited goal of all groups of people, all over the world. And in many cases, parents are choosing private schools when public schools are either not available or of poor quality – never mind that the private school alternatives may be little better, if at all. The fact remains that parents are not choosing private education in and of itself, they are doing so when they feel they are being denied the choice of the good public education to which their children are entitled. Whether governments should interpret this, therefore, as a reason to further privatisation, or a reason to improve public education, is a policy choice – and GCE argues strongly for the latter response.

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7   GPE briefing for March 2017 Board of Directors meeting: BOD/2017/03 *Financing and Funding Framework Background Document*. See Chapter 4 for full list of relevant actors.

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Why is public education important?

In contrast, public education – when done thoroughly – can be:

• free and universal
• a way to bring together all children
• a means to address disadvantage and promote equality
• subject to democratic debate and oversight.

Achieving this will require significant further investment and focus. But it is achievable. With sufficient political will, governments can and have produced meaningful improvements in public education systems. In Bolivia over the last 10 years, for example, increased investment in public education and reforms, such as improving teachers' in-service training, have significantly improved the quality of public education, and, alongside regulation requiring greater accountability from private education providers, have led to a shift in enrolment from private to public schools.[8] The global gap in financing to achieve basic education for all in low-income countries is US$26 billion – just 1.5% of global military spending in 2016. Moreover, the Sustainable Development Goal for education, SDG4, covers an ambitious range of targets, including the pledge to 'ensure that all girls and boys complete free, equitable and quality primary and secondary education'. So, it is vital that enough funds are also allocated to meeting this target.

Of course, there are significant problems with many public education systems today. But with the right political will and commitment, we can achieve the vision set out most recently in the World Declaration on Education agreed in Incheon in May 2015. The false promise of privatisation will not get us there.

Case study 1A:

Cuba: an argument against rushing to private sector solutions

Cuba has an unusually high-performing education system, compared to its neighbours and countries of similar wealth. This strength is visible both in enrolment, and in achievement. Almost all Cuban children enrol in publicly-funded early childhood education; 92% of children of primary school age are in school, and 85.7% of children of secondary school age. The country has a 100% literacy rate.

Cuba is also the only country in Latin America and the Caribbean with a completely public education system, and it has high levels of investment in its public education system: the latest figures from UIS (2010) show that government spending on education as a percentage of GDP is 12.84% – the highest in the region. Yet many other countries in the region, far from learning from Cuba's public system, are embarking (or continuing) on experiments with privatisation – and getting worse results. The World Bank generally prefers to promote private sector-led 'reforms' in education, yet in 2014, for example, it published a book on education in Latin America which referred to 'high-performing Cuba' and stated that of all the countries in the region, only Cuba is *"very close to high standards, high academic talent, high or at least adequate compensation, and high professional autonomy that characterise the world's most effective education systems"*. Cuba is clear evidence that investment in and effective management of the public sector can produce far better results than handovers to the private sector.

Sources: UNESCO Institute of Statistics; Bruns & Luque (2014) 'Great Teachers: how to raise student learning in Latin America and the Caribbean, World Bank Group

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8 Fontdevila & Verger (2016) https://www.unite4education.org/uncategorized/the-privatisation-of-education-can-be-reversed-evidence-from-recent-education-reforms-in-bolivia/ - accessed May 2017

EXERCISE 1A:

Exploring forms of education privatisation

1. Below we have recreated a blank version of Chart 1A (p4), with the four quadrants identified by whether the financing is public or private, and whether the provision is public or private.

2. Place each of the following types of school where you think they would fit on the chart:

   a. A public secondary school, with some government funds but where parents also pay fees to attend

   b. A church-run primary school, funded by a mix of donor grants and fees from parents

   c. A public university, funded through government grants with no formal tuition fees

   d. A 'low-fee' primary school, run by a business, charging parents US$2 a day

   e. A secondary school managed by a business, funded by a government grant and not charging fees to attend

   f. A public elementary school which the government is funding through an education sector support grant from a bilateral development partner.

3. Think about which of these you would describe as public or private, and why?

Adapting this for a workshop setting

• Before embarking on the exercise, you might choose to ask participants to describe types of schools (primary, secondary, tertiary, non-formal) that they know of in your country, and use the resulting list instead of the list in step 2.

• Put a large version of the chart where all groups can see it. Give each group stickies to represent each school; each group discusses separately where they would place each type of school, and then in feedback, each group can place one school on the chart (step 2), and explain their choice and whether they would call this public or private (step 3).

• Discuss the choices in plenary.

	Private provision	Public provision
Private finance		
Public finance		

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EXERCISE 1B:

Exploring rights and justice implications of privatisation

1. Read one or both of the two privatisation case studies below

2. For each, compile a list of potential concerns about rights and justice, including:

- Availability and accessibility of education for all students – including whether education is free, sufficiently available and accessible to all without discrimination

- Acceptability of education – including whether the quality good enough, the content is relevant and appropriate, the school is safe

- Adaptability of education for all students – including whether it provides for students with different abilities, needs and situations and tackles inequalities

- Accountability of education providers to students, parents and communities

- Equity in the overall provision of education.

3. In addition, note any questions you would need to ask to further determine these rights and justice implications.

Adapting this for a workshop setting

- Divide into groups of around 4.

- Provide each group with one case study (use one or both, depending on numbers of groups).

- Ask each group to think about the potential rights and justice impacts of the situation described from ONE of the perspectives listed in point 2 above. Write up thoughts on flipchart.

- After each group has finished, the other groups tour the flipcharts in turn. They should add a tick to anything they strongly agree with, and add any other ideas they have.

- Each group ends up back at their own flipchart to review the comments; no group feedback required.

Case study 1B:

Vouchers in Nevada

In 2015, the US state of Nevada passed a law establishing 'education savings accounts' — a new form of voucher that places government money into a savings account for families to spend on private education. This was the US's first 'universal' voucher system, where the voucher funds were available to anyone regardless of income. Rather than only going to families that met a detailed set of requirements, the so-called 'Super Voucher' of up to US$5,700 in state funds can go to any family whose child attended a public school for 100 days prior to applying.

The voucher funds drew on the existing budget for public education, allowing parents to take money the state would otherwise spend on public schools and use it on things like private school tuition, tutoring, and home-schooling.

Voucher supporters claimed that the scheme would help fuel competition and ease overcrowding in public schools. Detractors raised concerns that the scheme would worsen conditions in Nevada's public schools, which were already severely underfunded and ranked at the bottom of the US states for student achievement.

After the scheme was introduced, data showed that more than 80% of applicants were from the wealthiest neighbourhoods around the state's largest cities. Applicants came disproportionately from the neighbourhoods with the highest-performing public schools. The voucher amount was several thousand dollars below the cost of most private schools in Nevada, meaning that families would also need to pay very large amounts from their own income in order to use the voucher to pay private school fees. Most private schools are located in the suburbs, and there is no public transport to reach them. Many private schools do not have facilities for children with disabilities or those who do not speak English as a first language; many of the poorest students in Nevada speak Spanish at home.

Sources: The Guardian https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/jul/25/nevada-school-voucher-program-supreme-court - *accessed May 2017; The Atlantic* https://www.theatlantic.com/education/archive/2017/02/can-a-universal-voucher-program-succeed/515436/ - *accessed May 2017*

Case study 1C:

Privatisation in Peru

Over the past two decades Peru has experienced unprecedented growth of the private education sector, aided by a 1998 law which sought to promote private investment in education by deregulating private educational activities, allowing private schools to operate on a for-profit basis, and offering tax credits to investors. The number of private schools in the country massively expanded during the nineties, especially after the law was passed. A while later, particularly from 2004, enrolment in these private schools also increased considerably. By 2012, 25% of all enrolments in basic education were in private schools. This has made Peru the country in which default school privatisation has been most marked.

Champions of private schools claim that they improve test scores. Results from the 2013 national assessments in Peru, however, show that private schools located in areas with high concentrations of pupils from poorer families tend to have similarly low, and in some cases worse, results than public schools operating in those same areas.

A study using PISA test results from Latin American countries found that Peru has the highest levels of educational segregation in Latin American, in terms of rich and poor students attending different schools, and is also the country in which pupils' socio-economic status is most strongly correlated with their learning achievement. Furthermore, there has emerged a situation where different private schools cater almost exclusively to different parental income levels: private education goes from high-end schools educating the children of the global elite, to 'low-fee' 'garage schools,' offering an education of sub-standard quality to poorer families.

There is almost no effective regulation, partly because of deregulation and partly because of poor capacity at the Ministry of Education. The central Ministry does not store even basic information on private schools and there is no information on what happens in these schools, what fees they charge, whether they are registered as for-profit or not-for-profit, etc. Parents lack information as to what they can or cannot expect from the private schools in which

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they enrol their children, which Ministerial officials cite as a concern. Parents, especially poorer parents, do not know what schools can or cannot lawfully demand in terms of monetary and other contributions, fee changes, etc. and they are unaware of the potential consequences that not being able to pay school fees might have for their children's education. However, the government has now initiated a national consultation process to address the issue of regulation of private education.

Source: Balarin (2015) The default privatisation of Peruvian education and the rise of 'low-fee' private schools, PERI and Campaña Peruana por el Derecho a la Educación

EXERCISE 1C:

Exploring rights and justice implications of policies favouring privatisation

You live in a small country. There are currently 250 private primary schools in total, but operators wish to expand this. The numbers of children attending different kinds of primary school are given in **Table 1D** (page 19), along with an indication of their overall quality and key concerns. Working with this table:

Consider what school you would expect the following people to choose for their child (if any)?

• A rural farming family earning slightly above average household income, with 3 children (two boys, one girl)

• An urban businesswoman, earning more than 30 times the average income and 2 children (both girls)

• A couple who are both government employees, living in town and each earning two times the average income, with 4 children (two boys, two girls)

• A family living in a poor city area, earning average household income, with 3 children (one boy, two girls)

• A family living in an urban slum area, with household income about 40% of the average, and 5 children (three boys, two girls)

Adapting this for a workshop setting

• Divide into groups of around four; photocopy the page with Table 1D and give each group a copy.

• Ask groups to discuss the question. In plenary, ask a different group to share their answer in relation to each family, then discuss if others agree.

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Table 1D – Primary school enrolment in Country X

	Total # of children	% of primary-age children	Fees per child (% of average household income)	Overall quality	Key problems
Urban public schools	594,000	49.5	0	Poor to good; best in affluent areas, worst in slums	Of 21,760 teachers total, some are poorly trained and 4,000 are untrained; 2,700 more teachers are needed to reach a teacher: pupil ratio of 1:40; it is hard to recruit in rural areas; there is poor infrastructure in some schools; insufficient text books (gap of 880,000 to have 1 book per 2 children; gap of 390,000 to have 1 per 3 children: 3 core subjects).
Rural public schools	385,200	32.1	0	Poor to middling	
Church-run school (all rural)	74,400	6.2	0	Middling	Poorly trained or untrained teachers; out-of-date textbooks.
Out of school, in rural areas	60,000	5	-	-	Access/distance; availability; cost; opportunity cost; demand.
'Low-fee' private schools (all urban/ slum)	48,000	4	15%	Mostly poor, but some better than neighbouring public schools	Untrained teachers; limited sustainability especially when unlicensed; poor infrastructure and teaching materials; poor sanitation; limited regulation & no supervision.
Out of school, in urban areas	36,000	3	-	-	Availability; cost; opportunity cost; demand.
Elite private schools (all urban)	2,400	0.2	400%	Excellent	Cost.
TOTAL	1,200,000	100			

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EXERCISE 1D:

Exploring rights and justice implications of policies favouring privatisation

PART 2: You are an adviser to the Minister of Education. You must make a recommendation to her for how to spend an additionalUS$11m for education, which will be available from next year for up to 3 years. There is, additionally, potential for an ongoing increased stream of funding from a dedicated oil tax, starting in 3 years, but this is not yet decided. The costs associated with different proposed forms of expansion and/or improvement of primary education are given in Table 1E (page 21).

In making your recommendation, bear in mind:

• Likelihood of advancing the right to education mid-term and long-term, including how many more children in school and the quality of education

• Current affordability

• Ongoing sustainability

• How this will fit with other expansion plans if new funds become available.

Adapting this for a workshop setting

• Keep the groups of four; photocopy the page with Table 1E and give each group a copy.

• If you have a long time, groups could discuss all options and make a proposal. In plenary, you can discuss and vote on these.

• Alternatively, you could assign each group a different option, and ask them to develop a proposal and evaluate its pros and cons for the Minister. You could use the following options, or develop others if you have more groups:

    a) Vouchers to support attendance at 'low-fee' public schools + regulation & supervision

    b) Contracting with private operators to run public schools + regulation & supervision

    c) Infrastructure and textbook improvements

    d) Opening more public schools

    e) Improvements to teacher training and/or numbers in public schools

• In plenary, ask each group to present on their proposal.

• Open a plenary discussion by asking for comments on the proposals, and/or suggestions of hybrid proposals. Guide the discussion in light of aspects of the right to education.

• At the end of the discussion, the moderator will decide which four options have got the most interest so far (whether the original proposals or hybrids) and put them to a vote.

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Table 1E: Total and unit costs of options to expand and/or improve primary education in Country X

	Initial cost (planning, infrastructure, etc.)	Ongoing cost per year
	Total	Per school (500 students)
Developing regulation and government capacity to monitor private schools effectively	750,000	3,800
Repair most urgent infrastructure problems in public schools & improve maintenance	1,800,000	800
Repair all infrastructure problems in public schools & improve maintenance	4,000,000	1,200
	Total	Per student
Voucher scheme to support students attending urban 'low-fee' private schools	50,000	450
Contract with new private operator to run government schools in non-slum urban areas	50,000	600
Additional per-pupil cost of opening a new public school in rural area	70,000	180
Additional per-pupil cost of opening a new public school in urban area	50,000	150
	Total	Per teacher
Introduce new in-service training programme for public school teachers	750,000	600
Increase incentives for teachers in rural public schools	0	300
Employ additional teacher in existing public school	1200 per teacher	4,800
	Per book	
Textbooks	3	(Replacement costs)

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2. What is our situation?

Understanding your context and identifying issues

The first stage in any campaign or advocacy effort will be to fully understand the privatisation issues you are engaging with and how they are having an impact in your context; only then will you be able to make informed decisions about the actions you want to advocate for government, donors, civil society and other relevant actors to take. This chapter of the toolkit outlines different steps in exploring the privatisation context in your country including: clarifying your starting point and key questions; identifying sources of information; and understanding the available information.

Clarifying your starting point and questions

Given the huge variety in the forms and context of private education, there are many different aspects that your advocacy may (need to) focus on. In narrowing down your focus, you need to understand: your own organisational context; your campaigning context; and, your national context. You can start your planning by thinking about the following questions:

- **What is your advocacy framework?** While this may already be obvious, it will be useful to be explicit upfront about whether this planned privatisation advocacy is fitting into an existing campaign or issue focus (e.g. how is privatisation relevant to your campaign on inclusive education for children with disabilities, or on girls' education, etc.), or whether you are open to broader work on how privatisation affects any aspect of the right to education.

- **What do you already understand about your education privatisation context?** This is the moment for a broad, open conversation within civil society with other coalition members, partners and stakeholders. This will draw out, firstly, what you already know about privatisation in your country, and, secondly, what concerns this raises. You could use the questions at the top of each section in Table 2A (in bold) as a guide to the areas to cover in this initial conversation; it should give you a sense of what you know about privatisation in your country, what you don't know, and what most concerns you. There may be some quite divergent views on privatisation within your movement; this is an opportunity to discuss those views. The information in Chapter 1 – particularly Tables 1B and 1C – should be useful, and the questions in Table 2A should also help you dig deeper, and build an understanding of why privatisation might be of concern. (You might also want to review the information in Chapter 6 about community-level discussions of privatisation.) If you face an immediate threat – such as the imminent handover of schools to a private operator, or a proposed change in the law to favour private operators – see Box 4 in Chapter 5 for advice on rapid-response campaigns.

- **What are you going to focus on?** Once you have in mind your own advocacy context and an initial sense of what is happening and what concerns you in relation to privatisation, you can decide your own focus. Will you be looking at 'low-fee' private schools, for example, or public-private partnerships, or planned voucher schemes? Or are you concerned about different forms of privatisation from the perspective of equity, or transparent governance? Making your focus as narrow as possible, given the context, will help to make your campaign manageable and potentially more effective.

Once you have decided your focus, you can start thinking about the further information you need to carry out evidence-based advocacy on this topic. For this, Table 2A on page 23 may be useful: it sets out examples of the kinds of questions that are relevant to different broad issues, as well as highlighting questions from different sections that may be more relevant to different forms of privatisation. This is not intended as a standard checklist, but as a guide to help you think about what you need to know to build a full background picture for your campaign; use your initial conversations and this table to focus in on the questions you think will be most important. These questions could apply to local, state or national level, to a specific level of education or all – you will decide where you want to focus.

Table 2A: Background questions – examples to ask to understand your context

Key questions about your context

OVERVIEW: what forms and scale of education privatisation exists in your country?

This includes thinking about the following issues, **including** whether they have changed over time:

- **Enrolment:** what proportion of children, at each level, are in school overall; in public schools; in private schools (of different types); and out of school?
- **Schools:** what kinds of private schools exist and what proportion of children does each kind educate?
- **Government policy:** does the government actively encourage privatisation (through spending, policies, contracts, etc.)?
- **Domestic debate:** what is the national public conversation (if any) about private schools and/or the overall national approach to privatisation in your country? Have there been major concerns raised in the media or by major movements, organisations or individuals?
- **International debate:** have regional or international education or human rights bodies commented on issues related to private education in your country?

FINANCING: do government funds contribute to privatisation and how does this affect public education?

This includes thinking about the following issues, **including** whether they have changed over time:

- **Overall government spending on education:** as a share of budget, of GDP and per capita; all of these at different education levels (primary, secondary, etc.).
- **Government funds going to private schools or providers:** scale; share of overall education funding; source (e.g. Education Ministry budget or other); basis (e.g. grants, service contracts, vouchers); types of providers (for-profit, non-profit); types of services funded (schools, other associated services, etc.).
- **Government funding for public education:** What is the impact of government funds for private education on funding for public education? How far does government funding fall short of what is needed to achieve quality education?
- **Tracking of funds:** Are there monitoring and accounting systems to ensure public funds are spent as planned, in the public and private systems?
- **Spending at school level:** What is the per capita spending, at primary and secondary level, in public schools, subsidised private schools, and non-subsidised private schools?
- **Household spending:** What out-of-pocket expenses are typically incurred in each type of school?
- **Voucher programmes:** Does this exist, how much does it cost, where do the funds come from?

