

CIVIL SOCIETY ADVOCACY FOR THE HUMAN RIGHT TO EDUCATION:

stories and lessons learned from Latin America and the Caribbean VOLUME 3

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VOLUME 3

Publication produced by

Campaña Latinoamericana por el Derecho a la Educación

In partnership with

Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación y Comunicación Popular

Campaña Argentina por el Derecho a la Educación

Campaña Boliviana por el Derecho a la Educación

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Contents

Introduction	6
REGIONAL CASES	10
ALER promotes communication and popular education actions with the purpose of fostering "good living" in Latin America and the Caribbean	10
Fund what is fair! CLADE promotes regional mobilization for free and public education for all	16
Espacio Sin Fronteras fosters intervention and training actions for the promotion of migrants' rights in the region	23
NATIONAL CASES	28
Argentina: Alliance of CADE with academia and teachers' unions to analyze and put forward education policy proposals	28
Bolivia: Coordination at international level and with other movements strengthens the actions carried out by CBDE to defend inclusive education	34
Brazil: The National Campaign exerts pressure on government, in international arenas, for the fulfillment of education commitments	40
Ecuador: Contrato Social spearheads the creation of a national agreement on education within the scope of the presidential elections	46
El Salvador: RESALDE campaigns for adequate financing for the right to education	51
Haiti: REPT advocates for the approval and publication of an act that regulates school fees	56
Honduras: Foro Dakar contributes to the incorporation of Education 2030 Agenda into the new Education Sector Strategic Plan	61
Nicaragua: FEDH-IPN coordinates civil society for the creation of a National Education Agenda	66
Peru: CPDE contributes to the assessment of the Peruvian government by the Universal Periodic Review	71
Dominican Republic: Foro Socioeducativo advocates for a National System of Early Childhood Comprehensive Care and Protection	77



This is the third volume of a series of publications called "Civil society advocacy for the human right to education: stories and lessons learned from Latin America and the Caribbean" comprising the experiences of members of the Latin American Campaign for the Right to Education (CLADE, by its Spanish acronym).

CLADE is a plural network of national coalitions, regional networks and international civil society organizations, present in 16 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. It encourages actions in defense and promotion of the human right to transformative, public, secular and free education for all, throughout life and as a responsibility of the State.

CLADE applies different strategies to accomplish its mission and political agenda: advocacy; social mobilization: political and legal enforceability; interinstitutional coordination at national, regional and international level; development of knowledge and research; communication actions. CLADE's advocacy work is based on two central themes: realization of education as a fundamental human right and strengthening active and participatory democracies. At internal level, the work is focused on the institutional development of the network, strengthening its membership.

CLADE considers that social participation in the democratic formulation of laws, public policies and programs as well as in the monitoring and evaluation of their implementation, is vital to improve policies and to ensure that they meet the expectations and needs of people, particularly of social groups whose rights have been systematically violated.

An informed participation of all citizens in debates and in decision-making processes of public affairs, is not only a right in itself, recognized 70 years ago in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) as well as in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and in the Inter-American Democratic Charter (2001), but also crucial for the realization of human rights, particularly the human right to education (RTE), as you will see in this publication. This is also fundamental to strengthen active and participatory democracies.

One of CLADE's principles is collective thinking, not only on the political and RTE situation, but also on the advocacy actions and the sharing of experiences carried out by members of the network and other stakeholders. By sharing learning, we learn, we find inspiration to act in similar contexts and to anticipate possible challenges on the way, identifying possible solutions.

In this sense, CLADE is constantly trying to record and provide visibility to the journey of its members in their advocacy and capacity building efforts; and, on the other hand, to promote the reflection on their successes and mistakes, in a process of self-evaluation and capacity building by the network.

In times when we witness a growing democratic weakness in Latin America and the Caribbean, when laws are passed to hinder the right to demonstration and social participation, when social movements, activists and students are persecuted and criminalized, and there are so many restrictions to participation, it is worth showcasing civil society action and its positive impact on education policies. Thus, CLADE decided to publish this compilation of 13 advocacy cases, 12 from its members and one promoted by the Campaign itself, at regional level.

In this third volume of this series of publications, we share, for the first time, the experience of regional networks that are CLADE members: *Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación y Comunicación Popular* (ALER) [Latin American Association of Popular Communication and Education] and *Espacio Sin Fronteras* (ESF) [Space without Borders].

