

CSEF-CSO2 Southern Civil Society advocacy plan Replenishment of the Global Partnership for Education 2017

Background to the development of Southern civil society replenishment campaign

This strategy seeks to articulate the campaigning activities for GPE replenishment, how this is linked to the CSEF programme and, more broadly, the CSO 2 constituency. It is developed by and for civil society actors in the global south to specifically support GPE's 2017 replenishment campaign, and forms part of the broader, movement-wide education financing campaign.

2017: opportunities for bold replenishment pledges and accountability for delivery

In 2015 world leaders committed to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and the Education 2030 Framework for Action (FFA). Together, they set ambitious goals and targets to ensure free, inclusive, and equitable public quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all, including groups facing additional marginalisation such as children with disabilities. Urgent attention is now required to secure sufficient financing to enable the implementation of the ambitious new goals and targets.

Following years of hard campaigning for a robust sustainable development goal for education, we have reached a critical point in ensuring its delivery in full. The Global Education Monitoring (GEM) Report estimates that reaching universal pre-primary, primary and secondary education – of good quality – in low- and lower-middle-income countries will require a total of US\$340 billion per year. This will require low-income countries to spend 6.56% of GDP on education, which will still leave a funding shortfall of US\$39 billion.

Should, however, current education investment trends continue, the SDG4 targets for basic education, will not be accomplished until 2084, according to the GEM Report.

This means that securing considerable new sources of domestic finance is crucial to SDG implementation; so too is ensuring that donors support these plans in low-income countries (LICs) and low-middle income countries (LMICs).

With one year already passed in the implementation of SDG4, it is vital that CSOs hold their governments to account and make a push for tangible delivery and results. GCE has identified this year as critical to redouble our collective efforts to realise the ambitious vision of the Education 2030 Framework for Action. Financing is one crucial component of the strategy and actions required to deliver SDG 4.

In order to marshal the resources for delivering SDG4, GCE will call for credible plans to finance the full Education 2030 agenda – including through action on tax justice and the share of budgets spent sensitively and transparently on education. It will also require CSOs to play a role in scrutinising budgets to make sure governments are spending their resources wisely, and to hold their governments to account for sufficiently resourcing the Education 2030 agenda.

In 2017, the GPE replenishment campaign offers one opportunity to secure bold pledges from both developing countries and donors to finance education. GPE replenishment gives southern coalitions (in GPE developing country partner countries) a critical opportunity to hold their governments to account for commitments to domestic finance. It is a key moment that offers the GCE movement space to leverage concrete and credible pledges from GPE developing partner countries – to hold them to account for their future delivery, and to start reversing the recent declines in spending on education.

Informing 2017 campaigning from lessons of the 2014 replenishment round

This replenishment strategy builds on the lessons from the 2014 GPE replenishment round, which saw some 40 developing countries make a pledge – see [here](#) for a list of the official pledges submitted – of which, 33 made concrete financial pledges within that, to maintain or, more often, increase, their education spending.

Of the total pledged at GPE’s Second Replenishment Conference, the vast majority was pledged by governments in Africa and Asia, who committed to increase their own education budgets by a total of US\$26 billion over four years, over 2014 baseline figures.

Typical pledges were to increase the proportion of the national budget or national GDP allocated to education. Many of these pledges exceeded expectations, the total US\$26 billion was over ten times more than pledges made by donors at the same event, and exceeded by \$10 billion the target set for domestic resource pledges.

Nineteen countries committed to spending 20% or more of their national budgets on education by 2018. Some notable pledges include a commitment by the government of Kenya to increase education’s share of the government budget to 29% by 2019, and significant pledges by Zambia to raise spending to 22% of government expenditure, while Côte d’Ivoire promised to significantly boost education spending toward a target of 26% of expenditure.

The level and ambition of the domestic finance pledges made at the 2014 conference were the real ‘win’ of the 2014 replenishment; much of this success was attributed to the campaigning of CSOs.