ACCESS & EQUITY: is privatisation or private education contributing to segregation or discrimination in access to education?

- **Access:** Who are the pupils in public and private schools? Is there information about whether children now in 'low-fee' private schools were previously in other schools, or out of school? What proportion of the following kinds of children are publicly or privately educated, and in what kinds of private schools (e.g. low-fee, religious, elite, 'community')?
- Rural and urban children
- Girls and boys
- Children with disabilities
- Children in different income groupings
- Children from disadvantaged minorities in your country
- **Exclusion:** What is the profile of children not in school (e.g. region, gender, income level, disability)? How does this differ from children in public schools and in different types of private schools? Is there evidence to suggest that specific groups or types of children are disproportionately left out of private education?
- **Motivation:** Is there information about WHY parents are choosing private education?

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- **Costs:** What are the typical (formal and informal) fees in public and different types of private schools? What do parents really pay, including these fees and additional out-of-pocket costs? What happens to children who cannot afford fees or other costs in public and different types of private schools?
- **Vouchers:** If there is a 'voucher' scheme, or public subsidies for private fees: who is eligible for it? Some or all families? On what basis? Who makes use of it? What do they make use of it for? What proportion of vouchers are used to fund attendance at low(er)-fee private schools, or to subsidise attendance at more expensive schools?

(EQUITABLE) QUALITY: What quality of education is offered in different types of private school? Is private education leading to segregation or discrimination in quality of education?

- **Standards:** Is there an agreed benchmark for 'quality' education in your country? If so, what is it? Are there agreed (national or local) standards for education, and if so are these the same for publicly-managed and privately-managed schools?
- **Teachers:** What are the required qualifications and training for teachers in publicly-managed or [different types of] privately-managed schools? Are these met? What are the salaries and working conditions of teachers in [different types of] privately-managed schools, and how does this vary from publicly-managed schools?
- **Teaching:** Is the type of education offered different in publicly-managed and privately-managed schools (e.g. language of instruction, curriculum)?
- **Content:** Are the textbooks and curricula in publicly-managed or [different types of] privately-managed schools developed to counter discrimination and combat stereotyping and bias, including gender bias?
- **Infrastructure:** What is the actual condition of infrastructure in publicly-managed and [different types of] privately-managed schools?
- **Monitoring and reporting:** Is the state actively monitoring the quality of education in private schools? What official or independent reports or data exist on the quality of education in publicly- and/or privately-managed schools? And in different types of private schools?

GOVERNANCE: What public oversight of private education/schools exists?

- **Parliamentary oversight:** Has there been any public or parliamentary debate about the role and/ or impact of private provision in the education sector, and/or of specific forms of privatisation (LFPS, vouchers, PPPs, etc.)? Are the contractual agreements between the government and any private education operators that they fund subject to parliamentary or public debate before they are agreed?
- **Regulation:** What government policies regulate the provision of private education? If the private sector, or private management of public schools, is expanding or changing, is the regulatory framework adjusting in response to this?
- **Contracts:** Do formal agreements exist between private school operators and contractors and the government, and if so, are these publicly available?
- **Monitoring and enforcement:** Is the state monitoring the extent and impact of private education? Are government regulations and/or standards enforced in public and private schools and in delivery of PPPs, and if so, how?
- **Complaints and redress:** Do complaints systems exist? Are there parental grievance mechanisms in private schools? Do redress systems exist?
- **Planning processes:** Who is involved in education sector planning processes? Are any private education operators involved? If so, is there a policy to deal with potential conflicts of interest?
- **Transparency:** How open are the negotiations prior to agreeing contracts? Are the contractual agreements between the government and any private education operators publicly available after they are agreed? What information about the performance of private contractors or school operators is publicly available?

Investigating available sources of information

The first step is to amass as much information as possible from the data and sources that are already available. Note that while you may get into conducting and publishing research as part of your advocacy (see more below and in Chapter 5), at this stage your focus is on building a full understanding of your context, to plan what you need to do, *NOT* producing a research report. The information you can look at to build this picture might include:

• data and statistics on enrolment, attendance, teachers, infrastructure, etc.;

• government legislation, policies and official regulations;

• budgets and spending data;

• contracts with private providers; and

• reports or evaluations of performance and implementation – both public and private.

The different sources below can be useful for different parts of this.

Government

Governments should have all of these types of information. If you can access government data, this is likely to be more up-to-date than global sources. Two key issues to think about in getting this information are:

• Availability: governments may vary significantly in how extensive and efficient their data-gathering is. Some countries may only have reliable data about public schools, or – where private schools are included – this information may be less accurate. If the education ministry has limited data, investigate what is available in other ministries or at other levels. For examples, finance or planning ministries may have information about spending, infrastructure, contracts with private operators, etc.; regulatory or standards agencies may have reports or data on private school operators; or regional or local level government may have information about their localities.

• Transparency: even when they have the information, governments vary considerably in how open they are about sharing it. Some governments publish all policies, budgets, contracts, spending and performance reports and school data broken down to district level. Others are more secretive. If you experience difficulties, be persistent in asking and tracking down the relevant office or individuals, making written requests and using any Freedom of Information laws or regulations. Sometimes you can access reports through parliamentary committees or requests by parliamentarians, donor agencies or other influential actors.

● **Find the information:** This website provides information on freedom of information laws for different countries worldwide, organised by region http://www.freedominfo.org/regions/

Regional and global sources

Regional and global sources tend to focus on data and statistics, though they also include some elements of top-level analysis of performance and trends. They are interesting as a source of comparison between countries, and have the advantage of being easily accessible – online and in print – even when data from the government is hard to access.

● **Find the information:** Websites for some particularly useful sources are given below. Other global education data sources are listed by UNESCO at: http://en.unesco.org/gem-report/node/59.

• UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS): Among the extensive education and literacy statistics, UIS reports country-level numbers on enrolment in private and public schools, broken down by gender and by levels of education, as well as the proportion of students enrolled in private institutions at different levels. It also reports a few statistics about teacher characteristics in private institutions, for some South and East Asian countries only. Unfortunately, other statistics are not disaggregated by public / private institutions, but – even though not all countries report on all indicators – it is still a useful source of major data, including progress towards SDG 4. http://uis.unesco.org

• Global Education Monitoring Report: The GEM Report is an extremely useful tool for understanding the state of global education, and includes extensive statistical tables drawing on UIS data (see above), and presented in relation to SDG4 targets and indicators. It can be accessed in print as well as online. The 2017 GEM report, focused on accountability in education, may be a useful source of information including on the theory and functioning of 'market' mechanisms of accountability. http://en.unesco.org/gem-report/

• World Bank EdStats: This links to extensive data, including data visualisation tools, and to living standards/health and demographic surveys that can be useful for investigating equity. Also includes information on World Bank programmes. http://datatopics.worldbank.org/education/

• OECD/DAC- The OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) collects aid flows at activity level. Aid to Education is broken down into sub-sectors by level, although you will have to look at

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the documentation for specific aid programmes to understand whether aid is supporting public or private approaches to education. www.oecd.org/education.

Donors

Another source of national data can be the information in donor reports. Many donor agencies gather and publish information about their own programmes that includes broader national data. Donors supporting any form of private education should have published studies or reports about their programmes, which may include national data as part of the background. This can be an alternative source when government information is hard to access.

● **Find the information:** You can approach the donor representatives in your country, look for your country page on their website, or – where relevant – connect through GCE with the coalition in that donor country, who may be able to work with you to find information.

Private operators

Private operators often publish information about their own programmes; for donors or supporters if they are non-profits, or 'promotional' information to attract investors and/or families if they are for-profit. This should of course be assessed critically given the likelihood of magnifying achievements to attract support, but can be a useful way to understand how the operators themselves view and present their approach and institutions.

● **Find the information:** Search online, or contact schools or organisations directly to ask for information about them.

Independent sources: evaluations, non-profit reports, research & media

Independent entities in your country – including non-profits, research or academic institutions, thinktanks, etc. – may have published research on aspects of private schools and privatisation of education that can be useful. Sometimes the government or donors may have commissioned independent reviews or analyses of privatisation-related programmes – or these may have been undertaken independently.

● **Find the information:** You can ask universities or research institutes to help connect you to academics who focus on private education; education journalists may also be able to help identify experts; you can also research the speakers at relevant conferences or debates.

Other countries' comparative information

While this will not give you data directly about your own country, published studies about other countries can provide a useful source of comparison and, if any exist for neighbouring countries, may be particularly interesting.

● **Find the information:** The PERI (Privatisation in Education Research Initiative) website – www. peri.org – has an extensive collection of case studies (mostly in English); or you can search online or ask colleagues at GCE to point you to relevant resources.

Anecdotal sources

Anecdotal information – the experiences of individuals or communities, as reported by them directly – should not be discounted! While this can never give you a full picture of what is happening in a country, or even a local area, it can be very useful both in suggesting areas where further investigation is needed (for example, if parents' reports of the conditions or achievements of private schools do not match the published claims), or in illustrating phenomena already made clear by the statistics (for example, the exclusion of certain children because of fees).

● **Find the information:** speak to communities who are most affected by privatisation, including those whose public education options are being undermined.

Your own data

Ultimately, you may find that on some topics information and statistics are simply not available, or are unreliable. In this case, conducting your own data-gathering efforts can be illuminating and useful, both for you and for your targets and allies – however, you should only undertake this work if you are sure that you cannot find sufficient information to plan your campaign from data that is already available.

● **Find the information:** If this is the case, more detail on conducting your own research is in Chapter 5 below.

Understanding the data

Some of the information you find will be straightforward to analyse; other information may be more complicated. There are two types of expertise that can be particularly useful to draw on in understanding the information you are faced with:

- **Statistical and subject experts**: make use of any academic or research expertise within your network and partners, to help both gather and analyse available information.

- **On-the-ground experts**: you should always discuss your initial findings with relevant communities and affected groups, in large part to see how accurately the picture created by the statistics, policies and reports reflects the lived reality of children and parents, and then, further, to understand any discrepancies that emerge. Are the numbers of children attending private school in a particular district, for example, under- or over-reported? Is the level of fees reported by operators the same as that paid by parents? Are the descriptions of community consultations claimed in program documents about funding new private schools verified by the communities concerned?

It is important to think also about what the information doesn't tell you: thinking back to your original questions, are there important questions that cannot be answered with the available information? You should be able to tell a useful story with what you have – but the fact that there are gaps in important information may be a part of this story. Once you feel you understand the situation as well as you can with the available information – and know what information is missing – then you are ready to move on to planning your campaign.

Table 2B: Summary of steps to identify and research your issues

Step	Details
Clarify starting point	Clarify whether this work fits into an overall advocacy theme which your group is already prioritising – e.g. education financing, inclusive education – or is part of broader work about achieving the right to education.
Discuss context	Discuss any emerging privatisation-related concerns, situations or developments happening in your country, whether broadly or related to your specific theme.
Decide focus	Decide if you are focusing on a particular form of privatisation (e.g. PPPs), a particular aspect (e.g. impact on financing for education) or a particular situation (e.g. a specific government contract with a private operator).
Identify questions	Given your focus, decide what are the key questions which need to be answered.
Gather available data	Collect as much existing data as possible, from a variety of sources, to answer the questions you have identified.
Discuss & analyse data	Discuss, test and validate the data you have gathered with key stakeholders, and use this to analyse the data and identify any gaps and/or flaws.
You're ready to move on to identifying the changes you will be advocating for.	

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Case study 2A:

LIBERIA: a blind rush into mass privatisation with insufficient evidence?

In 2016, the Liberian Minister for Education launched the 'Partnership Schools for Liberia' (PSL) project, which intends to hand over a large section of the public education system to private operators, with a view to outsourcing all public schools to the private sector. This would be the first 'mass charterisation' of schools in Africa – a massively risky project being undertaken with apparently few safeguards. Currently, the project includes a partnership with Bridge International Academies, and is funded jointly by the Liberian government and some private donors.[9] Bridge operates so-called low-fee, for-profit schools in Uganda, Kenya, and Nigeria, which include fee-charging schools run by unqualified teachers delivering a scripted, standardised curriculum. It is financially supported by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the education conglomerate Pearson Ltd, the World Bank and DfID.

There is no doubt that the Liberian education system has significant challenges to overcome: 42% of all children of primary and secondary school age are out of school, and there are serious problems with access, quality and equity. However, evidence suggests that privatisation will not offer a solution to these problems. Liberia's Minister of Education has argued that the public system alone cannot address problems, particularly with the post-Ebola recovery crippling an already endemically fragile state. The Minister referred to New Orleans's post-hurricane charter school system as the *"first inspiration"* for this reform – yet the New Orleans approach relies on extremely hands-on government management and oversight, and non-profit schools; it has also faced serious issues around selection and transparency. New Orleans is a very different approach to handing over schools to a for-profit company while explicitly acknowledging poor public sector capacity. The second inspiration seems to have come when the Minister of

Education, George Werner, and President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf visited Bridge schools in Uganda and Kenya. This led to an initial announcement of handing over the whole education system to Bridge; this was later rescinded after a public outcry, and instead a broader pilot scheme was launched.

Clearly, it is understandable that a Minister of Education faced with such grave problems would be looking for solutions, particularly ones that include outside capacity. The roll-out of this programme, however, raises serious concerns about the transparency, accountability, openness and fairness of the process – prompting concerns that a rush to implement will leave Liberia's children with a system that does not meet their needs. Civil society organisations such as the Liberian United Civil Society for Education Dialogue, and the National Teachers' Association of Liberia – which launched anti-PPP advocacy campaigns and protests[10] – have been vocal in criticising the partnership with for-profit actors, including Bridge Academies and Omega Schools. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education also criticised the proposals, saying it is *"unacceptable for Liberia to outsource its primary education system to a private company"* because this represents a violation of its legal and moral obligation regarding the right to education as a public good.[11]

Civil society has argued that the process seems designed to favour a powerful group of actors, with strong, pro-private, ideological views, backing the for-profit model. They have pointed to a lack of competitive bidding, replaced by a unilateral decision to work with for-profit companies – including a company that the Ugandan government and courts found to be failing to meet basic education standards.[12] Public consultation has been limited – on the contrary, there is a lack of even basic information about the status of the PSL

9   Rosenberg, T. (2016). *Liberia, desperate to educate, turns to charter schools*. In The Opinion Pages, The New York Times. Retrieved from http://www. nytimes.com/2016/06/14/opinion/liberia-desperate-to-educate-turns-to-charterschools.html?_r=0
10 Education International. (2016, April 29). Liberian teachers stay strong in anti-privatisation struggle. Retrieved from http://www.ei-ie.org/en/ news/news_details/3949
11 http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=18506
12 See case study in Chapter 4

pilot – and it is not clear how the government intends to incorporate feedback, which should be central to any plan to re-design the entire education system. There are plans for an evaluation of the PSL pilot over the coming three years; but given that the PSL schools are being given more money, have smaller class sizes, and receive greater attention from the Ministry, this trial won't be able to actually evaluate what has been the main cause of any improvements in learning outcomes. Moreover, while this is being described as a 'Randomised Control Trial', some private providers appear to be selecting the easiest schools to work (Bridge, for example, demanded schools on accessible roads, with electricity and internet connectivity, which is highly atypical) and even selecting the children, teachers and principals in their schools, making the trial far from random. With these kinds of inputs and selection, improved results are to be expected, but won't reveal anything about the 'success' of the project.

In the coming months, there is an urgent need for civil society organisations in Liberia to build a stronger national coalition that can engage critically with PSL. The first-year findings of the Randomised Control Trial (RCT) are very damaging for Bridge - and indeed for PSL as a whole. The year one improvements in outcomes are modest and uneven – and almost certainly accounted for by the significant increase in funds allocated (at least US$50 extra per child and over US$1,000 extra per child in the case of Bridge schools). The improvements are much less than lower-cost alternative reforms to improve public education. The initial results from the RCT show some awareness of the distortions involved in the way the project was designed though seems to understate others. The baseline sample of schools chosen for inclusion in PSL have better infrastructure than average and providers have been allowed to limit class sizes and even select better trained and newer teachers. One factor that is not talked about is the impact of such high-level Ministry attention given to the pilots – special staffing and political support – which was highly focused on making the pilot succeed.

Overall there are serious questions raised about the sustainability of PSL owing to the high costs (particularly for Bridge). Given these results and the forthcoming elections there is a real opportunity to put pressure on the new government to cancel the whole poorly designed experiment – but civil society will need to continue to collect and collate evidence from the field in a systematic way and some further qualitative research is needed to complement the high-level findings of the RCT.

Sources: GCE members and ActionAid inputs

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EXERCISE 2A:

Identifying your core questions for research

1. Imagine that you are working for an education coalition with two key campaigns: expand and improve equitable financing for education; and improve transparency.

2. Your country has promised to spend 22% of its budget on education, but is currently only spending 16%. A disproportionate amount of the education budget is going to the cities, where there are fewer out-of-school children. Around 80% of private schools are in the cities; those in rural areas tend to be non-profit community schools charging very low or no fees.

3. After discussion with your network, you have identified the following trends: a growth in 'low-fee' private schools in some cities; possible government plans to offer private school 'vouchers' (little information, including where the funds would come from).

4. Given this context, think about a list of key research questions to produce a report to support your advocacy work. Use Table 2B for ideas, but also think if there are any other important questions.

Adapting this for a workshop:

• In a workshop context, you can use the scenario given above, OR use the opportunity to explore your own national context and begin planning.

• Split participants into groups of around 4.

• If you are working with the scenario above, present it to them, along with Table 2B, and ask them to work through step 4.

• If you are using this to explore your own context, first present the groups with your campaign's overall theme(s) (if any) and the key facts relevant to your campaign (steps 1 & 2).

• You can then either to do step 3 all in plenary, OR ask groups to discuss trends separately, then re-convene to reach a shared agreement on priority concerns.

• Groups should work through step 4 separately.

• After step 4, groups reconvene to compare lists and reach agreement on a collective list of priority questions.

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EXERCISE 2B:

Investigating available data

Scenario: you are the National Coalition for the Right to Education in Country X, with a campaign focused on equity of access to and quality of education. You are doing some preliminary investigation into private education in your country, to find out how it is relevant to your campaign.