For example, ALER shows how the institution had to innovate and rebuild itself, elaborating a clear and long-term strategic plan, to confront the hegemonic, excluding and exploitative capitalist development model, through the implementation of education, communication and advocacy actions for good living and the realization of the right to education. And ESF network presents *Tiendas de Ciudadanía* [Citizenship Tents] initiative, aimed at the integration of migrant students in basic education schools of Sao Paulo, Brazil, and to raise awareness among students, teachers, authorities and the people in general, about inclusive education and against xenophobia.

At the same time, CLADE's regional case introduces the mobilization called "Fund what is fair! For public and free education for all". Based on the launch of the "Monitoring System of Financing for the RTE in Latin America and the Caribbean" (conveying data on State education financing in 20 countries of the region), this campaign created strategies of social mobilization, advocacy and communication to demand free education and fair and adequate education financing in different countries, as well as the progressive increase of education budget, through the adoption of tax justice mechanisms.

At national level, an example of advocacy to demand adequate financing for the RTE is the research carried out by *Red Salvadoreña por el Derecho a la Educación* (RESALDE) [Salvadoran Network for the Right to Education]. In this research, reliable data was used to justify the need to increase public investment in education in the country, reaching out deputies, as well as the Commission of Education and Culture of the National Legislative Assembly, to design and propose, in partnership with civil society, a preliminary draft of a bill for a special act on education financing.

On the other hand, *Foro Socioeducativo* (FSE) [Socio-Educational Forum] from Dominican Republic, explains how the coalition managed to join smoothly the review process of the preliminary draft of a bill for a Regulation and Intersectoral Coordination Act for Early Childhood Comprehensive Care and Development, in partnership with other civil society organizations.

Influence on public opinion and establishing relations with members of Parliament were also the strategies adopted by *Regroupement Education pour Toutes et Tous* (REPT) [Reunification of Education for all] from Haiti, to confront exorbitant school fees charged by the private sector in the country, where more than 80% of schools are private. Pressure against the regulation of these fees was so strong that, although an act to regulate school fees was passed in 2009, it was published only eight years later. Two lessons were learned from this persistent advocacy action: the importance of this act had to be kept on the public agenda throughout this period and the demand to publish it had to come from the grassroots.

Campaña Argentina por el Derecho a la Educación (CADE) [Argentine Campaign for the Right to Education] focused its advocacy efforts on drafting a report with reliable data to confront policies that restrict rights and introduce budget cuts for education in Argentina. In partnership with academics and teachers' unions, CADE drafted a report on "The Right to Education in Argentina: where are the Current Education Policies Heading?" This report managed to include in the public agenda a critical analysis regarding public education policies, raising civil society interest and engaging in debates with education communities, rights defenders, media, political authorities and parliamentarians.

At the same time, the creation of a national agenda was the strategy adopted by two CLADE member coalitions *Contrato Social por la Educación* (CSE) [Social Contract for Education] from Ecuador and *Foro de Educación y Desarrollo Humano de la Iniciativa por Nicaragua* (FEDH-IPN) [Education and Human Development Forum of the Initiative for Nicaragua]. In the case of CSE, the coalition joined other 16 civil society organizations to draft the Citizens' Agenda for Education, which puts forward a group of proposals for the implementation of quality education.



Within the scope of 2017 elections, candidates running for president or for the National Assembly of Ecuador publicly endorsed the agenda, becoming a government commitment, which CSE is following up.

FEDH-IPN had been facing difficulties to engage in dialogue with the government since 2010 and decided to draft the "Agenda to Transform National Education", based on consultations with education communities across Nicaragua, mobilizing teachers, parents and students, to discuss and analyze the situation of the RTE in the country.

In the face of rather unfavorable contexts for advocacy at national level, some coalitions started to draft reports to be presented at international level, pressing their governments and, therefore, having further impact at national level. In that respect, the cases of *Campanha Nacional pelo Direito à Educação do Brasil* (CNDE) [National Campaign for the Right to Education from Brazil] and *Campaña Peruana por el Derecho a la Educación* (CPDE) [Peruvian Campaign for the Right to Education] are presented. Each one, in its own way, set different processes in motion, but with important results, particularly within the scope of the Universal Periodic Review, a mechanism promoted by the United Nations Human Rights Council, to review the situation of human rights in different countries.

Participation in advocacy spaces, either national or international, and the coordination with civil society organizations from other fields, beyond education, were strategies adopted by *Campaña Boliviana por el Derecho a la Educación* (CBDE) [Bolivian Campaign for the Right to Education] to defend education without discrimination and throughout life. This experience shows that through coordination at international level, as well as through the conduction of research and the presentation of strong and feasible proposals, the coalition could be recognized as a legitimate civil society representative, opening channels of dialogue with the national government.