However, a 2017 evaluation of the 2014 domestic finance pledges, conducted by GCE and ActionAid, found that, while the ambitions were impressive, there have been problems in delivery, and, indeed, effectively holding governments to account for these pledges. This analysis suggested that many countries remain off track in meeting the spending pledges they made in 2014, and progress is not clear in many countries due to a lack of a ‘credible’ pledging baseline process.

Of the 33 countries analysed, only 4 (12%) are meeting their pledges while 19 (58%) are off track. In 10 cases, the situation is unclear (either because the government budget is not available or because there are contradictory figures). One country, Pakistan, accounted for over a third of the total US\$26 billion pledge, promising to double spending on education as a proportion of GDP – yet Pakistan is way off that commitment and, by some estimates, is not increasing education spending at all.

Tracking these pledges over time, and holding governments to account on pledges, has proven difficult – which can be partly attributed to the fact that the criteria and process for delivering the pledges made by developing countries were not very strictly defined in advance of the replenishment conference. Spending pledges made by governments need to be trackable, yet those made to the GPE in 2014 are often not trackable at all, because it is unclear what source was used for the baseline figures given. A further challenge is the disparity between some of the 2014 pledge figures cited by

GPE and the UIS figures for the same year. In addition, there are some large discrepancies between the figures used by UIS and those given in national budgets.

Learning from this experience, it is clear that CSOs must maintain the same level of ambition, yet, in order to be able to better hold government to account for their commitments there is a need for pledges to become more 'credible'. This means they must have clear and transparent baselines – ideally based on national budget figures which are annually released, so that CSOs can hold their government to account for delivery and scrutinise progress.

During the 2014 replenishment conference, DCPs demonstrated ambition and clear leadership. This replenishment conference, GCE is also calling for the DCPs to lead the way again – this time, not only raising the stakes of ambition, but also committing to ensure they are able to show progress, on an annual basis, over the lifetime of the pledge.

Domestic finance policy backdrop and asks

The importance of securing domestic finance commitments

Domestic pledges by developing countries are particularly important for financing education. According to recent estimates, 97% of funding required to deliver on the SDGs is going to need to be met by domestic financing.

Domestic finance is also central to ensuring the sustained, long term commitments required to scale up quality, in particular. Financing from aid is often short term and unpredictable, but shifts in government spending can generate predictable, recurrent resources for the long term in crucial areas, such as teachers (as evidence suggests the most important investment in quality). Investment in education, compared to other investments, yields higher returns, which accrue over the long term (8 to 10 or 15 years) – and this requires sustained commitments.

Delivering domestic finance levels to fund SDG 4: GCE's 4 Ss approach to domestic financing

Governments have made several education financing commitments at the global level. Most notably, the Education 2030 Framework for Action recommends that governments allocate *“at least 4 - 6% of Gross Domestic Product and/or at least 15 - 20% of total public expenditure to education...Least developed countries need to reach or exceed the upper end of these benchmarks if they are to achieve the targets laid out in this framework”*. Moreover, the FFA also recognises that delivering on the levels of ambition required for meeting this target will require governments to stop giving away unnecessary tax incentives, to take action on tax evasion, and to increase their tax bases, in order to increase domestic resource mobilisation.

Box 1. GCE's 4 Ss approach to domestic financing for education

GCE's approach to domestic financing for education is founded in the '4 Ss' approach to domestic financing, which emphasises the need to increase the Share, Size, Sensitivity and Scrutiny of the budget. Specifically, this calls for governments to:

- **Increase the Share of the budget going to education:** GCE advocates for countries to allocate at least 20% of their national budgets, or at least 6% of their GDP, to the education sector, in line with the FFF.
- **Increase the Size of the overall government budget.** In many countries, the size of the overall government budget is much smaller than it could or should be. At a minimum, according to the UN governments need to achieve at a ratio of tax revenues to GDP of 20% just to cover basic service delivery. Governments are advised to expand the size of the overall budget through increasing tax revenues, thereby substantially lifting domestic resources available for education.