1. Look at Table 2C (taken from a real country).

2. Think about the following questions:

  • What does the data suggest about the characteristics of children enrolled in public vs. private schools? Think about gender, location, family background, etc. What proportion of children in public vs. private schools have a parent who works in agriculture, or a parent who works in business?

  • What does the data suggest about the school experience of children enrolled in public vs. private schools? Think about teachers, classrooms, etc. What proportion of teachers are qualified in public vs. private schools?

  • What trends can you see in the numbers in private school, public school or out of school over the last three years? What has been the proportional increase or decrease in each?

Any other questions that occur to you looking at the data.

3. Based on these, and thinking in terms of equity, compile three lists:

  • Statements you feel you can confidently make (e.g. "All children are in school", or "More rural children than urban children are in private school").

  • Initial equity-related concerns that these numbers raise for you.

  • Further questions you have; these might be digging deeper into issues already identified as concerns, or might be to clarify whether or not an issue is of concern.

4. Based on these lists, decide on one or two priorities for each of:

  • Questions to the government to clarify data or find out what other data is available.

  • Possible topics for your coalition to do further research into.

Adapting this for a workshop:

  • Split participants into groups of around 4.

  • If you have a lot of time, have groups work through steps 2 to 4, reconvening to share feedback after steps 2 and 3.

  • Alternatively, you can move more quickly by asking each group to work on steps 2 and 3, then reconvene to share feedback. You can then do step 4 in plenary, or skip it. You can save further time by asking each group to work on one of the lists only during step 3.

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Table 2C: Statistics about the primary education sector in Country X

	Public			Private			Total		
	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015	2013	2014	2015
Total pupils enrolled	2,059,856	2,144,837	2,211,894	406,523	449,187	494,909	2,466,379	2,594,024	2,706,803
Out-of-school children							965,697	956,718	933,180
Girls enrolled			1,077,801			233,584			1,311,385
Boys enrolled			1,134,093			261,325			1,395,418
Urban pupils enrolled			421,563			316,879			738,442
Rural pupils enrolled			1,790,331			178,030			1,968,361
Number of classrooms			44,013			11,085			55,098
Teachers with full qualifications			27,979			1,357			29,336
Teachers with basic qualifications			23,319			2,165			25,484
Teachers with no / other / unknown qualifications			177			9,180			9,357
Total teachers			51,475			12,702			64,177
Pupils by parental occupation									
Agriculture or worker			2,049,898			284,251			2,334,149
Skilled craftsperson			24,078			21,064			45,142
Business			58,852			82,505			141,357
Civil servant or military			41,783			59,611			101,394
Retired / other / unknown			37,283			47,478			84,761

Sources: All 2015 data from the official government Education Statistical Handbook; all 2013 and 2014 data from the UIS database

3. What change do we want to see?

Determining your objectives and demands

Once you have gathered, analysed and discussed the available information on your context and priorities, then you want to use this to determine the changes you are going to be asking for in your campaigning.

What is the privatisation problem?

After reviewing your information – what do you know? What do you not know? – you can confirm the problem you are trying to address. This should take into account how this fits into your current campaigns, as well as considering some specific aspects to define the problem explicitly.

- **What aspect of privatisation** do you think is most problematic and relevant? For example, are you prioritising a specific PPP contract, or how PPPs are happening in the education sector in general, or regulation of 'low-fee' private schools? If you are working on privatisation as part of another campaign, there may be a specific aspect of privatisation causing concern. If your campaign, for example, is about improved funding for education, you might want to include an element about how government subsidies for a particular form of privatisation are diverting funds from public schools. If your campaign is about inclusion, you might be concerned about how the expansion of private schools is increasing the segregation or exclusion of children with disabilities.

- **Are there any particularly affected groups** that you want to emphasise? This may already be explicit in your answer to the question above, but if not, make it clear who – that is, which kind of people – are most affected by the problematic privatisation. For example, if a voucher scheme is creating additional segregation, who are the children who are missing out? If 'charter' schools are draining funds from traditional public schools, who are the children in those public schools whose education is being compromised? Are they, for example, predominantly girls, or children from poorer families, children from specific areas – or more than one of these?

- **If relevant, what level of education are you focusing on?** Is your campaign focused on privatisation at, for example, primary or secondary level, or is it rather a particular type of privatisation (vouchers, charter schools, etc.) at different levels?

- **If relevant, what geographical area are you targeting?** For example, there may be a particular district or region that is promoting 'charter' schools or being targeted by many 'low-fee' private schools, and thus you would want to focus on that region.

It is helpful to present your issue in the form of the statement of a problem – for example, "Subsidies to private schools in x region are reducing the per capita funding for pupils in public primary schools in the region", or "The government has agreed a contract for management of public schools by Y for-profit operator, which runs poor quality schools that do not provide for children with disabilities, thus risking greater exclusion." Stating the problem makes it easier to identify the changes needed to address it.

What changes can address this problem?

Your advocacy objectives will be the very specific changes that you are trying to bring about in the policy or practice of particular actors in order to address the problem you've identified. Your overall goal may be something broad, like ensuring all girls are in school, or eliminating inequalities in the education system, but these objectives will be SMART: specific, measurable, achievable, realistic and timebound. To assess whether your privatisation-related objectives are SMART, it can be helpful to ask yourself the following questions:

- **Will we know easily if this is achieved?** (*specific, measurable*) For example, with an objective like "Limit further privatisation in our country", this might not be clear: what kind of limits count as success, and what forms of privatisation does this apply to? An objective about halting new government contracts with (particular types of) private school providers, on the other hand, or ceasing government subsidies to fee-paying private schools, is more specific and easier to measure.

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- **Are there a limited number of actions that clearly identified actors could realistically take, over the next one to two years, to make this happen?** (*achievable, realistic, timebound*) Can you easily see who needs to do what in order for your objective to be achieved? Perhaps there are different routes to it, but as long as those routes are clear, your objective is achievable. In many cases, you will be looking for the government to take an action or actions, although you may be targeting a private operator directly. If there are actions that others can take that will make your final objective more likely – a judgment on the legality of a particular kind of public-private partnership, for example, in order to ensure that the government drops it, or perhaps a parliamentary enquiry to encourage a particular government decision – then those actions could be your interim objectives.

Objectives and asks

Once your objective is clear, you will be able to develop the specific 'asks' that you are directing towards your target – that is, what you are asking or pressuring them to do in order to bring about the desired change. To do this, you need clarity on who your target is – which is discussed further in the next chapter. In the case of a government target, your 'asks' are likely to take form of specific policy or financing proposals. In this chapter, we dig a little deeper into aspects of privatisation-related policy proposals targeted towards the government.

Formulating positive, pro-public policy proposals

As may be clear from the examples above, the changes you are trying to bring about, particularly where you are resisting expansion of privatisation, may be focused mostly on asking the government or other targets **not** to do something – stop subsidising private schools, decline signing a PPP contract with a private operator, refrain from de-regulating the education sector, etc. One objection often raised against campaigns resisting privatisation is that they lack a positive alternative for what **should** be done – that is, they address the problems raised by privatisation, or a particular privatisation proposal, without addressing the fundamental problem that the privatisation was supposed to deal with. As discussed in Chapter 1, one of the key drivers of privatisation on the part of governments – and also some donor agencies – is a desire for solutions to the challenge of how to achieve universal, quality education when that is still far off.

If your privatisation-related advocacy is part of a broader campaign – on, say, girls' education, or education financing – then this is less likely to be a problem. You are likely to be presenting your privatisation-related objective alongside a

set of other clear proposals about how to improve public education. In the case of a standalone campaign resisting privatisation, you may have to work harder to ensure that you present positive alternatives alongside the ask not to do something. This will vary significantly depending on your country and context; but it is likely to draw on the standard recommendations of GCE and your campaign, whether in relation to financing, steps to improve quality, how to tackle inequity, etc. The following points can also be useful when planning, engaging allies, and presenting your message:

- **Offer details – or options – on a public alternative:** while it may not be possible or necessary for you to provide a fully comprehensive plan, it can be useful to show that you are aware of the challenges facing public education, and have thought about costs, trade-offs, and challenges of public sector reform as an alternative to a private sector solution. Your position is NOT that there are no trade-offs or costs to public education, but that these pale into insignificance next to those created by privatisation.

- **Provide relevant examples of successful public delivery or improvements:** GCE can help provide examples of successful public sector improvements from various places – but those that are most likely to be compelling are those closest to home. Are there districts or regions that have demonstrated elements of success in delivering and improving education? Can you find examples from neighbouring countries? Note that these do not need to be perfect: arguably, no education system, public or private, achieves that – but evidence of steps that lead to improvement is powerful.

- **Provide evidence of strong community and citizen support for public education:** as discussed in Chapter 5, showing strong support for your campaign is an important part of persuading your targets. Beyond this, it can be very helpful to demonstrate that communities and citizens are willing to engage in order to ensure that a public sector approach succeeds.

- **Indicate commitment from other expert actors to supporting public education:** much of the power of the global pro-privatisation movement comes from its dominance among a set of global education actors, which can lead governments to feel pressure, and to believe that available outside expertise and advice would all be in support of private initiatives. Identifying academics, donor agencies, global foundations, or regional or global non-governmental or civil society partners, who can provide expertise and support to public education options could thus be a useful approach. Some of the most vocal global actors are listed in Chapter 4, as well as advice on identifying allies in your country.

Case study 3A.

Haiti: Regulatory failure amidst conflict and disaster

Haiti has a long history of conflict and natural disaster. Even before the 2010 earthquake, over 90% of Haitian schools were fee-charging, private institutions, and subsequent reforms have further increased private sector engagement. International aid has been directly channelled into private institutions in tuition waiver programmes, funded by the World Bank and the Caribbean Development Bank. The Education for All Phase II project for 2012-17, funded by the World Bank, GPE, and the Haiti Reconstruction Fund (investment of US$109 million), focuses on non-public school tuition waivers. Private schools received US$90 per student to provide free schooling to those unable to access government schools, although the tuition waiver programme is reportedly being phased out, due to problems with low quality in non-public schools. Other programmes like the universal, free and compulsory education programme (PSUGO) have also provided vouchers to private institutions. In July 2015, following an investigation of 208 private schools funded by it, 85 were excluded from the programme for fraud, including the non-existence both of schools and of teachers on the payroll. Furthermore, the poor quality of the schools, the lack of training for teachers, the lack of space and materials and the involvement of

for-profit actors, contributed to making PSUGO a public failure. In 2016, the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) expressed concern about the quality and equitable impact of inadequate regulation of private schools.

Overall, Haiti demonstrates the problems which can be experienced where there is a prolonged and chronic failure of the government to provide the right of its citizens to education, and when that government lacks the willingness or capacity to regulate. A huge shortfall in public (state) schools has given rise to numerous private schools of varying standards with no government regulation or attempt at standardisation.

Insufficient efforts have been made by the government to regulate the public and private schools, or to ensure that common standards are met when it comes to quality of teaching or school infrastructure and safety. However, an important step towards the regulation of private schools was taken in January 2017, under the administration of former President Jocelerme Privert, after approving a law regulating school fees, which had in fact been approved by the Haitian Chamber of Deputies and Senate in 2009.

Written with support from Regroupement Education pour Toutes et Tous Haiti (REPT)

Regulation: mitigating the effects of entrenched privatisation

In some cases, the major privatisation problem arises from a well-entrenched private system – which is already causing segregation, inequities and other obstacles to achieving the right to education. In this case, your objectives and policy asks to the government are likely to be concerned with whether, and how, they are supporting this problematic privatisation, both financially and in terms of regulation.

When it comes to regulation, the following Table 3A may be a useful checklist of major potential gaps, which could facilitate harmful private sector practices, and that your campaign should ask the government to address. A well-functioning public education sector is the only realistic route to achieve broader education goals; but where the private sector is well-

established, an effective way to target it and to restrict the worst excesses – including by halting further expansion and bringing about the (careful) closure of the worst schools – can be to point to gaps and needs in regulation. This should be promoted alongside advocacy to strengthen the public sector, which should be at the core of efforts to prevent privatisation's harmful effects.

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Table 3A: Checklist of major concerns about oversight and regulation of private schools

Concern	*Major concerns and potential gaps in regulation of private providers*
General	No adequately staffed and resourced mechanism for supervision, coordination and regulation of private schools.
Promote important social goods and values such as citizenship	A lack of clear standards and oversight procedures to prevent stereotyping and discrimination, and/or private schools not meeting these requirements, relating to: • curriculum • text books and other school materials • teaching practices.
Promote quality	Gaps in existence or enforcement of minimum standards for quality, which should include: • Child rights and protection (e.g. preventing sexual harassment, corporal punishment) • Teachers: minimum teacher qualifications, student/teacher ratio, minimum salaries, required employment conditions • Physical infrastructure: classroom and school facilities, necessary adaptation for children with disabilities, safety, sanitation • Teaching and learning material and environment: e.g. textbooks, ICT facilities, teaching aids, library • Curriculum and assessment system in line with national norms.
Promote transparency and combat fraud	Private schools are not required to provide and make publicly available regularly updated information, including on budgets, pass rate, teaching staff, infrastructure and profits. Not all private schools submit to regular independent audits (both financial and performance) and make summary outcomes publicly available. The government does not have or enforce penalties for private schools that violate required standards and procedures, with closure as the final recourse. Not all private schools have formal spaces for parental negotiation and oversight, such as Parent Teacher Associations with clear rights and responsibilities. Not all private schools have complaint and grievance redress systems, open to parents and students.
Promote equity and minimise segregation	The government does not monitor practice around school fees, including regulation around transparency of fees and other out-of-pocket costs, and have mechanisms to ensure that children whose parents are unable to pay fees are not suddenly removed from school, and/or not all private schools conform to these standards. The government does not have standards for admission mechanisms to ensure clarity, transparency and non-discrimination in selection or admission of pupils, and/or not all private schools conform to these. The government has not considered mechanisms to combat segregation, such as compulsory quotas for poorer children to be admitted to all private schools without paying fees

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Box 3: *Education privatisation in emergencies*

Emergencies, conflicts or political instability create threats to realising the right to education: often by definition, state capacity and bureaucratic functions can be disrupted, making tasks such as the delivery of public education a particular challenge. It is perhaps unsurprising that more than one third of out-of-school children and adolescents are living in contexts affected by emergency or conflict. There is still a need for more evidence on the role and impact of private actors in delivering education in such contexts, but the evidence available does suggest a few themes.

There is often a need for non-governmental actors to fill gaps in education when emergencies (of whatever form) destroy, reduce or strain government capacity. There is some evidence to show that non-state philanthropic and faith-based schools play a significant role as providers of education in fragile settings filling geographical gaps in provision or reaching out to marginalised groups whose needs may not be met by the state. However, research suggests that these schools are frequently not sustainable in the long run, nor can they ensure equitable quality education for all. In South Sudan, for example, much of the education is provided on a non-profit basis by NGOs funded from elsewhere. In Somalia, private community resourcing for schools was not possible for many of the most marginalised communities.

Emergencies, including sudden onset emergencies, are often used as an opportunity for massive expansion of private provision, often as a form of so-called 'disaster capitalism', where opportunistic businesses seize openings created by disasters. This can be seen, for example, in the conversion of the whole New Orleans school district to privately-run charter schools after Hurricane Katrina in 2005, or arguably in the large numbers of PPPs now being agreed to provide education for Syrian refugees in neighbouring countries.

While some private provision may be a necessary stop-gap, this must be part of a coherent plan to (re) build government capacity to provide public education and regulate the education system as a whole. Examples such as Haiti and the Syrian refugee situation show the danger of a proliferation of private providers stepping in to fill gaps – some with humanitarian motives, others more profit-oriented – without strong coordination or regulation in contexts where the government is unable or chronically failing to fulfil its duties of oversight. Problems can include inefficiency arising from poor coordination, significant inequity and some very poor quality, undemocratic decision-making, and exploitative profiteering. Private actors should be cooperating with each other and with the state, as far as possible; there should be processes for citizen consultation and oversight even when the state itself is weak; and both donors and private actors should be actively thinking about long-term sustainability and how to support greater state capacity, including dedicating a portion of aid to education in emergencies - both technical and financial - must also focus on strengthening core state functions.

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Identifying problems with PPPs

If your campaign is focused on a specific, proposed or existing, PPP, or on PPPs in the education sector in general, the following table provides a checklist of major problems to look out for. Showing that existing or proposed PPPs do NOT meet these minimum standards can be a useful tool in arguing for a PPP to be ended, or not agreed in the first place.

Table 3B: Checklist of major concerns with PPP agreements

Concern	Question for PPP contracts
Leadership and participation	• Not all partners and stakeholders are clearly identified. Not all stakeholders are adequately represented in decision-making about both the contract and its ongoing implementation. • Partners are not chosen by means of a fair and transparent selection. • The partnership is not sustainable and adoptable under a different political administration. • The partnership is not in accordance with prevailing laws, education policies and regulations.
Equity	• Not all beneficiaries are chosen by means of a fair and transparent selection. • Financial allocations are not consistent with government policies, goals, priorities and strategies, and/or with the principles of equity.
Expectations and risk	• Expected outcomes are not clearly defined. (period of time, quantifying resources, benefits and risks) • There is a lack of clear sanctions for poor performance or non-performance by the private operator.
Transparency about finances	• The contract lacks clarity about the financial compensation and profit going to the private operator. There are no limits (or high floors) on potential profits for the private operator. There are no limits on government liability for costs. • There are inadequate measures to ensure transparency in the finances and transactions of the project. There is no independent external audit. • There are inadequate measures to deter, detect and sanction corruption. • Funds are not disbursed promptly according to budget allocations.
Transparency about operations	• There is a lack of transparency in policy-making, management and decision-making. • Information on the policies, programmes, performance, budget and expenditure of the projects is not open and accessible to all. • There are inadequate mechanisms providing for the evaluation of the project by stakeholders (beneficiaries, teachers, etc.). • There is insufficiently independent, credible and regular monitoring/evaluation of the project performance and administration. • The results of monitoring and evaluation are not open and widely disseminated.