- **Increase the Sensitivity of the education budget** to ensure that commitments from governments to the education sector have a strong equity lens, and spending focuses on support to and strengthening of public systems which are able to meet the needs of marginalised groups, and are better able to ensure strong equitable and quality outcomes for all.
- **Increase citizen Scrutiny of the education budget** and domestic finance pledges in order to ensure that promises and pledges from governments are delivered, and CSOs are holding them to account for the most effective and efficient delivery of these.

A 'menu-based' approach to developing national CSEF pledge demands

The replenishment campaign in 2017 offers an opportunity and mechanism to gain public and concrete financial commitments from GPE countries to increase spending.

To ensure that each developing country partner (DCP) makes a pledge which is achievable, yet ambitious, and that this is based on a strong credible baseline that enables CSOs to monitor, track and scrutinise the delivery of this over the four-year pledging period, each country will need to make a pledge based on their current situation and a feasible 'stretch' for them over the next four years.

CSOs can play a proactive role in this pledge and target setting – infusing this with a degree of ambition and credibility to ensure that this time replenishment we get both more and 'better' pledges.

As such, this strategy aims to support CSEF coalitions to build their own national ask or GPE replenishment 'pledge demand' to their own government – setting CSO targets for what they are demanding/expecting from their government, which is based on an analysis of (a combination of one or more): the current political or policy opportunities; current finance advocacy demands; the opportunities for scaling up domestic finance in each context.

These national CSO pledge demands would draw on the GCE's 4 Ss approach (see Box 1), not least, as ensuring 'more and better' or 'credible' pledges must be built on what is seen as feasible advocacy ask to governments over the next four years, rather than singularly tied to replenishment.

It is envisaged that each national coalition would set a pledging demand defined and contextualised by the broad policy asks and framing of the GCE 4 Ss approach – using the global asks as a "menu" from which certain aspects could be drawn on as framing a national pledging demand.

What is highlighted as the pledging demand should also draw on current advocacy for domestic finance in each context as, ideally, the replenishment process should be seen as a mechanism to 'boost' pre-existing advocacy on domestic finance, and as a 'hook' to secure public pledges. The 4 Ss approach is focused on issues which often require years of advocacy; therefore, pledges made as part of the GPE replenishment should then be included in longer-term analysis of all commitments made by governments to education financing.

This strategy is intended to support CSOs in GPE developing countries to advocate for governments to enact policies to enable country-contextualised pledges at the next replenishment round, which are based on one of the following demands:

- Make benchmarked and credible pledges to increase education spending in line with international benchmarks of 4-6 % of GDP to education and/or 15-20 % of their total government expenditure on education by 2020.

- Expand their tax bases in progressive ways to at least 20% tax to GDP ratio (for example by ending harmful tax incentives, challenging avoidance, raising new earmarked taxes), and allocate a fair share of those funds to education.
- Ensure a robust pledging baseline, improve data on education financing, and provide annual reports on progress against their pledge.
- Prioritise sensitive allocation and spending of education resources in ways that focus on increasing equity and supporting the most marginalised groups; or in terms of ensuring greater budget for the poorest.
- Increase scrutiny of education spending in practice, cutting waste and corruption, including through budget tracking by citizens/independent bodies.

Demanding a credible pledge: what does it look like?

A recent report commissioned by GCE (“Increasing Global Education Financing: Bold and Credible Pledges to Achieve Sustainable Change) identified five sets of criteria which would ensure that DCP pledges are both bold and credible at in the 2018 replenishment conference: Pledges should be:

1. **Ambitious.** Countries should provide spending pledges for increasing the proportion of GDP and national budgets allocated to education spending.
2. **Clear.** Figures need to be clearly referenced by governments, and be consistent with national planning documents.
3. **Official.** Pledge figures cited by governments should be formal, having been signed off by the government as part of an agreed planning process.
4. **Open to scrutiny.** Pledges must promote parliamentary and public scrutiny over progress in education spending and promote accountability.
5. **Fundable.** Governments should state where additional resources might come from, most notably from increasing tax revenues.