Source: adapted from Raya et al (2013) Gain or Drain: Understanding Public-Private Partnerships in Education, A Primer, ASPBAE; added to by the authors

Table 3C: Summary of steps to identify the change you want

Step	*Details*
Review your information	Review all the information you have gathered, which should make clear the major concerns and gaps.
State the problem	Develop a statement explaining exactly what problems privatisation is creating in terms of achieving the right to education in your country.
Identify SMART objectives	State the change you want to bring about, in the form of SMART objectives that would solve the problem you've stated.
[Identify target(s)	*This is discussed in Chapter 4.]*
Clarify specific 'asks'	Depending on your target, express what you would directly ask them to do to achieve the change (objectives) you are seeking.
If government target: • Think about positive asks • Develop policy details	With government targets, think about presenting 'positive' asks ("you should do x") alongside negative asks ("do not do y"). Especially where privatisation or PPPs are already entrenched or advanced, think about the specific regulatory or contractual concerns you can raise that will help roll back that privatisation.

Once you have a clear sense of the changes you want, it's time to think about WHO to target and WHAT to do to bring them about.

Children at break time at a government-run school in Kenya, 2016.

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Case study 3B:

Poor quality 'low-fee' private schools forced to close in Uganda

In 2016, Bridge International Academies – one of the biggest chains of for-profit schools in the world – was ordered to close 63 schools in Uganda because of poor standards of education and sanitation. Bridge, founded by US entrepreneurs in 2008, presents itself as a business that can meet the needs of poor children in the Global South for quality education, while creating profits for wealthy investors: a presentation to investors in 2016 presented the Bridge model of charging poor parents fees for a cheap, standardised education as "a multi-billion-dollar opportunity".

But researchers and civil society representatives who have visited Bridge Schools have reported poor infrastructure and unsanitary conditions, under-prepared teachers reading lessons from a script, and an absence of the learning and other materials promised by Bridge. There have also been reports of poor pay and conditions for Bridge teachers.

In April 2016, the Ugandan government, concerned that Bridge was not meeting minimum educational standards, ordered the closure of all 63 Bridge schools in the country. The company challenged this decision in the courts, but it was upheld by Uganda's High Court in November 2016, with the judge ruling that Bridge schools provided unsanitary learning conditions, used unqualified teachers, and were not properly licensed, and finding that the education ministry had *"made all the necessary efforts to engage the applicant to remedy the inadequacies in its operations but the applicant did not take the requisite actions"*.

Education campaigners in Uganda, such as the Forum for Education NGOs (FENU), have challenged Bridge's high-profile investors, who include Bill Gates of Microsoft and Mark Zuckerberg of Facebook, to channel their resources into improving public education instead.

Sources: Education International (www.ei-ie.org/en/ detail/3821/uganda-for-profit-education-chain-suffers-major-blow); Global Dashboard (http://www.globaldashboard. org/2016/09/19/happens-take-bridge-call-visit-schools); The Guardian (https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/nov/04/judge-orders-closure-low-cost-bridge-international-academies-uganda); The Economist (http://www.economist.com/news/business/21715695-its-biggest-challenge-may-well-be-financial-bridge-international-academies-gets-high-marks). All accessed May 2017.

School children in Spain at a mass demonstration for the right to all citizens to education, 2016.

Image courtesy of Campaña Mundial por la Educación España.

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4. Who has the power?
Building a map of your targets and allies

Once you are clear on WHAT you want to achieve, a crucial next step is to think about WHO you will work with or target to achieve this. This involves thinking about who is most active and important in privatisation and education in your country, and how any regional or global actors engage directly with or influence what happens in your country. In this chapter, we discuss the types of national actor to think about – noting that you will have to assess their positioning in your context directly – as well as indicating broadly the positions on education privatisation of some of the key regional and global actors who may affect your context. We then present some useful tools for mapping and planning engagement with these actors.

National actors

Here is a summary of some of the most important national actors to consider; global actors that may have a national presence in your country are discussed in the separate section below.

Executive branch of government

Clearly, your government is the crucial actor in determining how education is delivered in your country, including in determining the comparative role of the public and private sectors. For any education policy decision, where power resides in the executive branch may not be immediately obvious. While in theory the key body for both policy and operations would be the ministry or department responsible for the level of education you are concerned with, in practice, the president, prime minister, key advisers or budget-setting ministries like those for finance or planning can hold significant sway in determining education policy.

When it comes to privatisation specifically, actors outside the education ministry may have a significant role to play. Some governments have a dedicated ministry for privatisation, and/or a privatisation commission or administrative unit within the finance ministry or head of government's office. In the case of PPPs, there may be a specific government department

that deals with private sector procurement, contracts or investment. If an education privatisation initiative is being supported by donors, there may be a department for relations with development partners that will be closely involved. You should map out the various parts of the government that will be involved with education privatisation processes, along with the education ministry, and determine which will be in the lead.

It is important to focus not just on the political leaders and overall decision-makers in government, but also on the advisors and officials who will be responsible for developing and implementing policy. Within the education ministry, you will need to identify those officials charged with the aspect of privatisation that you are focusing on, such as licensing and monitoring private schools, procuring services and/or negotiating new contracts. You may find individuals within the government who are supportive of public provisioning, at both political and official levels, who can be crucial allies. Lastly, you may also want to explore complaint mechanisms within the administrative systems which could be a useful route to raise concerns.

National parliament or assembly

Again, there is significant variation in how much power or influence is held by a legislative body such as a parliament or national assembly, and how they wield it – in some countries, for example, they can determine legislation even when the executive is opposed; in other countries, they may be more likely to rubber-stamp. In relation to privatisation, legislatures may be able, for example, to determine funding and subsidies to private schools (through setting or approving budgets), to set regulation of private education (through passing new legislation, including laws for regulation of the wider private sector) or to demand information from the executive about agreements with or operations of private providers (through parliamentary processes or freedom of information requests). They may also be more susceptible to constituent or public pressure than some in the executive branch. Most GCE members find it valuable to work with

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parliamentarians, in part to affirm their democratic and representative function in government, as well as to educate them on privatisation and its effects. Many parliaments have education (or similar) committees, that can be a useful vehicle to raise discussion of privatisation. -related concerns. If there is not such a committee, you could support formation of one. It is important, however, to look out for instances of potential conflict of interest such as, for example, legislators themselves owning or being involved with private companies that are running schools or providing other educational services.

Thinkers and opinion-formers

Key experts and thinkers outside government – including academics, thinktanks and researchers – can be an important critical voice. You will need to research to identify those who are most influential and connected, as well as most supportive of your position. Tracking past published work on private provision in the country (searching through Google Scholar) and references in the media provide a good way to identify published academics who support your views.

Private operators

Private operators are likely to be most influential when they are networked. Large private operators – particularly those that are part of a regional or global chain – constitute, to an extent, their own network, and their influence can be far-reaching. Even small and local private operators have greater influence when they work together, in an association for example. Links to and influence with government can vary. Some private operators (or their associations) are represented on official planning groups, for example, which help to develop national plans for the education sector; this is a potential conflict of interest that you need to be aware of and may want to challenge.

Media

The media can be both an ally (i.e. they may ally or partner with you to help you achieve your advocacy goals), or a target (i.e. they may be running stories with a pro-private stance which can undermine your advocacy goals), or can be used tactically in your advocacy plans to achieve your advocacy goals (which we return to in Chapter 5).

Traditional media outlets – print, broadcast and online – can be powerful influencers with different audiences or targets. Think also about which forms of media reach which audiences. Is community radio a good way to communicate with citizens, for example? Are there particular newspapers that are read by those in power? You may find that many media outlets do not have the time or expertise to question the pro-privatising narrative, for example accepting the idea that 'school choice' is positive without understanding what it means and represents. A number of GCE members have found that working with particular groups of journalists

to educate and engage them as allies can have far-reaching benefits. Others have found that working with the traditional media – particularly when these are largely state-controlled – does not yield results worth the effort, and they prefer, for example, to use the tools of social media to communicate directly with target audiences.

Regulators, commissions, human rights bodies

Your country may have official bodies that are independent of government (in theory or in practice) that make rulings on issues related to education and/or human rights. They are most likely to get involved when their engagement is actively requested: you can do this by presenting reports and evidence about privatisation to these bodies, making specific complaints, or asking for reviews of government decisions, legislation or policies, or of private sector operations. Their rulings may or may not be binding, but even when not can exert important influence.

Civil society

Organised civil society structures – both inside and outside the education sector – can be powerful allies. Groups that should clearly be considered include teachers' unions and organisations, parents' associations, youth or student associations, and NGOs and CSOs active in education. (See more below on teachers and youth.) Outside the education sector, human rights groups may have particular concerns about the rights implications of education privatisation. There may also be organisations that focus on privatisation broadly, or on transparent use of government funds, or representing groups disproportionately harmed by privatisation (like women's organisations), all of which could be important allies in resisting harmful legislation, policies and contracts. Working on privatisation can be a useful opportunity to build strong new alliances.

Teachers

Teachers experience the effects of privatisation, and have a unique view on how it affects children and young people. For many private operators, particularly at the 'low-fee' end, it is routine to treat teaching as a low-skill, low-wage, poor security job. This is not only a violation of the rights of teachers, but has serious consequences for the quality of education. Teachers – from the private or the public sector – are an important voice in privatisation debates, and the national teachers' union in your country could be a significant ally.

Youth associations

One type of civil society organisation that is particularly relevant – given both their personal investment in education and their potential role as change agents – is youth or student associations. Think about what forums exist in which young people come together and voice their own views on education.

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National business association/chambers of commerce

These can be unexpected allies, as many businesses depend on governments to invest in good quality basic education. It is worth testing the ground with them as they may have very different views to the private school operators.

Courts

Depending on the content of your country's laws and constitution, and the tactics that you – or pro-private groups – choose, domestic courts could be important players. Whether you would want them to be engaged, and how they are likely to be positioned will depend not only on the existing law, but also on the degree of judicial independence, and the extent to which lawyers and judges are aware of and sensitised to issues around the right to education and privatisation – if they become an active player, you may need to engage with the judiciary in building awareness of rights-based concerns about privatisation.

Citizens and communities

Citizens and communities – particularly parents, children and young people – are the crucial actors. The people most affected by privatisation must have their voices heard in the debates and decision-making about the role of private actors in education. The challenge can be that these groups may not be organised, making it hard for them to voice their concerns or to carry weight in debates. Your coalition or allies may, therefore, be looking to support organising of these groups. Depending on the context, you may be looking to build deep engagement in certain communities, or broad support across the country – and this will determine the approach you use to organise and mobilise. This is discussed further in Chapters 5 and 6.

Global actors and influencers

The positions of some global actors on privatisation can vary a little with the individuals who are leading or representing that institution, and may, for example, play out slightly differently in your country compared to a neighbouring country. You will always need to think about the particular influence, actions and positioning of global actors as they engage with your country. Nevertheless, there are some broad institutional positions that can be characterised. Here we present some of the most important types of global actors, and Figure 4A presents a way of understanding the position of some key global actors on education privatisation. When thinking about how these actors impact your country, it is important to note that those most supportive of privatisation are often networked together, funding each other's projects, and carrying out research to support each other's work.

Multilateral institutions

Multilateral institutions – both regional and global – can be powerful influencers in your country both in their role as forums for debate and the setting of standards, and – often – as donors and development partners. In the education sector, three of the most important are UNESCO, the Global Partnership for Education (GPE), and the World Bank.

UNESCO is the global oversight body for education and SDG4; as a democratic body whose 195 members vary in their view on privatisation, it is hard to characterise its position explicitly. UNESCO has expressed concerns about privatisation, but has also expressed some support and entered into partnerships with for-profit private providers in different contexts.

> ● **Find the information:** You can find your country page – with a link to the 'Country Programming' document – at http://en.unesco.org/countries.

GPE is the major mechanism through which donors, southern governments, civil society and other interested actors discuss and coordinate aid for education in low-income countries; if your country receives GPE funds, its discussions and policies are likely to be of relevance to you. The vast majority of GPE funds go to public education systems, supporting national education sector plans. If those plans include private providers (as for example in Haiti), GPE funds will support them. The majority of board and committee members are committed to public education; there are some pro-privatisers like DfID, Vitol Foundation and the World Bank but these are largely held in check by CSO representatives including Education International. Private finance in education may be a hotly contested issue in the GPE in the coming years, especially with its new Financing and Funding framework.

> ● **Find the information:** You can find your country's page – including any GPE grant agreements – on the GPE website at http://www.globalpartnership.org/about-us/developing-countries. If you want to engage further or dig deeper, then you can do so via the two GPE Board members who represent Southern civil society on the GPE Board – the 'CSO 2' constituency. GCE can put you in touch with the current CSO 2 representatives.

The World Bank is by far the biggest donor to basic and secondary education globally; it is also an active advocate of privatisation. This is not necessarily demonstrated in the proportion of funding they direct to privatisation-related

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programmes – most of their funding still goes to public education – but rather, it is evident in publications and policy advice as well as programming. For example, the Bank has a history of advocating for private provision of public services in general, and continues to repeat claims about LFPS "tending" to do better than government schools, even though this is debunked by independent research. A number of its programmes support private operators, voucher schemes, etc. This makes it an important influencer on privatisation, particularly in countries where it has large-scale education programmes. Its private sector investment arm, the IFC, is very actively investing in private education operators in middle income countries in particular.

> ● **Find the information:** To find documents about any current World Bank education programmes in your country, go to the World Bank education programmes and projects homepage at http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/education/projects, and search for the name of your country. You can search for IFC projects by visiting https://disclosures.ifc.org, or go to their homepage, and look under 'Solutions', then 'Health and Education', and then navigate to education projects to find descriptions of some 'featured projects'.

Bilateral donor agencies

Bilateral donors are of course most relevant in low-income and donor-dependent countries, generally in proportion to the scale of their funding, although the donor that takes on the role of 'coordinating agency' for education is also influential. But note that even in countries with minimal donor engagement in the education sector, they can have an outsize effect by, for example, funding a high-profile privatisation programme. Of the major bilateral donors, the UK's Department for International Development (DfID) is one of the most active and vocal supporters of forms of education privatisation. Although most of DfID's education programmes still support public education, there is a worrying trend of support for privatisation including 'low-fee' private schools (LFPS) and voucher schemes – despite having itself commissioned an independent research review that concluded there is little or no benefit to LFPS. USAID has a long history of engagement with the private sector and establishing public private partnerships, and is showing some interest in this within the education sector. Other bilateral donors are less obvious in their support, although it is worth noting that government-supported entities that support private investment in middle- and low-income countries – such as the UK's CDC – are increasingly supporting such investment in the education sector.

> ● **Find the information:** Looking at your country's data on the OECD's Creditor Reporting System – at https://stats.oecd.org/Index.aspx?DataSetCode=CRS1 – can tell you which donors are most active in education in your country. You can then approach the donor representatives in your country, look for your country page on their website, or – where relevant – connect through GCE with the coalition in that donor country, who may be able to work with you to find information.

Multinational private operators and investors

Inevitably, the multinational private corporations – including chains of schools – that are expanding their operations in the Global South, and their investors, are active advocates of privatisation and key players in the countries where they operate. A recent GPE paper named 28 private investors or funds active in this field, a number of which are investing in the same set of private operators: these are listed in Table 4A below. Some of the most prominent for-profit chains are Bridge International Academies, Omega Schools, and APEC. Many of these companies are increasingly global in their ambitions aiming to expand across the range of education services. Pearson, for instance, the world's largest multi-national education company, now invests in and seeks profit from producing standardised tests used to evaluate students, the grading of the tests, software, materials, and now the schools themselves, from teacher qualifications to curricula, increasingly owning and operating its own learning institutions. Indeed, Pearson itself, through its Affordable Learning Fund (PALF) has made financial investments in a substantial number of chains of low-fee, for-profit private school chains, saying that education is one of *"the great growth industries of the 21st Century"*. Other companies may be active in your country, perhaps in partnership with local businesses.

> ● **Find the information:** You can research individual schools, and review media reports, to get a sense of which operators are active, and whether they are part of bigger chains.

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Table 4A: a list of some of the private actors investing in education in the Global South

Private Foundations (NB Could include investments in private or public education)	Private investors or funds more focused on financial returns	Private investors or funds more focused on 'impact'
• Dell Foundation • Ford Foundation • Carnegie Corporation • Open Society Foundations • Deutsche Bank Foundations • MacArthur Foundation • Hewlett Foundation • Partnership for Higher Education in Africa • Rockefeller Foundation	• Emerging Capital Partners • Oasis Capital Ghana • Metier • New Enterprise Associates • Fanisi Capital • AfricInvest • Schulze Global Investments • The Abraaj Group • TPG • Actis • MITC Capital • Development Partners International • Kaizen PE • Richard Chandler Corporation • GroFin Africa Fund • Gray Ghost Ventures • Sequoia Capital • Spark Capital • Pearson Affordable Learning Fund	• Novastar Ventures • Echoing Green • Omidyar Network Fund • Schools and Education Impact Investment Fund of South Africa • Learn Capital • Song Investment Management Company • Acumen Fund • XSML • Educate Global Fund

Global and regional rights bodies

United Nations and regional human rights treaty bodies are committees made up of independent experts, which monitor implementation of core international human rights treaties. States have a responsibility to respect, protect and fulfil the rights set out in the treaties they have signed, and must report periodically to relevant bodies on their progress. UN committees that have demonstrated concern about the rights impact of education privatisation include the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR). The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education – who is appointed by the Human Rights Council and is mandated to visit countries, investigate allegations, and submit annual reports – has expressed critical views of privatisation in both country-specific reports, and in overall annual reports. Table 5B in the next chapter provides more details on these committees. If these committees question or make recommendations to your government about education privatisation in your country, it can be an important boost to a campaign or catalyst to action.

● **Find the information:** See Table 5B in the next chapter for a list of global and regional bodies, relevant treaty text, and website details.

Global education rights activists

Unsurprisingly, GCE, EI and allies like the Right to Education Initiative (RTE) and the Global Initiative on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (GIESCR) have been active and vocal in opposing privatising efforts that violate the right to education or threaten progress towards full achievement of that right. While unlikely, in themselves, to be a determining influence on your national government, all have produced reports and statements that you might use in your advocacy, and can in some cases provide concrete assistance in to your national campaign.

● **Find the information:** You can contact these allies directly if you already know them, or ask GCE or your regional education network to help you contact relevant organisations.

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Figure 4B: some of the global actors and support for education privatisation

Note: this graphic shows a few of the most active international donors and actors in relation to their position on education privatisation

Actively promoting privatisation	• World Bank • DfID (UK) • Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Netherlands)ʲ • Asian Development Bank (ADB) • Private operators & investors
Supportive of privatisation	• USAID (USA)
Neutral or divided	• GPE • BMZ (Germany) • UNESCO
Sceptical of privatisation	
Actively concerned about privatisation	• UN CRC • UN CESCR • UN HRC & Special Rapporteur • GCE, EI, RTE, GIESCR

j) A Freedom of Information request revealed an investment of nearly €1.6 million in Bridge between 2015 and 2016 via contributions to the Novastar East Africa Fund. Minister Ploumen stated that this *"indirect support complements the weak public education systems in these countries."*

Mapping power

A very useful way to understand the different actors who are influential in making decisions about education privatisation in your country – and then to use that understanding to plan your advocacy – is to produce a power map. There are different ways to do this, and this section sets out one approach, which aims to capture both direct power over decision-making, as well as the relational power that comes from one group having influence over another. It is important to remember that – in a successful campaign at least – your power map should not be a static document but a dynamic one. That is, as your campaign builds power and exerts influence, your allies should become more influential, and your targets and influencers should shift in their positioning – thinking about how to make this happen is the topic of Chapters 5 and 6.

List your actors

Looking through the categories above, in consultation with your network, think about who is active and potentially influential in the education sector and particularly in relation to privatisation. In this first step, you don't need to think about the extent or nature of their influence, or where they stand – just who they are. Think, for example, about:

• Who in government makes decisions that will impact privatisation-related policy and finance?
• Which actors – inside or outside government or formal institutions – have most influence on the government's education-related decisions?
• Who in the national assembly or parliament engages with education?
• What multilateral actors are visible or active in your country?
• Which donors and private operators are present in the education sector?
• What relevant thinktanks, academics, civil society groups, media outlets engage on issues related to education, privatisation or government engagement with the private sector?
• Who are the people most affected by privatisation of education in your country?

Make your map

Look at Figure 4D on page 52 for a sample power map that has been populated. Basically, it is a square with two lines – one horizontal and one vertical – that cross in the centre, creating four squares. The vertical line represents increasing power, moving through the following degrees of power, from top to bottom:

• Top: has full decision-making power
• Actively participating in decision-making
• Significant influence over decision-makers
• Some influence on decision-makers
• Heard in debates
• Bottom: Is not heard

The horizontal line represents the degree of support for your position, moving through the following positions, from left to right:

• Far left: firmly and actively opposed
• Opposed
• Inclined to oppose
• Inclined to support
• Supportive
• Far right: firmly and actively supportive.

Mapping your actors

Once your map is created, you can map your list of actors onto it, placing them according to the degree of support for your position, and their degree of influence. If you don't know the position of a particular actor on your issue, use your best guess, or – for now – position them neutrally on the centre line. It can be helpful to map the following groups separately, perhaps distinguishing with different symbols or colours.

1. Decision-makers: Depending on your issue, these may be national, regional, local or some mixture of these. If possible, try to narrow down beyond institutions to individual(s) and think about who has real power, not just theoretical power, to make relevant decisions on your advocacy objectives. If one actor has the power to make a decision alone, regardless of others, then they have full decision-making power; otherwise you may be looking at a group of actors who share the decision.

2. Organised groups: Next you need to consider who has power or influence on the decision-makers. Organised groups could be either for or against your position, or neutral. Who has some – or even a strong – influence? Which voices are heard and which are not?

3. Unorganised groups: The relevant 'unorganised' groups are those affected by the privatisation issue that concerns you. This could be parents, children or particularly affected groups. These groups, while unorganised, are likely to be less influential – but have

the capacity to become far more so if organised. This is discussed further in Chapter 6.

Where you know them, it can also be helpful to map strong connections (alliances) between different actors, by drawing lines between them.

Decide your targets, allies and 'influencers'

This is the moment to focus in on who you need to influence, and who you want to work with – this is closely linked to your tactics, so in practice you may come back and forth to this question a little as you determine the WHO and the HOW together. (See also Chapter 5.) In an ideal world, you would see a very crowded top right square, full of actors who are very influential and very supportive of your position! In the real world, this is unlikely to be the case; looking at where actors are positioned on your map, you can determine:

• **Target(s)** – these are the decision-makers you must influence to achieve your objectives; they must be those with decision-making power, even if their position towards you is not very favourable.

• **Allies** – these are the groups you will be working with from the beginning; as such, they should be closely aligned with your position – or at least supportive, if you think that their strong influence makes them valuable and they could be encouraged to align even more closely.

• **Blockers or opponents** – whose opposition do you need to be most aware of? That is, who is both opposed and influential?

• **'Influencers' and supporters** – if you have targets who are fairly supportive, and/or allies who are very influential, these groups may be less important. But otherwise, you will want to identify groups – whether already organised or not – which you and your allies can realistically reach out to (and possibly organise), and who in turn can help influence your chosen targets. In practice, this question is very strongly linked to that of tactics, so you may find that you come back and forth between this question and those set out in Chapter 5.

It can also be helpful to mark on your map who needs to move where – who needs to become more supportive, or more influential, for you to achieve your objectives? If you find it helpful, you can periodically revisit, or re-do, your power map during the campaign, to see who has moved, and if you are helping to bring about the changes you sought.

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Table 4C: Summary of steps to identify targets, allies and other actors

Step	Details
List & research relevant actors	Using the information in this chapter as a guide, make a list of the most relevant actors – domestic and global – in relation to the privatisation issue and desired changes you have identified. If necessary, do further research to determine their (likely) position on the changes you are seeking.
Map the actors	Place these actors on a map, according to their influence and their **current** degree of support for the change you're seeking (noting that both of these could change). You may also want to map relationships between them.
Decide targets	Determine who you need to target to bring about the change you are seeking.
Identify core allies	Decide who should be your core allies, in terms of actors who are very aligned with you and able to exert influence and/or reach important audiences.
Identify potential supporters and blockers	Identify (potentially) supportive groups – those whose support would be beneficial, and who you could potentially reach out to and engage – as well as the key opponents that you need to be aware of.
You're ready to think about HOW to influence your targets and achieve your goals.	

Case study 4A:

Asian Development Bank promoting privatisation in the Philippines

Research conducted by GCE member E-Net Philippines and regional network ASPBAE shows the strong influence of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in the advancement of public-private partnerships (PPPs) in the Philippines' education sector.

Like the World Bank and other regional development banks, the ADB has, across the countries where it operates, used its programmes to support PPPs through various means, including: requiring PPPs as a condition of loans (conditionality); providing policy advice and technical assistance that promotes PPPs; and using its public funds to support private sector companies participating in PPP projects.[13] The ADB's Strategy 2020 notes that *"across all these areas, ADB will explore opportunities for new approaches and instruments involving public–private partnerships"* (p.20). In the Philippines – which has one of the largest and oldest PPPs in education – this support has been very marked.

The Philippines first established a PPP 'voucher' scheme, which provides public funds for secondary school students to attend private schools and is known as the Education Service Contracting (ESC) programme, in the 1970s. Over the last two decades, and notably in 2010, the government has significantly expanded the coverage of the ESC, which now targets more than one million students. Evidence suggests that ESC has led to and reinforced segregation and discrimination in education, with a review by the World Bank noting *"shortcomings… related to equity"* and demonstrating that ESC fails to reach the poorest, with relatively wealthier families using their own funds to top up the publicly subsidised vouchers.[14] Despite this troubling evidence, the government has continued its march towards greater private sector involvement in the public education system, and, in 2013, introduced the SHS voucher scheme to subsidise senior high school students in private schools.

13 See references in Romero, M. J. (2015). *What lies beneath? A critical assessment of PPPs and their impact on sustainable development.* http://www.eurodad.org/files/pdf/1546450-what-lies-beneath-acritical-assessment-of-ppps-and-their-impact-on-sustainable-development-1450105297.pdf
14 World Bank (2011) *Philippines: Private Provision, Public Purpose, a review of the government's Education Service Contracting Program, World Bank*

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The ADB, a major financing partner for basic education in the Philippines, has largely facilitated the SHS vouchers expansion. ADB support for the voucher PPPs has included agreement, in 2011, of a US$1.5 million technical assistance programme for the education sector, and, in 2014, an ADB loan package amounting to US$300 million in 2014 focused on senior high school and included financing of the SHS voucher programme. These advice and loan packages have been part of an explicit ADB policy to support private sector engagement in education, as articulated in its policy documents. Unfortunately, it is the Philippines school system which must continue to bear the results of this experimentation, even as evidence shows that the policy is creating inequity and segregation.

Source: ASPBAE (forthcoming 2017)

EXERCISE 4A:

Creating a power map

1. Draw out a blank power map as described in this chapter. (See also the sample map in Exercise 4B.)

2. Read the scenario outlined below. (This is a fictional example, which draws on many aspects of a real country's situation.) Your coalition has identified a possible Regional Development Bank loan – and in particular the privatisation elements – as a concern and is planning to advocate for removal or amendment of key privatisation requirements within the loan.

3. Use the information in the scenario to create an initial power map for your campaign. If the information is not sufficient to place some actors, indicate the range of places they could be.

4. Add key actors to the map, distinguishing between:
    • Targets
    • Organised groups
    • Unorganised groups.

5. Make a note of:
    • The additional questions you would need answered to accurately place all mentioned stakeholders on the map
    • Any potential stakeholders that are not mentioned in the scenario, but who might be relevant

Adapting this for a workshop:

• In a workshop context, you can use the scenario given above, OR use the opportunity to explore your own national context and begin planning.

• Split participants into groups of around 4, and ask each group to prepare a blank power map (step 1).

• If you are working with the scenario above, present it to them, and ask them to work through steps 2 to 5.

• If you are using this to explore your own context, first ask the groups to identify all relevant stakeholders to add to the map; you could reconvene at this point to compiled an agreed list.

• Groups can then work through steps 3 and 4, making a note of any additional questions they have (step 5, bullet 1) to fully complete the map.

• When you reconvene, ask different groups to add different stakeholders to the map; the group as a whole can discuss if they agree with the placement.

• When the map is complete (as far as it can be), discuss the questions in step 5, highlighting any further areas for research to produce a reliable initial power map.

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Scenario for Exercise 4A:

Basic education in Country J is overseen by the Ministry of Education, which has responsibility for basic, secondary and non-formal education. The Ministry has the official responsibility to control, regulate and supervise the country's 40,336 public primary & secondary schools, and to regulate and supervise 7,444 private schools.

The Regional Development Bank (RDB) is proposing to provide Country J with a large loan for the basic education sector, which is tied to significant privatisation 'reforms' (PPPs, private management of public schools, expanded 'competition') which your coalition is seeking to oppose. The terms of the loan are being decided by the RDB, the Ministry of Finance and Planning, and the Ministry of Education. It is being presented for discussion and advice to the Donor Coordination Group, which is currently co-chaired by UNICEF and Australia. UNICEF has recently co-published a study with the RDB praising the role of PPPs in education. The Australian development agency has stated their intention to continue using their own donor funds to support public schools and capacity development in the Ministry of Education.

In initial preparations for the loan, the RDB and the Ministry of Finance and Planning drew on support from the Public Private Partnerships Centre, a non-profit body funded by private sector companies. The PPP Centre has issued reports supporting the proposals.

The National Union of Teachers has a reasonable but not strong relationship with the Ministry of Education; they have spoken actively against the proposals. The National Teaching Board is the official body that develops teacher standards and oversees qualifications; they are closely consulted by the Ministry on many education reforms, and have not yet voiced a position.

The National Union of Students is a well-organised body with a strong voice in the media and influence at the Ministry of Education; they have not spoken out on this loan proposal, but have opposed privatisation efforts at three public universities in the last year.

Previous research by your coalition and national human rights NGOs have uncovered various communities that have been strongly adversely affected by previous PPPs in education. This research gained some media attention, particularly from the network of community radio stations. The main national broadcaster tends to be supportive of the positions of the Ministry of Finance and Planning.

Other relevant national NGOs include the National Non-Formal Education Network (NNEW) whose members operate non-formal education centres under contract from the government, and the Funding Watch Network, which grew out of the original debt cancellation campaign, and has a history of campaigning against privatisation and conditionality.
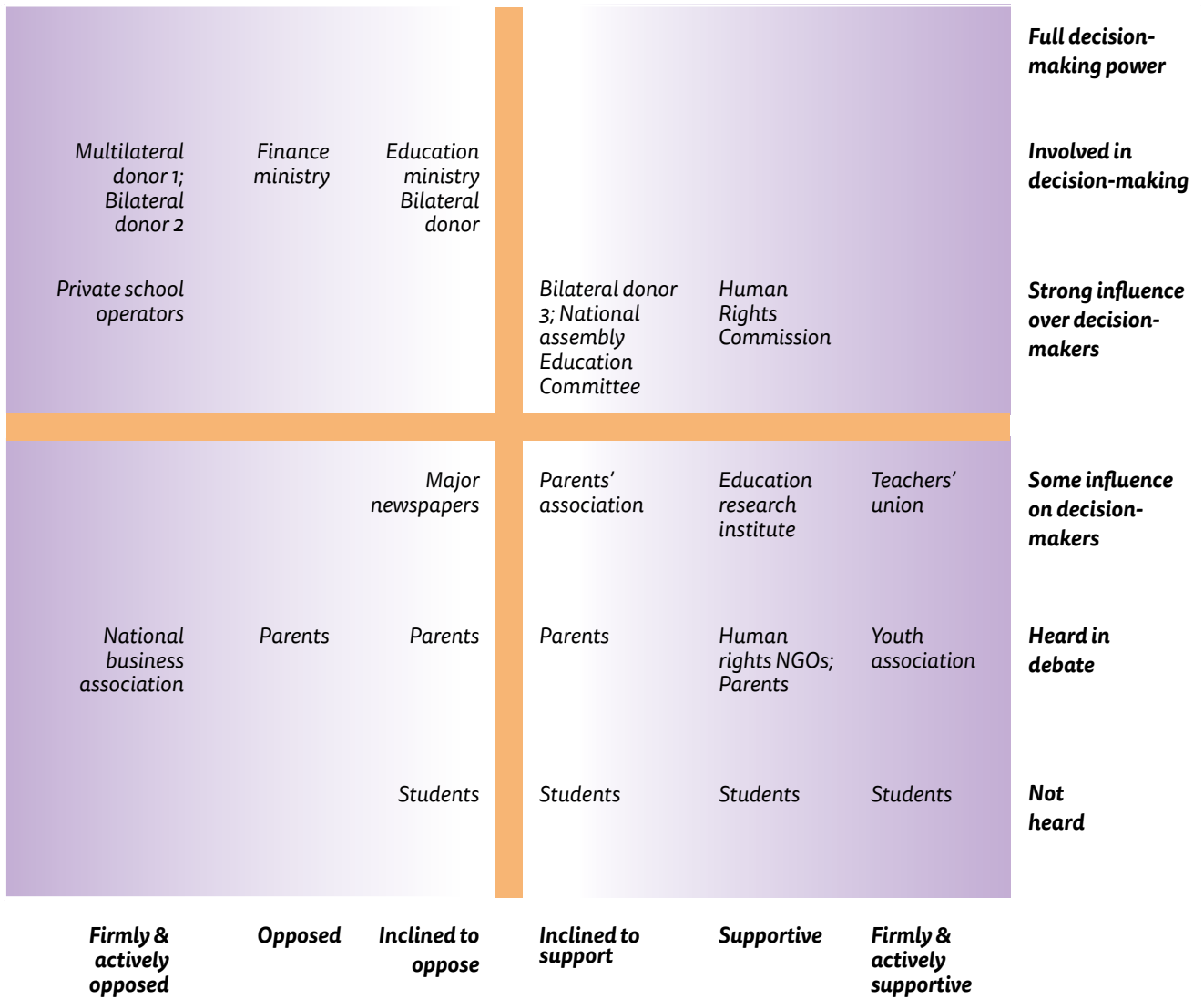
EXERCISE 4B:

Identifying opportunities

Figure 4D shows a sample power map that has been completed for Country Y, in the context of a campaign against a government contract for a private operator to run up to 15 primary schools in the capital city of Country Y. The table places different stakeholders according to their influence and CURRENT favourability towards your campaign goals. Those in purple are primary decision-makers; those in green are organised groups (some of which may also be involved in decision-making); those in orange are unorganised groups.

1. Familiarise yourself with the map.

2. Mark onto the map:

- Priority targets for the campaign, 1 or 2; you could also add a secondary target.

- Priority allies, 1 or 2. Why these?

- Key opponents. Why these?

- Influencers and supporters, up to 3 – this could include up to one group that you and your allies would need to organise. Why these?

3. For each of the targets, key allies, and influencers / supporters, think about where you would want them to move on the map by the end of your campaign, and mark this with arrows.

Adapting this for a workshop:

- You can use the sample power map (Figure 4D) or – if you are using the workshop as a campaign planning exercise – use one of your own that you have created during the workshop.

- Divide the participants into groups of around 4.

- Ask each group firstly to think about the first three bullet points in step 2: priority targets, priority allies, and key opponents. Reconvene and share feedback to see if there is broad agreement.

- Ask groups to divide again and discuss the final bullet of step 2: influencers and supporters, including which group to organise (if any). This may produce more range of views. Ask each group to present their views, discuss in plenary, and then hold a vote on the different options.

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Figure 4D: Sample power map

	Firmly & actively opposed	Opposed	Inclined to oppose	Inclined to support	Supportive	Firmly & actively supportive
Full decision-making power						
Involved in decision-making	Multilateral donor 1; Bilateral donor 2	Finance ministry	Education ministry Bilateral donor			
Strong influence over decision-makers	Private school operators			Bilateral donor 3; National assembly Education Committee	Human Rights Commission	
Some influence on decision-makers			Major newspapers	Parents' association	Education research institute	Teachers' union
Heard in debate	National business association	Parents	Parents	Parents	Human rights NGOs; Parents	Youth association
Not heard			Students	Students	Students	Students

5. How will we achieve our goals?
Understanding and choosing tactics

Having decided WHAT you want to achieve, and WHO you are going to target and work with, you have already – in identifying potential supporters and influencers – started to think a little about HOW to achieve your objectives. Once you have determined the change you seek (whether in government legislation, policies, contracts or financing decisions that jeopardise education rights by favouring privatisation, or in the behaviour or status of private providers) there are still, in theory, many routes you could take to achieve your objectives. The diversity of approaches shown within the GCE movement – on privatisation and other campaigns – is testament to this.