Box 2. Examples of country-level pledges

Pledges should include one of more of the following:

- Increased % of national budget to education (if presently below 15%, ideally moving up to or above 20% as per Framework for Action).
- Increased % of GDP (if presently below 4%, preferably rising to 6%) spending on education.
- Expanded tax base/tax to GDP ratio and maintaining or increasing share to education.
- New earmarked tax for education (with existing allocations benchmarked / maintained).
- End harmful tax incentives (totalling \$Xm) and reallocate funds to education.
- Reallocation within education budget to basic education (for instance, if a high share is going to tertiary education and there is still a major gap in completion of basic education, with very few advancing to higher education, then it makes sense to advocate for a reallocation of spending to where there is the most need).
- Increased spending per pupil in primary/secondary education in real terms year on year.
- Completion of a gender-review of education sector plan.

Other factors the pledge might include

- Commitment to improve data on education financing – relating to budget and spending.
- Commitment to credibly track progress of pledge / actual spending and to report on it annually etc.

Use (early) domestic pledges as leverage to push donors to increase their ambition

This strategy aims to ensure that, as a result of CSEF advocacy, in as many countries as possible, commit to an ambitious and credible pledge.

This strategy aims to not only use CSO leverage in the global south to hold developing country governments to account for their pledges, but also to use the replenishment campaign as an opportunity to hold donors to account for financing these plans. In particular, it is hoped that by ensuring early high profile and ambitious credible pledges from some developing countries, CSOs in the global North can use these to put pressure on their governments to make bolder pledges in the replenishment conference. As such, if developing countries show leadership by making bold pledges, we hope to provoke donors to make more ambitious pledges and halt the decline in aid to education.

Advocacy objectives: what would success look like?

Overarching objectives of the campaign

- **More and better country pledges:** *Help to secure ambitious but credible domestic finance pledges, in as many DCPs as possible, in or before the 2017 Replenishment conference.*

National objectives: *[Campaign partners will develop more specific national objectives and financing targets, to reflect what is achievable in their political context to be delivered]*

This will be reached by ensuring the **following intermediary targets**

- Ensure that GPE globally sets an ambitious domestic finance target and influences at least 45 developing country partners to commit pledges.
- Embed the developing country replenishment advocacy within ongoing advocacy work on domestic finance, effectively using the replenishment 'hook' as a means to advocate for more rapid movement on country coalitions' own domestic finance advocacy goals.
- Work with 15 focus countries in the run-up to the GPE 2017 Replenishment Conference which become early pledgers or 'champions', which make ambitious pledges with very high level political buy-in (i.e. finance ministers or Head of State).
- Build links to leverage CSO 1 donor influencing and strong links and ways of working between northern and southern coalitions, in order to use the collective advocacy of the GCE membership to use evidence of domestic pledges to hold donors to account to pay "their fair share" into the GPE pot,
- Ensure that CSOs are engaged in advocacy in DCPs, and commit to scrutinising and tracking pledges after the Replenishment conference/campaign.

Tactics, targets, timeline and tools

Tactics

Delivering scale and ambition will require coordinated advocacy and campaigning globally, regionally, nationally and locally, and so this strategy is also connected to work across the north and globally (including though the GCEs global education finance campaign strategy). It also needs a **high level of ambition**, targeting Finance Ministers, as well as Ministers of international development and education, parliamentarians etc.

The GPE Secretariat is reaching out seeking pledges from DCPs. The GPE will be sending out a pledging template to all DCPs in July 2017. GPE's ask to governments is tied to indicator 10 of the GPE results framework and will be integrated in the country process. Indicator 10 considers public expenditure on education as a share of total public expenditure. DCPs will be invited to pledge on recurrent education expenditure as a proportion of total recurrent government expenditure by filling in pre-filled pledge template (2014-2016), with forward looking projections for the sector for the GPE replenishment period (2018-2021) which GPE intends to share with Ministries of Education (MoE) and Ministries of Finance (MoF) recognizing countries should be aligned in what is envisaged for spending for the sector and that there is dialogue with MoF and MoE. Therefore, **it is important that any CSO advocacy should be cognisant of this, reinforcing the work being done with DCPs by the GPE, while setting even higher ambition through the CSO credible pledge advocacy.** This includes lobby work with the MoE and MoF which will be reached out to by GPE.