This chapter sets out some key steps to think about as you determine the action part of your strategy – that is, 'what you will *do* to turn what you *have* into what you *need* to get what you *want*'. It offers some information on campaign planning fundamentals – mapping your resources, balancing insider and outsider pressure – as they relate to campaigns to resist privatisation, and then goes on to: highlight some tactics that have proven to be of particular value to anti-privatisation campaigns; discuss how to build your evidence base; and offer reflections on how to communicate your message.

Mapping your resources

Before you start planning what you will do, think about what you – and your allies – already have. It can be helpful to list and categorise your relevant resources. Think about:

- **Information** – reviewing Chapter 1 if necessary, think about what you know, and what information and evidence you can easily gather.
- **Networks and relationships** – looking back at the power map you created, and even thinking beyond those key players, think about who you know, and who you can reach. This might include government officials, parliamentarians, journalists, academics, etc. What government advisory or planning groups are you part of, and how much power do they have? How many schools do you have personal links to? How many communities are linked in to your network?

- **Practical resources** – the availability of practical resources like vehicles, meeting rooms, access to (online) libraries, etc., can help determine which tactics are most available to you. Your budget also matters, but a small budget need not be the end of big plans.

Balancing 'insider' and 'outsider' pressure

Where possible – taking into account government openness, space for public dissent, etc. – your campaigns should always include both:

- **direct lobbying of targets** – depending on the space given to civil society and your relationships, this could include anything from sending letters to, for example, hosting a series of meetings between government representatives and stakeholders; and
- **exerting pressure from outside** – whether from influential individuals, particular communities, or on a mass scale.

Deciding the extent of each, and the balance, is a key question for your campaign. In campaigns resisting privatisation, the nature of the 'opposition' you may face is an important part of the context that will determine your decision. As set out in Chapters 1 and 4, there are extremely powerful and well-networked actors promoting privatisation, which have significant access to and credibility with decision-makers, as well as huge financial resources. In opposing these pro-privatisers, you will need to make the most of your own relationships with government, and demonstrate that your position also has significant broader support to counter the influence of the privatisers. Looking at the relationships on your power map between the opponents (pro-privatisers), you and your allies, and your targets, will help you think about the balance between inside and outside pressure.

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Building and sharing your evidence

Any effective advocacy campaign should have a clear – and well-communicated – evidence base backing up its claims and its demands. This can be particularly crucial for campaigns resisting privatisation: one of the key arguments advanced against education rights activists who protest about privatisation is that their campaigns are 'ideological', rooted in distrust of the private sector rather than realities. This is hypocritical when you consider – as discussed in Chapter 1 – the degree to which discredited ideology and misplaced belief in the 'market' plays a role in justifying further education privatisation. But it remains important to address this perception, and having a credible and well-presented evidence base is central to that effort. The first – crucial – questions are:

• **What case are you trying to make, and to whom?** The tactics you are using will help you determine what sort of evidence is most relevant to making your case. Are you trying to make a case to the government that low-fee private schools are failing to provide accessible quality education; or to a parliamentary or government oversight body that a PPP contract is negligent; or to a human rights commission – or the public – that privatisation is driving inequality? This will make clear if, for example, you need analysis of documents and policies, or information about the implementation or impact of these policies.

• **What information is already available that can be used to make this case?** The scoping work you did early on in your campaign planning (see Chapter 2) should tell you a lot about what is already known about privatisation in your country, and where to find more information. Undertaking your own primary research can be resource-intensive and frustrating, and may need to be carefully justified in terms of methods, etc.. While new information can be powerful, data from trusted third-party sources can bring important credibility. Given this, often, the easiest and most reliable route for you will be to use the data and information that is already available from official or independent sources in order to support your position; even if there are gaps, using the information available – perhaps with comparative information from other countries – can be enough to back up a powerful message and campaign. (And if, for example, your case relies on analysis of government policies or contracts, then what you principally need is those texts.) If, however, key information is not available, or you have reason to believe that a compelling case can be made through gathering new data, then you will want to consider gathering your own information.

Women participate in a campaign research workshop targeted at engaging young people in education rights campaigning, India, 2017.

Image courtesy of National Coalition for Education, India

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Table 5A: Steps in conducting and presenting research

USE EXISTING DATA	GATHER YOUR OWN DATA
Review the information sources in Chapter 2 to see what information is available for you to draw on.	Use the guiding questions below to help you plan your own research.

Who will undertake (lead) the research?	Think about whether your organisation has the capacity and time to do this directly, or if you can or should outsource to an experienced researcher, for example through partnership with a university or research institute, or contracting a consultant.
What type of data are you gathering?	Are you gathering quantitative or qualitative data, or some mixture? Whether you are collecting numbers or more qualitative information will affect how you gather data, as well as probably your sample size.
How will the data be gathered?	For example, the research method might involve conducting a survey, direct monitoring and observation, holding community consultations, convening focus groups, or interviewing people. For quantitative data, mechanisms like surveys and monitoring/observation, where you can gather a reasonably large amount of data, might be useful. For qualitative data, more intensive approaches like consultations, focus groups or interviews may be more useful.
What will your sample be?	Are you, for example, focused on a particular group of children or a particular area? Think about how to ensure the people you survey/interview are representative of the group your research aims to understand – both in who they are and in number – and how to ensure that they are participating freely and from an informed position.
Who will gather the data?	A small team of researchers is easier to manage and maintain quality control, but can be limited in reach. A larger team can gather more data, and if, for example, you use community members, could lead to more free participation – but needs a simple process (e.g. a survey), clear instruction, and an initial orientation. Self-administered surveys shared via text message or social media can reach very large audiences – but need to be simple and offer less control representativeness of your sample.
Can your process be a tool for change?	Some forms of data-gathering – when citizens are involved in gathering data or creating analysis through consultations or other facilitated processes – can themselves be an important part of awareness-building and organising, and directly build capacity for future activism. Community-level social audits, for example, involve reviewing official records and determining whether the expenditure or the performance reported is reflected in performance on the ground. Social audits trigger dialogue, act as a tool of community capacity building, and can catalyse immediate change.

How will you analyse and present the information?	In order to be part of your advocacy, your raw data needs to be analysed, and presented compellingly along with the conclusions and recommendations you draw from it. In doing this, think about the core audience (government? the media? a human rights body?) to help you determine tone and approach; also consider how long you want it to be relevant for. Are you presenting the report as a snapshot of the current situation only, or do you think the findings and recommendations will be relevant perhaps years into the future?
How will you validate and ensure quality?	You will need to make use of outside views to feel confident that your data and your conclusions are valid and relevant. Depending on the kind of research, you might want to convene a group of, for example, affected stakeholders, or ask an expert (e.g. an academic, or someone from a regional or global organisation) to review.
How will you communicate your findings?	Thinking about how you will communicate your research should be built into your plans from the start! The launch (whether with the media, key targets, etc.) is important, but your strategy should go beyond this, to thinking about, for example, the full list of those you want to disseminate it to; how you will promote it and use it to provoke debate; whether it will form part of a lobbying strategy; and how you will make it publicly available (for example online).

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Possible tactics for anti-privatisation campaigns

The following are some tactics that can be used in privatisation campaigns – some which might be familiar from other education campaigns, and some that might be more specific to privatisation issues. In some cases, the approach you take might involve going back and slightly reformulating your overall or intermediate objectives (if they already made assumptions about HOW you would bring about the change you want to see). The important thing is to think about how to maximise pressure on your chosen target – whether the government, private operators, or others.

Using sector planning and budgeting processes

In countries that receive GPE funding, there is an expectation that civil society will be meaningfully involved in national planning for the education sector; and this is the reality in many other countries also. If you or other civil society allies are part of these processes of planning and review, this can be a useful moment to raise concerns about pro-privatisation approaches, and bring in relevant evidence that you have on the harm being caused by privatisation. The private sector may also be involved in these processes, making it important to counter their power and raise any concerns about conflict of interest. Even if you are excluded from these processes, or if you feel your participation is tokenistic, key moments in the planning cycle can be a useful point to draw attention to what is happening, and raise concerns publicly about the exclusion of civil society and/or the inappropriate role given to the private sector in making these plans. For privatisation plans that involve government spending – particularly any kind of PPP – engaging with the budgetary process can, similarly, be a crucial way to influence plans.

> ● **Find the information:** Extensive detail on engaging these processes are available in two GCE toolkits: *'Planning Matters'* and *'Financing Matters'*, both available on the GCE website.

Engaging parliamentarians on legislation and more broadly

If you have reasonable access to legislators, and if they are fairly independent of government and open to engagement with your campaign, you might look at whether your goals can be achieved through recommending and supporting the passage of relevant legislation. For example, you might think about legislation to tighten regulation of private schools, or to impose certain requirements on public-private partnerships – see Tables 3A and 3B in Chapter 3 for examples of the kinds of issues that should concern legislators. Even if you

are not seeking – or expecting – to get new legislation passed, legislators can be powerful influencers. Committees can launch parliamentary enquiries or reviews, which could raise the profile of your campaign and apply pressure for action. Election campaigns are an important moment to get attention from elected politicians; with enough pressure, you can get commitments from candidates and those seeking re-election to investigate issues or support legislation.

> ● **Find the information:** Identifying and working with relevant committees can be a useful way to increase your influence and your access to information. If there is no relevant committee, you can work with sympathetic individual parliamentarians, and/or think about helping to support the establishment of one. In some places, there may be regional networks of parliamentarians interested in public education, such as that which CLADE works with in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Domestic oversight institutions for human rights, education, transparency, etc.

There may be a variety of institutions in your country with a responsibility to monitor human rights, education or transparency, from which you can seek reviews or comments, or – depending on their statutes – orders with which the government or private school operators must comply. These could include, for example, national human rights institutions, bodies with responsibility for licensing or monitoring private schools, local education boards, or bodies such as audit commissions that examine government contracting. Thus, if you are concerned, for example, about whether the operations of a particular private sector actor are violating aspects of the right to education, or failing to meet minimum education standards, you could submit a challenge or request for an inquiry to the institution that monitors the right to education and/or school standards.

> ● **Find the information:** It is important to understand both what bodies exist, and how civil society can engage with them. The Right to Education Initiative (www.right-to-education.org) has useful resources on linking to monitoring bodies.

Domestic judicial challenges

Depending on how clearly the right to education is articulated in your national constitution and/or other legislation, and the independence and rights-awareness of the judiciary, you might be able to challenge certain aspects of privatisation in

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the domestic courts – whether directly challenging private providers, or challenging the government over its failure to meet its constitutional duties. This could be a way to achieve an enforceable judgement against a government action or policy, or against a private sector operator, or as a strategic step to create pressure for a change in existing government policies. While some GCE members have effectively challenged violations of the right to education in the courts, it is worth considering the significant costs and the time involved in taking your own case to court. Joining or providing evidence for an existing case, or pushing for judicial review, may be an effective option that makes better use of available resources.

● **Find the information:** The Right to Education Initiative (www.right-to-education.org) has an extremely useful database of national constitutions and legislation, as they relate to the right to education, as well as considerations and tactics on using the courts. You can also seek help from relevant non-profit lawyers' groups; the International Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA, www.fidafederation.org), could offer support on challenges with a gender aspect.

Appeals to global and regional treaty bodies

In the last few years, several civil society organisations, often supported by GIESCR, have had success in drawing the attention of global and regional rights treaty bodies – including the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the Committee for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) (see also Chapter 4) – to violations of the right to education created by education privatisation in different countries. Your government must submit reports to the relevant bodies for the human rights treaties to which it is a signatory; you, as a civil society actor, also have the opportunity to submit 'parallel' reports, highlighting any concerns you have. In response, the treaty bodies might ask your government further questions about privatisation, or even include observations and recommendations for action. This can be a useful way to gain attention and put pressure on the government from a respected source. To lay the groundwork ahead of your submission, make sure you engage and begin advocating with key decision-makers ahead of the meetings.

● **Find the information:** Table 5B below lists some of the key international and regional treaty bodies that you can approach. The Right to Education Initiative (www.right-to-education.org) has detailed information on relevant treaties, treaty bodies and complaint mechanisms, while GIESCR (http://globalinitiative-escr.org/advocacy/privatisation-in-education-research-initiative) also has useful case studies and briefings on how to make use of these bodies.

Case study 5A:

Bringing the attention of a global human rights body to Ghana's privatisation

In 2014 and 2015, GCE member the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC), working with GIESCR, produced critical reports on the state and impact of education privatisation in the country. They submitted their findings to the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child, during the review of Ghana's implementation of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. Their submission revealed the rapid growth of private education in the country over the last ten years, with very little government regulation. This prompted the Committee to question Ghana's government about the situation, with the vice-chair of the CRC denouncing the growth of private schools in Ghana which *"creates segregation between children of poor and rich families... [and] worsens existing disparities in Ghanaian communities"*,

while other members of the Committee also insisted that many of the private schools *"are in poor conditions"* and employ untrained teachers. The Committee issued a recommendation to the government to take steps to address the privatisation of education in the country. GNECC issued a statement to the media about the Committee's concern, which was widely circulated. Although the government initially denied that either its approach to privatisation, or the privatisation itself, has been problematic, it did admit to a lack of information being shared by private schools, and – ultimately – the Minister of Education directed that the law on private participation in education should be reviewed.

Source: Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition

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Table 5B: Key human rights treaty bodies, and relevant treaty articles

Region	Treaty body	Key articles from the treaties they monitor, and website
Global	Committee on the Rights of the Child	Art. 28: free, compulsory education primary education for all, and progressively free secondary education Art. 29: aims of education and freedom of choice in conformity with minimum state standards http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CRC/
Global	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	Art. 13: universal right to education without discrimination and with a detailed framework Art. 14: State obligation to adopt a plan of action to secure free, compulsory primary education http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CESCR
Global	UN Special Rapporteur on Education	*This is an office with the responsibility to monitor the right to education generally, rather than compliance with a specific treaty.* http://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/Education/SREducation
Global	Committee for the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women	Art. 10: equal right to education for all women and girls, and elimination of gender stereotyping in education. http://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/CEDAWIndex.aspx
Africa	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights	Art. 2: the right to freedom from discrimination on any grounds in the enjoyment of the rights and freedoms guaranteed in the Charter Art. 17: the right to education, and freely to take part in the cultural life of one's country http://www.achpr.org/communications/
Africa	African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child	Art. 3: the principle of non-discrimination Art 11: the right to education http://www.acerwc.org/
Americas	Inter-American Commission on Human Rights	Art 19: the rights of the child Protocol art. 3: the principle of non-discrimination in the exercise of the rights set forth in the Protocol Protocol art. 13: the right to education Protocol art. 16: the rights of children http://www.oas.org/en/iachr/
Europe	European Court of Human Rights	Art. 14: prohibition of discrimination Protocol No. 1, art 2: the right to education http://www.echr.coe.int/

Mass protests

If your organisation or your allies have the right networks – and/or if can make your campaign of urgent interest to the public – you may be able to mobilise people on a mass scale, putting huge pressure on the government. This can often work well at moments of 'crisis' – when the government is on the verge of signing a huge new contract, for example, or about to make significant changes to the law, opening up to further privatisation. This may also be more likely to succeed when campaigners against privatisation in education are working with campaigners against other forms of privatisation – broadening the appeal of the campaign and the possible audiences.

● **Find the information:** Your regional education network – ACEA, ANCEFA, ASPBAE, CLADE – is likely to have useful lessons on mass mobilisation, and/or you can review GCE information from past Global Action Weeks on Education. Greenpeace, CIVICUS, or organisations in your country that do a lot of popular mobilisation will also have useful tools.

Case study 5B:

Mass protests against PPPs in El Salvador

In El Salvador, mass mobilisation forced the government to limit new legislation that was intended to advance public-private partnerships (PPPs), in particular excluding education from the scope of the law. The new law had been required by a trade agreement signed by the government of El Salvador with the USA in 2011, and by the terms of an IMF loan. Prompted in part by revelations of massive corruption in previous PPP deals, a huge campaign of opposition saw 80,000 people taking part in an anti-PPP march on May Day 2012, as well as mass protests outside parliament. While the law passed, the campaign resulted in significant limitations and increased scrutiny: public healthcare, education, water, public security and prisons were all excluded from the scope of the PPP law, and provisions around audit and parliamentary oversight were added.

Source: Hall, D (2013) ¿Por qué las asociaciones público-privadas (APPS) no funcionan? Las numerosas ventajas de la alternativa pública, Public Services International

Box 4. Tackling immediate challenges

In some cases, communities or national activist networks find themselves facing the challenges of (apparently) sudden, massive shifts towards privatisation, with limited time to act to prevent potentially disastrous changes from happening. This was the case, for example, in 2014 when parents and students at Dearborn school in Boston, USA, found out with two months' notice that their school – including a brand new building – was to be handed over to a private operator; they successfully opposed the privatisation.[15] It is the case now for activists faced with announcements from the Liberian Education Minister that the government plans to hand all schools over to private operators – a plan that campaigns have so far slowed down, and made more open, but which campaigners are still resisting.[16] If you are facing this situation, you will still need to go through most of the steps outlined in this toolkit – understanding the problem, identifying the change you want, thinking about targets, allies, tactics – but of course you need to move very quickly. The following can be useful aspects to think about in managing rapid-response campaigns against privatisation plans:

Aim for an early consensus and confidence in a core team: by their nature, rapid-response campaigns against privatisation will be contentious (if not controversial). You will want to make sure that, as far as possible, your coalition is in agreement, while avoiding the lengthy sign-off processes that will make rapid action impossible. As early as possible, set out your case to your members or core allies about why you need to act on this issue, and get agreement that a small, well-informed team – including affected community members or outside experts, if possible – will move forward

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15 https://www.bostonglobe.com/metro/2014/09/04/boston-pulls-back-plan-convert-new-dearborn-school-into-charter-school/Jj0oW-8iQy68KQZfMZlVVjJ/story.html
16 See case study in chapter 2.

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with day-to-day policy decisions.

Decide and communicate a clear, simple demand/message: rapid-response campaigns are not the time for lengthy and detailed policy recommendations; you will need a simple message about what the threat is – a school handover that risks cutting off some children's access, for example, or a PPP project that threatens greater inequality, etc. – and clear demand relating to shutting down that threat by stopping the proposed privatisation project. Make sure you get your message out widely to your own network – if the situation is new, your members may need clear talking points – as well as to your external audiences.