It will be important to try and secure **some early pledges**, especially on domestic resources from developing countries and use these champions as leverage for influencing donors to make larger commitments to GPE. At the same time, countries that are making regressive moves with regards to domestic budgets should be named and shamed. It is important for there to be strong national-level coalitions – including identifying key national decision-makers who can be influenced and strategies to do so.

It is critical that we engage effectively **with regional coalitions, leadership forums, and processes, and position education as central to solving the problems/issues they have prioritised**, such as through ANCEFA etc. with the African Union – using their focus on maximising the demographic dividend as part of the Africa 2063 strategy. Analogous regional bodies must be identified for all regions.

While civil society can use levers of influence to apply pressure (such as direct lobbying, media, public mobilisation), we should also try and **maximise government-to-government advocacy** – i.e. get 3-4 powerful governments to be champions for this agenda and spend some of their political capital on bring others along with them.

To deliver on these tactics and approaches, 2017 will be roughly split into 3 phases

In the first phase (March to July) the campaign would focus on:

- Working with 10 African country coalitions to support their development of pledge asks and targets for their government and the framing of “credible and ambitious” pledges (ie supporting the development of contextually driven pledges)
- Identifying other focus countries, and working with them to contextualise national pledge targets, and develop a corresponding country advocacy strategy.
- Global Action Week for Education has been identified as critical in this period for all coalitions to ensure that they are delivering message of ambition.
- Engagement with DCP and GPE board to influence the ambition and setting of credible pledges, while also working to influence the GPE Secretariat to assess ways to support their engagement with DCPs and influence the level of ambition around domestic finance targets (both in terms of the total global target for all domestic finance pledges, and in each DCP country) – ideally ensuring an ambitious domestic finance global target – while also ensuring they are setting national targets embedded in robust timelines.
- Creating high profile pledge moments(s) in advance of the Replenishment Conference (e.g. AU Summit, UNGA) to make such initial pledges public and increase the level of ambition with other partner countries.

- Making strong linkages between CSO 2 and 1 strategies

In the second phase, July-October 2017, the campaign would focus on:

- Creating high profile pledge moments in advance of the Replenishment Conference around UNGA with a strong developing country presence to gain momentum for replenishment
- Confirming early developing country government pledgers, which are willing to announce their national pledges before the replenishment event.
- Using the above to act as leverage for donors to make ambitious pledges. This could include media work in the global North and/or visits from southern CSOs to meet donor government representatives.
- Continuing work on framing what a credible pledge would look like in each context, and supporting advocacy at country level, aligning this to GPE's own target-setting in DCPs.

In the third phase, September 2017- replenishment conference (date TBC, likely February 2018), and beyond, the campaign would focus on:

- Continuing work with all country coalitions (which commit to advocacy work on this) to try influence credible pledges and advocacy with their government around this.
- Replenishment pledge conference activities, including CSEF presence and analysis of pledges made.
- Tracking by CSO of pledges post-replenishment conference

Key dates

In terms of key moments in the coming few months the following have been initially highlighted as possible regional work linked to country work to build momentum towards replenishment.

Date	Event	Location	Comments
May 2017			
May 22 nd –23 rd	DCP meeting in Accra: has CSEF presence and uses this as a space for influencing DCP pledges	Accra	Lauch of “Credible Pledge” report at DCP
June 2017			
5-7 June	GPE Board Meeting&Canada outreach –Julia & Alice	Ottawa, Canada	Pushing for board engagment in replenishment, engagement in board finance discussions and shaping agenda
19– 23 June	Global week of Action #TaxJustice for Education and #Publicservices	Global	Calling for global Tax reforms, increased domestic financing to education from tax
29-30 June	Education 2030 Steering Committee Meeting	New York	Reinforce the call to action and sign-on
July 2017			
1-9 July	AU Summit	Addis Ababa	GPE-GCE
7-8 July	G20 meeting	Hamburg, Germany	President MackySall attending
August 2017			
2-4	Alice Albright to visit PNG or Vanuatu (TBC)		Bi lateral meetings (TBC)