Aim for mobilisation of sympathetic audiences and widespread communication: a bigger coalition and a stronger public base are always going to have a greater impact; but in a rapid-response, possibly contentious, campaign, you won't have time to do the detailed education and alliance-building that you might do with a longer-term privatisation campaign. Think about working closely with those allies who are already sympathetic to the cause and can be easily moved to action, and together get your clear message out as broadly as possible to help build a more favourable context. In contexts where it is relevant, social media can be a powerful tool to reach large and potentially sympathetic audiences.

Think about bringing in additional short-term capacity: if you need to mobilise your movement and wider audiences, and influence your target, very swiftly, you may need additional or expert capacity. Some international organisations working on privatisation – for example, your regional education network, GCE, Education

International, ActionAid or GIESCR – may be able to provide additional capacity on a temporary basis, especially if your campaign has the potential to be significant and emblematic in the wider struggle to resist privatisation.

Prioritise getting immediate attention: when considering tactics, think about those that can have an immediate impact, and get attention from targets and the wider public. This could include adapting what would normally be a longer-term strategy. Letters of complaint to sector planning committees or global human rights bodies, for example, might not be well-timed or sufficiently detailed to influence those actors in the way you would want to if properly engaging with their processes; but sending those letters can be a useful way to get media or government attention.

Look for strategies to buy time: if a dangerous PPP contract or government deregulation effort is imminent, think about what tactics can delay that action and buy you time. Parliamentary enquiries, for example, or processes of judicial review might help to slow things down while you try to shift public opinion and political will.

Seize the opportunity! Times of crisis can provide incredible opportunities to galvanise potential allies and the public into paying attention and taking action. It might be hard to inspire action over, for instance, a slow and technical process of deregulation of the education sector, but much easier to harness outrage when the government proposes to hand over a dozen public schools to a profit-making enterprise. So, while these situations are threats, they can also be opportunities to push back against the privatisation narrative, and build a foundation for longer-term campaigning on the right to education.

Communicating your message

Suiting message and tone to audience

As with any campaign, alongside the question of what to present, is how to present it: if there is one thing you want decision-makers and potential supporters to hear and understand, what is it? This will not be the same for all audiences. Experiences of GCE coalitions engaging with different audiences on privatisation have yielded the following suggestions in terms of tone and presentation:

• **Communities, parents and public:** focus on the potential impact for individual children and families, highlighting the precariousness of relying on private providers; immediate, personal messages and stories have particular resonance. See also Chapter 6. For the media and any non-expert sources, think about presenting key findings as clearly and accessibly as possible, rather than technical details.

• **International treaty bodies, and CSOs and NGOs:** focus on violations of rights on a broader scale and highlight systemic problems; for official bodies, you will need to produce reports with details and clear sources.

• **Governments and donors:** focus on the ways in which evidence shows private education failing to meet its promises and failing to lead to SDG4 achievement; this could include both focusing on areas of acknowledged weakness – such as 'affordability' and equity impacts – and challenging those where private providers claim to be strong – such as on quality.

If the government is your target, then depending on your relationship with them and their responsiveness, you make take more of an 'insider' tone – e.g. highlighting concerns about privatisation in a spirit of partnership – or an 'outsider' or confrontational tone – e.g. challenging them for their complicity in privatisation. You will decide what works best in your political context.

Getting your message out more widely

Alongside other tactics and activities, you are likely to want to think about how to get your message out to intended audiences, in a way that maximises pressure on your targets. This public messaging may even be a primary tactic. How and why you do this might vary: if you are making progress through lobbying, for example, you might want to publicise that progress, in order to encourage the government to continue; if the government is resistant, you might want to build awareness, support and engagement through social media, which could lead to public action. The choice of media to get your message out will vary with your goal and context. Options include:

• **traditional media:** TV, radio or print – think about how influential these are; in particular, if traditional media is mostly paid, does it have credibility?

• **more accessible media,** such as community radio or webcasts – GCE members such as CAMPE Bangladesh produce their own TV and radio programmes which are distributed online;

• **social media,** such as messaging, video-sharing, picture-sharing or networking sites and apps – for example; and

• **grassroots organising**: some campaigns spread their message and their concerns through many face-to-face meetings, where activists and community members can meet. See more in Chapter 6.

Table 5C: Summary of steps to decide your approach and tactics

Step	Details
Map your resources	Think about information, networks and relationships, and concrete resources that you have available.
Decide insider/ outsider balance	Thinking about your context and power analysis, decide the best balance between 'insider' lobbying with targets, and outside – more public – pressure.
Decide your tactics	Think about what tactics and activities can help you achieve the change you want.
Develop your evidence base	Review the information you have (gathering more if need be) and think about how to present and communicate that to best influence your targets and audiences.
Communicate your message	Select the best communication means to get your key message, findings and asks out to the audiences who can influence your targets.

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EXERCISE 5A

Exploring tactics

Scenario: you are leading a coalition campaign opposing a secretive and expensive government contract with a private operator to manage up to 15 public primary and secondary schools. The private operator is a for-profit European company with US investors. In the first place, you are calling for a National Assembly inquiry into the contract. As part of the campaign, you and your allies have produced a research study finding evidence of poor quality instruction and infrastructure in the 5 schools already managed by the private operator, raising questions about how government funds are being used.

1. Reviewing the tactics described in this chapter, come up with **three** possible ways to launch and use the research, including a related set of activities for up to 1 year.

2. For each tactic, think about:
    • What kind of audience you are most likely to influence
    • What kind of allies or resources you would need to be most effective
    • Advantages and disadvantages

3. For each tactic, come up with a proposed top-line message (one or two sentences that sum up your concern and proposed solution). These may be the same for different tactics, or may vary. Think about how you could adapt these messages to be more 'insider' or 'outsider'.

4. Consider whether these different tactics could consistently be used as part of the same campaign; that is, would they be likely to strengthen or undermine each other? Does it depend on how you approach them?

Adapting this for a workshop:

• Divide participants into groups of around 4, and present them with the scenario above.

• If you have time, you could ask each group to work through steps 1 to 3.

• Alternatively, you could allocate to each group a different type of tactic (e.g. lobbying, work with the media, community organising, judicial challenge). They can then work through steps 1 to 3 coming up with ONE set of activities for that tactical approach.

• After feedback, you can then discuss step 4 in plenary.

EXERCISE 5B:

Planning an overall approach to this campaign

NB This exercise should be completed only if you have already completed Exercise 4B.

Scenario: the scenario is the same as in Exercise 5A above. Additionally, your campaign has already carried out a power mapping, which has produced the map, targets, allies, influencers etc. that you identified in Exercise 4B. (See your marked-up version of Figure 4D).

1. List the (non-monetary) resources you and your priority allies have, including the research described in the scenario. This can include your organisation's real resources (e.g. members) along with the expertise, networks, etc. that you would typically expect the kind of organisations you have chosen as allies to have (e.g. a university would have academic experts; credibility with policy-makers; large and small meeting rooms).

2. Reviewing your targets, allies, etc.; your resources; and the tactics described in this chapter, decide on a possible tactical approach (tactic or set of tactics) to achieve your immediate campaign goal. Think about the timing of each stage of your campaign – is there a government event or meeting around which you can plan activity? What might you do before, during, and after this? If there is no event, what could you do to create a moment to galvanise action?

3. Decide a core message for your campaign.

4. Review your tactics and message and consider:

   • Are your chosen tactics likely to reach and influence your advocacy targets?

   • Will your chosen tactics reach the additional audiences you want to engage and bring on board?

   • Do your chosen tactics make good use of the resources that you and your allies have available?

If not, think about how you would change or add to your plans.

Adapting this for a workshop:

• You can use the sample scenarios given here, or – if you are using the workshop as a campaign planning opportunity – use your actual scenario and power map created as part of Exercise 4B. In this case, you can also – if possible at this stage – give participants a sense of what scale of financial resources are available for the campaign.

• Divide the participants into groups of around 4.

• wAsk each group to work through steps 1 to 3. If you have more time, you could reconvene after step 1 to share feedback and build a collective list of resources.

After step 3, reconvene the participants and share feedback. In plenary, discuss proposals, and try to reach consensus on priority tactics and actions. Go through step 4 in plenary together as part of this process.

6. How do we build local power?
Building links from the grassroots to global level

This toolkit so far has largely assumed that you are building an advocacy campaign with a national perspective. But the most successful campaigns often start at the grassroots, and individual communities threatened by planned or existing privatisation may be looking for support in resisting this agenda. Communities can face immediate or long-term threats from privatisation: the government may announce plans to hand their local public school to a private operator to run through an opaque PPP contract; a voucher scheme may, over time, drain funds from local public schools; the expansion of low-fee private schools may over time lead to neglect and a decline in funding for public schools which are now educating the poorest and most marginalised children. In the Liberian community of Kollita Wah, for example, the community built its own school so that all local children could be educated. But when the government handed over management of that school to Bridge International Academies to manage as part of a PPP agreement, the private company said that it did not have space to educate all the children, and large numbers of the community's children were left with no local school to attend.[17]

Fighting and overturning these kinds of developments through local resistance can be an important part of building a national anti-privatisation campaign, as well as building the momentum and expertise to shift national policy. A local struggle can become iconic for your national movement, inspiring others and acting as a reference point for national debate. This can also offer a very powerful human story – one of real children and their parents – which can capture imaginations and be of interest to the media.

Many of the approaches, tools and considerations already outlined in this toolkit are relevant at any level. A community campaign still needs to:

• Understand context
• Decide objectives
• Map key stakeholders and determine targets and allies

• Develop a strategy and determine message and tactics.

There are, however, some specific considerations to bear in mind for community-level campaigns in terms of, for example, how planning and action should be managed, how to think about power, approaches to messaging and community education, etc. This section maps out these considerations, alongside some successful examples, and thoughts on how to link to national, regional and global levels.

How we work: community ownership and engagement

Any effective community action must be rooted in the community. Over the long-term, and especially given the powerful pro-privatising forces we face, education rights activists can't win in communities across a country and sustain those wins by relying on professional advocates coming into many communities to direct a campaign. Rather, we need to focus our efforts on some struggles that could have wider implications – because they exemplify the major issues in the resistance against privatisation – and think about how to support students, parents and others to organise themselves; that is, to come together collectively and act in ways that give them the collective power to push back on privatisation in their own communities. There are many useful guides to community organising (see also Annex B). One key consideration is that of engagement and ownership: members of the community themselves should be empowered to lead their own campaigning. This would include, for example:

• **Participatory planning** – from the start, community members should be drawing on their own knowledge and resources to understand the privatisation context and key concerns, to map out key players and to develop creative, tailored strategies.

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17   Mukpo A. (2017) *In Liberia, a town struggles to adjust to its new charter school*, World Education Blog of the UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report, https://gemreportunesco.wordpress.com/2017/04/12/in-liberia-a-town-struggles-to-adjust-to-its-new-charter-school/ - accessed May 2017

- **Participatory research** – if your planning involves a need for further research into local privatisation developments, consider using participatory research methods to involve communities themselves in gathering and analysing information
- **Distributed decision-making** – effective community-driven campaigns are not top-down; community members should be encouraged to form structures that allow them to share responsibility for decision-making.

What we know: assessing the context at local level

If a local community wants assistance in resisting privatisation, the core concern is already explicit. There will still be a need, however, to dig deeper into the situation to understand the key problems - including perhaps some of which the community are not yet aware. Table 2A in Chapter 2 of this toolkit sets out the kinds of initial questions you would ask in planning a national-level campaign to resist privatisation, covering overall provision, financing, equity and access, quality and governance. Adapting these to the local level, and digging further into specific local experiences in all these areas, can guide your initial conversations. Additional, locally-specific questions, such as those in Table 6A below, can also be useful to help inform a grassroots campaign.

When your information is gathered, the community can (re) formulate its statement of the problem, and set out clearly the change they need to see happen - see Chapter 3 for more on this process.

Who to consider: roles of local stakeholders

The power mapping approach set out in Chapter 4 is a useful exercise to carry out with a community to think about the relevant local actors. In many countries, the management of education is decentralised to local level; in some cases, it is decentralised in theory, but not in practice. The community itself will have to discuss not only who should have decision-making power, according to formal structures, but who actually does: some of this – particularly the education bureaucracy – may be opaque, but often communities may have a good sense of who really holds power and influence.

Table 6A: Additional questions to inform local organising around privatisation

Accessibility and availability	Are there - or will there be, after any current plans are implemented - good quality, no-fee, publicly-run schools in the area? That is, do parents have a genuine public school choice? If parents have chosen fee-paying private schools, what has happened to any children of parents who have not been able to continue to afford fees?
Local relationships	Who, locally, is involved in – or connected to those involved in – owning or running (proposed) private schools, or privately-managed public schools? What is their relationship with local authorities, and have they been supported, politically or financially, by local politicians?
Community oversight	How has the community been involved in and kept informed of agreements between the government (national or local) and private providers? Has the community had any say in determining what private schools open up and where, or what is happening to local public schools?
Local opinion	If any local parents are choosing private schools, why does the community think this is? What are the community's greatest concerns about private education and its impact locally, and about public education locally?

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Table 6B: Questions to think about in understanding local stakeholders in privatisation

Overall decision-making & budgetary authority	Which government officials should – and do – have decision-making power over public and/or private schools in the area, including openings and closures and budgets? Is any power locally held? Are there, for example, local officials with an education mandate, and/or provision for locally-determined education plans?
Licensing & monitoring	Who monitors public schools and who licenses and monitors private schools in the area? Do they make information publicly available? Is this managed nationally/regionally/locally?
Authority within schools	Who has authority within schools, including private schools – e.g. the principal, the manager, the owner? What are the relationships like between the different private schools in the area?
Student, parent & community participation	What student or parents' associations exist in the public or private sector and what influence do they have? What is the engagement of traditional leaders with education, either formally or informally? Are there any residents' associations or other civic groups that are currently (or potentially) involved with education, and if so, how?
Complaints and redress	Does the community know where to address complaints about either public or private schools, and where to turn if those complaints are not acknowledged or responded to?

This exercise should enable you to think about current power structures – actual rather than theoretical – but also potential power. Any grassroots campaign effort must think seriously about the potential power of the community: through organising, individual parents, students and community members can become a powerful, collective force.

What we say: talking about public and private education at the grassroots

If a community – or, at least, a group of people within a community – is eager to take action to resist actual or proposed privatisation, then clearly they will already have some concerns about privatisation and its impacts, even if they also have concerns about public education. In other cases, however, you may be trying to sensitise a community to the dangers of privatisation, or supporting concerned community members to influence and organise others in their community who are not yet convinced of the need to resist privatisation. For many parents, their experience of debates around public vs. private education may be that their local public school is bad, or getting worse, or closing, and that a private school nearby is claiming to offer much better education for what seems like a small price. They don't necessarily have information to judge fully the truth of those claims, or know about the policy decisions which link the

fates of the public and private schools. In these contexts, the following can be useful advice for how to make your case.

The most important thing to remember is that you and the community are NOT basing your organising on the question of whether public or private schools are better – still less, whether any specific public school is better (or worse) than a private alternative. On the contrary, it can be important to acknowledge any problems with public education locally, and that these need to be addressed. But you need to emphasise the dangers of privatisation – for the community as a whole and for individual children within it – and the ways in which striving to secure a decent public education will better serve the community as a whole.

Use personal, detailed stories – where possible, first-person stories – to illustrate and strengthen your case. The key issues to cover are those set out in Tables 1B and 1C in Chapter 1, on affordability, quality, equity, segregation vs. community cohesion, etc., drawing out the implications for individuals and their families.

It can be important to remind people of the precariousness of private or privately-run education. Fee-paying schools can raise fees at any time, or a shock can leave families unable to pay. This can be particularly problematic if a local, free public option has withered away. There are many, many stories - from Liberia to the USA - of private companies securing contracts to run public schools, and then

turning away children because they want to limit the number of students,[18] or not provide certain grades,[19] or keep out children who are less likely to get high test scores.[20]

Present a positive vision of the quality public education that can be achieved through collective action. This can be challenging when a community has had bad experiences with public education. But it is important to remember that – according to international treaties and agreements – children have the right to good quality, free education, and governments have a duty to provide this. Settling for a privately-provided education that is trying to make a profit – whether from fees or government contracts – often means settling for something just a little bit better than bad.

How we win: building our networks and our power

Three key elements of community organising, in resistance to privatisation as in other contexts, are: stories, structure and strategy.

The power of stories

The most powerful way to move people and build understanding of concerns about privatisation at community level is through telling personal stories – about how families and children have been affected by privatisation or by public education. In making the following points, therefore, try to find examples – or better yet, individuals who can tell their own stories – to illustrate how, for example, private school fees spiralled out of control (especially when there was no public alternative), or privately-run schools failed to provide for their children's needs. You could contact your regional education network – ACEA, ANCEFA, ASPBAE or CLADE – to get examples of stories from other countries.

Structure

You will want to support the community in building committees and means to discuss, consult and decide, that give structure and sustainability to their campaigns. This can involve looking for the kinds of allies indicated in Chapter 4 (for example, youth groups or teacher unions), as well as strengthening the sense of shared purpose within the community. If other communities in the area are experiencing similar threats, it can be powerful to join forces, especially if decision-making power around licensing of or contracts with private providers is held outside the community.

Strategy

The processes set out earlier in this toolkit – understanding the situation, setting goals, mapping power, developing tactics – still apply. Some of the relationships and tactics listed in Chapters 4 and 5 can be adapted for community-level campaigns to resist privatisation as follows:

• lobbying both national and local politicians, focusing on local or national elections, as well as local planning processes, as key moments to build momentum and exert influence;

• building relationships with local officials, such as those responsible for monitoring;

• encouraging local competition where possible by holding up examples of other areas that are much more successfully managing public education;

• working with local influential people to gain their support and impact; and

• using local redress systems, including within traditional authorities, to gain attention and influence.

Moreover, you can also support local campaigns to gain much greater traction by linking them to national, regional or global action, as described below.

Linking local to national to regional and global

National campaigns resisting education privatisation are greatly strengthened by links to the grassroots – and vice versa. Moreover, the networking of activists at both global and regional levels adds considerably to the credibility and reach of campaigns against privatisation.

Linking local and state/national

Many GCE members achieve this through the working of the community-based members or through regional structures. The links should be two-way, and could involve the following:

• **Work collaboratively on gathering information:** communities themselves are best-placed to know what is happening with private education where they are, and to dig into what is hidden. If you are campaigning around private school fees, for example, you can work directly with the community to gather information on both official and 'hidden' fees.