14 – 25 August	SADC CSO Forum and SADC Heads of State summit	Johannesburg, South Africa	ANCEFA CSO engagement and solidarity to President Mutharika
September 2017			
5-7 September	UKFIET conference	UK	Event on 4S and replenishment being planned
Date TBC	Latin America Week of Action on Financing the Right to Education	Regional	Events across LAC as well as the launch of the new CLADE finance /budget tracker
18-23 September	72 nd Session of the UN General Assembly	New York	Major campaign events to be planned around UGA and in the run up (possible, send off events' for leaders in the global south)
October 2017			
9 – 11 October	Asia Pacific Regional Consultation of Coalitions	Hanoi, Vietnam	GCE CSO mobilization towards replenishment
28 Oct – 2 nd Nov	Global Partnership for Development Effectiveness	Nairobi	Key on push from south on aid effectiveness agenda
November 2017			
November 10 -11	ASEAN summit- heads of state		TBC
December 2017			
5-7 Dec	GPE Board	Paris	Pushing for board engagement in replenishment, engagement in board finance discussions and shaping agenda
January 2018			
Late Jan/early Feb	Laureates & Leaders' summit	Jordan	Led by Kailash Satyarthi
February 2018			
20-22 February 2018	20th conference of Commonwealth education ministers	Fiji	TBC – last push on domestic finance pledges?

Country Targets (what, number of countries, number of events with pledges, presence in events'')

In order to map out the full range of the activities happening at national level, GCE is maintaining a list of countries, mapping opportunities, activities and latest updates between July 2017 up to the replenishment conference. The list of GPE countries in the [following google doc](#).

Identifying focus countries

We have agreed to determine a shortlist of countries which would be focal countries.

This decision would be based on a mix of factors, including:

1. CSO willingness/capacity to do national level advocacy for credible pledges.
2. Level of current and past ambition by the government, in terms of chances for getting a new commitment or pledge to scaling up more or better financing.
3. There is a particular case for new commitments/pledges from countries that are coming up for new grant approvals in 2017 – as the expectation of maintaining or increasing spending on education is one of the requirements of the GPE funding model. Indeed, commitments that are made in GPE's Education Sector Program Implementation Grant (ESPIG) process can be credibly counted so long as they meet the criteria above.
4. There is also a case for creating a special moment for other developing countries where commitments could be made in advance of the main replenishment (e.g., linked to an African Union meeting). Such commitments/pledges could be used to increase pressure on donors to

deliver increased resources to education and to GPE in particular – so any country we thought willing to become a “champion” could also be targeted for advocacy.

Early on in planning GCE worked with ANCEFA to map out 10 Africa focus countries who were allocated “seed funding” from a BACK-UP replenishment grant. There are: DRC, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Zambia. Of these, Senegal and Malawi’s presidents are also signed up as GPE “champion” and particular efforts will be placed on them to ensure that the Presidents are using their voice in regional and global fora to speak out on financing education -pushing other African developing countries to show leadership.

Tools and support

The GCE global team will work across the year to:

1. Support CSEF coalitions to advocate with their governments and shape a national pledge.
2. Influence above-country processes (i.e. regional event such as AU summits)
3. Ensure that the GPE itself is delivering on ambition.

The following tools will be developed to help support the campaigning of coalitions

➤ **End Feb-May:**

- GCE to develop a southern CSO advocacy strategy and share within CSEF for comments
- Global call to action and campaign framing is signed off by the GCE board on education finance and translated into all languages.

➤ **April-August**

- Report outlining the analysis of what constitutes a credible pledge published.
- Country mapping of data baselines and focus countries.
- Two-pager tailored ‘credible pledge’ templates produced in all languages for all countries
- GCE campaign toolkit produced, including: an outline of what a credible pledge should be: template lobby letters; campaign asks/asks; what’s a credible pledge; key messages; social media pack; campaign identity, and, strategic targets.
- Campaign toolkit on global tax justice for public services developed.