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18   Mukpo A. (2017) *In Liberia, a town struggles to adjust to its new charter school*, World Education Blog of the UNESCO Global Education Monitoring Report, https://gemreportunesco.wordpress.com/2017/04/12/in-liberia-a-town-struggles-to-adjust-to-its-new-charter-school/ - accessed May 2017

19   NBC 10 (2014) *Philly charter suddenly closes middle school*, http://www.nbcphiladelphia.com/news/local/Embattled-Philly-Charter-Suddenly-Closes-Middle-School-286943191.html, accessed May 2017

20   Leung et al (2016) *Unequal access: how some California charter schools illegally restrict enrollment*, ACLU-California

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- **Support linkages and learning:** community-level campaigns are stronger when informed by an understanding of the broader trends around privatisation in the country, and even outside. You can share information and support links between the communities you work with – and share stories of resistance – as part of the effort to build leadership and strengthen a sense of shared purpose.

- **Bring local campaigns into national processes:** a community-level fight will gain much more legitimacy and momentum when it can engage with national processes, for example by being supported to make or contribute to submissions to national assemblies or oversight bodies, parallel reports, positions shared in sector planning or review, or information disseminated via national media. This has the added benefit of ensuring that your national work is firmly rooted in realities on the ground.

- **Act as a bridge to decision-makers:** as a civil society organisation or coalition, you can use your unique position to bring together decision-makers and those affected by privatisation; direct testimony can be extremely powerful.

- **Open up your decision-making:** while there must be a clear structure for decision-making, opening up debates and consulting with communities about the direction of your campaign can allow you to draw on local perspectives about how privatisation is functioning.

Regional linkages

GCE member coalitions are well aware of the power of regional connections to strengthen their own capacity, and the impact of their campaigns, including through sharing experiences and learning, and producing joint reports and statements. In the context of campaigns against education privatisation, some relevant possibilities include:

- **Coordinated appeals to regional human rights bodies:** Chapter 5 highlighted the regional human rights bodies active on the right to education; parallel reports or submissions to such bodies can be powerfully informed by local experiences. Moreover, working with campaigns from other states in the region, to coordinate lobbying around and promotion of reports being submitted at the same time, could give added strength and profile to your campaign.

- **Bringing concerns to regional coordinating bodies:** regional economic or political unions can both be high-profile and have a significant influence on the direction of national policy for member countries. You can use meetings of these bodies to launch joint reports on privatisation, hold joint press conferences, or otherwise draw attention to your concerns around privatisation of education. Relevant bodies could be African Union, ASEAN, the League of Arab States, the Organisation of American States, or the European Union.

- **Campaigning against the pro-private policies of regional development banks:** in some regions, regional development banks are an important driver of education privatisation. The Asian Development Bank, for example, was a powerful advocate for PPPs and pro-private 'reforms' in the education sector in the Philippines. Challenging the policies and approaches of these banks could therefore have significant impact for national policy, but could be much more influential as part of a coordinated transnational campaign. Regional education networks will have more information on how to engage with and influence these bodies.

Global linkages

Some of the ways in which national and local campaigns can link to global action are similar to those discussed in relation to regional linkages, including for example joint statements or reports. The following are some possibilities for global linkages:

- **Alliances between southern and donor country campaigns:** in some countries, expanded privatisation is being driven – or at least encouraged – through the programmes and funding of bilateral donors, such as the UK's DfID. Alliances between campaigns countries where these privatisation initiatives are taking place and campaigns in the donor country can have a powerful reinforcing effect. You can ask GCE to help you form relevant connections.

- **Joint campaigns against global actors:** as discussed in Chapters 1 and 4, a growing number of private operators are now part of transnational corporate enterprises, which are seeking to make profits in different countries and different regions of the world. Campaigns against the practices of such companies can be strengthened by coordination across different countries where these companies work, and across the countries where they and their shareholders are based. Similarly, campaigns against global pro-privatising supporters like the World Bank will most effectively be informed and driven by activists from different countries acting collectively to present their experiences and make their case. Key moments will include events such as the Spring and Annual Meetings of the World Bank and IMF, and shareholder meetings of private companies; discuss with regional education networks and GCE if you are interested in these approaches.

- **Coordinated use of the UN system:** as discussed in Chapter 5, some national education campaigns have recently highlighted problems with education privatisation in their country in reports to treaty bodies within the UN system, resulting in those bodies presenting concerns or criticisms to governments. Coordinating cross-country complaints can help to significantly raise the profile of privatisation as a rights issue.

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Table 6C: Summary of considerations for community level campaigns

Step	Details
Plan a collaborative approach	Make sure participatory processes are built into every step of your planning and implementation
Review the context and goals	Build a shared community understanding of the issues and concerns; see also Chapters 2 and 3.
Map local power	Work with the community to build a local power map; see also Chapter 4.
Clarify messages	Work with committed community members on explaining core issues to others, with a focus on local concerns; see also Chapter 1.
Focus on stories, structure and strategy	Use personal stories to create shared sense of purpose and values; ensure the local campaign has in place a structure to make decisions and take action; and determine a strategy to achieve your objectives.
Reinforce through linkages	Think about how to mutually strengthen local and national campaigns, by building links between communities, to national/state level, to regional level, and to global activity.

Citizens to demand expansion of public education in Tanzania during GCE's Global Action Week for Education, 2017.

Image courtesy of Tanzania Education Network/Mtandao Wa Elimu Tanzania (TEN/MET)

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Case study 6A:

Grassroots organising succeeds and builds power

'Charter schools' – a form of PPP where private entities sign a contract with the government to run one or more public schools – have rapidly expanded in the USA in recent years. Increasingly, this has prompted serious resistance from communities all over the country. Hundreds of local campaigns around the country have seen parents, students, teachers and other community members band together in attempts to protect their public schools from being taken over by unaccountable, often profit-making, private entities, who are pushing their own agenda and have often excluded children who are 'harder' to educate, including children with disabilities or poor academic records. Often, they have faced hugely well-funded pro-charter operations, with links to major political donors.

In late 2011 in Somerville, Massachusetts, for example, parents rapidly formed a group called 'Progress Together for Somerville' to oppose plans for a new charter school. Within three weeks, they mobilised 300 parents and community members to attend a public meeting with the State Education Secretary and voice their opposition to the plans. The group – many wearing campaign t-shirts – showed their strength in numbers and presented clear concerns, including that the charter plans would undermine education for all Somerville children, and drain as much as one tenth of the city's school budget, forcing cuts including the closure of a primary school. Over the next month, various organisations that had previously been willing to be associated with the charter school proposal

withdrew their support as they became aware of the parents' opposition and their arguments. The group organised community members, including recent high school graduates, to write letters to the state government expressing their concerns, in particular about the school potentially contributing to segregation.

Two months after the initial public meeting, the State decided against the charter school proposal; the charter advocates presented it again later that year, but again it was defeated.

Meanwhile, Progress Together for Somerville found that its initial campaign had tapped into considerable local enthusiasm for supporting and organising around improving public education locally, and after the charter fight, it continued as a grassroots education campaign. A few months after the group's founding, one parent commented: *"I'm amazed at the level of activity over the past 3 months; parents, teachers and the city are collaborating to pursue new approaches to addressing the challenges in our schools."*

Sources: *Citizens for Public Schools (http://www.citizensforpublicschools.org/editions-of-the-backpack/winter-2011-12-backpack/somerville-families-unite-to-resist-planned-charter/); Somerville Patch https://patch.com/massachusetts/somerville/support-for-charter-school-crumbling-says-opposition-group and https://patch.com/massachusetts/somerville/somerville-progressive-charter-school-passed-over-by-state); Ward 5 online (http://www.ward5online.com/2012/02/press-release-new-energy-drives-change.html) - all accessed May 2017*

Exercise 6A:

Building community support

Scenario: You represent an education rights coalition in Country Q. A large-scale pilot project funded by the World Bank and the development agency of Donor Country D is providing vouchers to partly subsidise children in a poorer district of your capital city to attend a low-fee private primary school: the voucher currently pays about two thirds of the fees, not including unofficial costs. Already, funding to the nearby public school has reduced, with capitation grants going down, even as the children attending that school have proportionately greater needs (lower income, more children with disabilities). At the end of the 18-month pilot, the government is supposed to take over funding, reducing funds for public education still further; the voucher amount per student is more than the current per-student cost at public schools. The only information on the quality of education in the **low-fee** school comes from the school owners, a for-profit international company based in Country P. Some parents now have children in the **low-fee** school, some in the public school, some in both schools, and some have children who are both in and out of school. Around 9% of primary school-aged children in the neighbourhood are out of school.

1. Some concerned local residents have asked you to host a 20-hour community meeting, including a cross-section of parents, teachers, local authorities and local religious leaders. Think about who else would you want to invite to the meeting, if anyone?

2. Plan an agenda for the community meeting, thinking about who should present or lead discussions, and what core issues need to be discussed

3. Write down two key messages you would like attendees of the meeting to remember afterwards

4. Assuming that the meeting results in an agreement – by at least some participants – to protest against the pilot programme, set out what initial steps you think need to happen at community level in the next two months, including to:
   - build community support
   - plan
   - gather information.

Adapting this for a workshop setting

- Explain the scenario and divide participants into groups of about 4

- Each group can represent a different type of local stakeholder: parents of children at LFPS, parents of children at public school, parents of out-of-school children, local authority figure, local religious leader, teachers, etc. If you have more groups, some can also represent parents with children at both schools, or with children in and out of school.

- Ask each group to discuss separately what their reaction to the pilot programme is and what they want to happen. Reconvene and ask each group to share their top-line reaction and request.

- Each group separates again; now they represent an education campaigner, who is arguing that the pilot programme is unsustainable and risks leaving some children out. The group should think through steps 2, 3 and 4, in light of the arguments shared in the first part.

- Reconvene and share impressions of which groups would be hardest to persuade, and which arguments or approaches are more or less compelling.

- If time, groups can split again and discuss step 5.

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Exercise 6B:

Making links

1. Read the scenario above.

2. The community where the pilot programme is happening has decided to oppose it. As a national campaign, identify:

- Two ways that you can reinforce the community campaign through links to national work
- One way that you can reinforce the community campaign through links to regional work
- One way that you can reinforce the community campaign through links to global work

3. What needs to happen at community level for these linkages to function effectively?

Adapting this for a workshop setting

- Divide participants into groups of around 4.
- Ask each group to work through steps 1 to 3
- In plenary, ask each group to feed back on ONE proposal for national, regional and global work, and explain why they think it would be useful
- Keep going until all options have been presented.

Women participate in a campaign research workshop targeted at engaging young people in education rights campaigning, India, 2017.

Image courtesy of National Coalition for Education, India

Case study 6B:

Local to global organising creates change in World Bank and IMF approach

In the late 1990s and 2000s, civil society organisations ranging from small, local networks in Southern countries to large international NGOs, were campaigning in an aligned way against the harmful 'conditionality' of World Bank and IMF loans. The common practice of both institutions at the time was to set strict conditions for borrower countries to follow as a condition of getting loans or debt relief. These conditions, many focused on reducing government spending, often took the form of undemocratic demands for specific – and harmful – policy or budget actions, such as introducing school fees or cutting government budgets in a way that required teacher training institutes to be shut down, and nurses and teachers to be dismissed. The effects at country level were often catastrophic.

The civil society opposition was not centrally managed – many organisations contributed according to their own plans and priorities – but it was networked and often coordinated to maximise pressure. Much of the global coordination took place through the structures that had built up through the 'Jubilee 2000' debt cancellation campaign, with local debt campaigners often leading local fights against conditionality, and linking to regional and global players. International NGOs such as Oxfam and ActionAid worked directly with partners from Southern countries, supporting their campaigning financially and with technical expertise, and bringing spokespeople like education activists from Malawi to meet in person with World Bank and IMF directors in Washington DC, or with donor governments in their capitals.

Within a few years, both institutions were publicly drawing back from, in particular, education and health-related conditionality, and subsequently rethinking approaches on conditionality altogether. By 2005, a World Bank review of conditionality expressed considerable doubt about the traditional approach, stating, for instance, that *"We cannot continue with the same line of questioning that we have in the past concerning what reforms we are buying with this loan or another"*, proposing *"humility"* and noting that *"Public scrutiny of the advice we give, of the choices we encourage, is a strong deterrent"*.

Sources: *Jubilee Debt Campaign, Oxfam, ActionAid, Koeberle et al (eds) (2005) Conditionality Revisited: concepts, lessons and experiences, World Bank.*

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The Global Campaign for Education (GCE), founded in 1999, is a global civil society movement that advances the right to education through advocacy and public campaigns. GCE is a network of member organisations, networks and coalitions, present in more than 100 countries. Our members bring together civil society organisations, NGOs, teacher unions, child rights activists, parents' associations, young people and community groups.

ANNEX A:
Notes on the exercises

These offer some brief reflections and guidance for the exercises; note that many do not have 'correct' answers, and are intended to provoke debate. Users should feel free to approach GCE for further discussion.

Exercise 1A:
- Private finance, private provision: b, d
- Private finance, public provision: a
- Public finance, private provision: e
- Public finance, public provision: c, f

C, F and A would meet the usual definition of public. E is a PPP that some might call a 'public school' even though it has important differences from a traditional public school; terminology can vary with context. B and D are private.

Exercise 1B:
Availability, accessibility, adaptability (in Nevada), accountability and equity all raise clear concerns. You would need to look further into school operations to know if there are concerns with acceptability (quality) and further with adaptability.

Exercise 1C
Much of this exercise is about personal judgment and preference. With steps 2 and 3, the key points to bear in mind are that any private solution MUST include efficient regulation, which limits the funds available for any school expansions: ultimately, it is not affordable to invest in the necessary regulation on the scale needed, while also ensuring quality in existing public schools. With an approach of public school reform, there is greater scope for combining expansion and improvement, but limited funds mean there are trade-offs to be made between achieving the highest quality, and providing education for all students.

Exercise 2A
This exercise will reflect personal judgment and/or evolving group discussions. Given your campaign focuses, you will want to include questions on finance, equity and transparency, and in particular the school funding impact and equity impact of the proposed vouchers – but the details of your focus could vary.

Exercise 2B
It is important to think about percentages and percentage changes and not just total numbers. Doing this, some key issues and concerns that should emerge from the data are:

- Apparent socio-economic differences between children in public and private schools (inequity and stratification), as well as much higher private enrolment in urban areas.
- A much higher proportion of qualified teachers in public schools (quality concerns)
- A fairly rapid increase in private enrolment from 2013 to 2015 (22% increase, 92,000 children). But note there is not corresponding decrease in the numbers of out-of-school children (32,500 children).
- Many others that you may identify!
- One major area for further investigation is types of private schools and differences between them: this data treats all private schools as one group.

Exercise 4A
Again, answers will vary with personal judgement. The Ministry should be included as a target; you might also want to include the RDB and/or government of Australia, depending on how you are thinking of approaching the activism. (The RDB is a more powerful but 'harder' target.) The National Union of Teachers is the most obvious ally, but others also have organising potential.

Exercise 4B
While you may have less scope with targets (Finance Ministry, Education Ministry, Bilateral 1 are the most likely), you could make your alliances focused on those already reasonably aligned with you and have some influence (e.g. teachers' union), OR mix with those who have some greater influence, but need to be brought further in line with you (e.g. education research institute/parents' association), OR mix with those who are very aligned with limited influence right now, but could gain greater influence if they expand their voice and reach (e.g. youth association reaching out to students). These are strategic decisions!

Exercise 5A, 5B, 6A and 6B
These fundamentally are about your strategic decisions; feel free to discuss further with regional networks and/or GCE staff if you feel there are interesting, unresolved issues that occur to you based on these scenarios.

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ANNEX B:
Select additional resources

Select resources on privatisation policy issues

- **'Low-fee' private schools:** Walker et al (2016) Private Profit Public Loss - why the push for 'low-fee' private schools is throwing quality education off track, Global Campaign for Education - www.campaignforeducation.org/docs/reports/PPPL_FINAL%20EDITION_15%20SEPT%202016_A4_WEB.pdf

- **'Public Private Partnerships:** Raya et al (2013) Gain or Drain: understanding Public Private Partnerships in Education, ASPBAE - www.aspbae.org/userfiles/jan15/PPP_Primer_Gain_or_Drain.pdf

- **'Privatisation trends and drivers:** Verger & Fontdevila (2017) The privatisation of education: a political economy of global education reform, Education International - https://worldsofeducation.org/en/woe_homepage/woe_detail/14868/the-privatisation-of-education-a-political-economy-of-global-education-reform

- **'Role of the World Bank's International Finance Corporation:** Smith & Baker (2017) From free to fee: are fee-charging, for-profit private schools the solution for the world's poor?, Results Educational Fund - www.results.org/uploads/files/From_Free_to_Fee.pdf

- **'Education privatisation in emergencies (specific focus on Syria):** Menashy & Zakaria (2017) Investing in the crisis: Private participation in the education of Syrian refugees, Education International - http://bit.ly/2oUFqSB

Select resources on campaigning and advocacy approaches

- **Sector planning:** GCE's Planning Matters toolkit: www.campaignforeducation.org/docs/csef/Planning%20Matters%20In%20Education_WEB_EN.pdf

- **Budget and spending advocacy:** GCE's Financing Matters toolkit - www.campaignforeducation.org/docs/resources/GCE%20Financing_Matters_EN_WEB.pdf

- **Researching privatisation and using global human rights mechanisms:** Global Initiative for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, http://globalinitiative-escr.org/advocacy/privatisation. -in-education-research-initiative/

- **Status and use in advocacy of the right to education:** Right to Education Initiative - http://www.right-to-education.org/

- **Public mobilisation and campaigning, including grassroots organising and rapid response campaigns:** The Mobilisation Lab - https://mobilisationlab.org/

Select resources with case studies and examples of privatisation and resistance

- **The Privatisation in Education Research Initiative (PERI)** has a database of studies focused on aspects of privatisation, including many on individual countries or initiatives: www.periglobal.org

- **Education International's "Unite 4 Quality Education"** blog includes a number of stories about privatisation in different countries, campaigns against that privatisation, as well as reflections on the issues - www.unite4education.org/blog/

- **Education International** has published a series of reports looking at aspects of privatisation in Kenya, Uganda, India, the Philippines etc. Available on the EI website at https://worldsofeducation.org/en/woe_homepage/publications/ei-publications