Finally, Foro Dakar Honduras [Dakar Honduras Forum] presents the participation of the coalition in the Local Education Group to influence the 2017-2030 Strategic Plan of the Education Sector and to include in this document the commitments made by the government of Honduras by signing the Education 2030 Agenda.

This series of publications - with the support of the Civil Society Education Fund, an initiative to strengthen civil society advocacy capacity and social watch, promoted by the Global Campaign for Education with funds from the Global Partnership for Education - is the outcome of a hard work carried out in coordination with CLADE members, not only during the drafting of this document, but before, when these cases were being experienced because, through networking, different members constantly exchange ideas, lessons learned and ways to overcome challenges.

We would like to acknowledge each CLADE member for the commitment to the realization of the human right to education in the region, the collective development of knowledge, the exchange of lessons learned inside and outside the network and the daily contribution to build another possible world.

Enjoy the reading!



THE PURPOSE OF FOSTERING "GOOD LIVING" IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación y Comunicación Popular (ALER) is a network of popular educational communication that promotes participation, inclusion, harmonious coexistence with nature; supports peoples in the realization of their rights; works for the democratization of communications and participates in developing processes towards "good living".

Year of foundation: 1972.

Number of members: 86, including radios, production centers and national liaisons.

Geographical scope: 19 countries - Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Key focus area: content development (news, information, opinion and analysis); promotion of thematic networks (Indigenous America Network, Kiechwa Network, Pan-Amazonic Network, Migration Network); training and research on popular communication and education technical and technological development; public policy advocacy.

CLADE member since: 2010.

Contact details:

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In a context where neoliberal policies and conservative governments are gaining ground in different countries of Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC), either through electoral or authoritarian means, ALER decided to promote a process of reflection, self-criticism and long-term strategic planning.

This process sought institutional innovation, acknowledging the need to challenge ALER's way of educating and communicating, considering the growing threats for those who defend territories, human rights and nature in the region.

According to the "Annual Report on Human Rights Defenders at Risk", only in 2017, more than 170 killings were reported, apart from hundreds of forced evictions, arbitrary arrests, and further criminalization actions against activists who defend those causes.

ALER decided to promote alternative models and narratives to capitalist development and to present the diversity of other possible worlds through "good living" and education and communication as political projects. The initiative proposed to break with the hegemonic discourse that imposes growth through extractivism and depredation of nature, and linear progress based on consumerism, threatening the survival of life on the planet.

This political alternative based on planning encouraged dialogue with community and alternative media, as well as with civil society organizations in the region, with the purpose of building, collectively, possible socio-political, educational, cultural, and technological scenarios for the continent, among others. Through this process ALER's priorities were established through consensus: "Educate and convey passion for life and the commitment to make people happy in Latin America and the Caribbean".





Educational and communicative paths to good living

In the face of this context, a proposal of institutional innovation called "ALER 2020" was launched. This proposal comprised consultations with ALER members (86, including radio, production centers, national liaisons in 19 countries of the region) and trainings, aimed at rethinking the social, economic and political scenario of Latin America and the Caribbean, drafting and sharing position papers that criticized the model of development implemented by some governments in the region.

This project was conceived in 2009, within the ambit of ALER's General Assembly, when the network decided not only to criticize the economicist developmentalism and exploitative capitalism, but to propose alternatives. A forward-looking collective planning was possible through this process, and strategic communication and education activities were defined as the focus of its work to shape the future wanted by 2020. That is how the "Communication project for good living" emerged.

The initiative is based on good living principles and concepts, inspired by the Andean countries, particularly, Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador (where the head office of ALER's general coordination is located). These principles are embraced by all the struggles in pursuit and defense of human rights and nature, as well as by alternatives to capitalism that commodifies, privatizes and displaces them, in a symbolic and practical way. Therefore, the development of informative, training and advocacy content prioritizes a human rights-based perspective, based on nature as rights holder.

"As rights, communication and education are the paths to build the world, to shape it and understand it based on the interpretations we can exchange, enrich or challenge and analyze. If we want to include some issues in the education agenda or in the media, we must provide the space to go deep into the debate on democracy, encouraging deliberative participation and the prevalence of plurality", says María Cianci, training and research coordinator of ALER general coordination.

The project is not only focused on environmental sustainability, but also on disputes over meanings and social struggles, even the violent ones for land, armed conflict, criminalization of social protest, threats to cultural plurality and ideas, as well as the rationale behind privatization and elitization of decision-making in different countries.

Action fronts

ALER promotes its communication strategies and mobilizes on three fronts.

In the technical and technological field, ALER questions and conducts research on software and hardware programs that confirm monopoly in content development and dissemination through virtual platforms, as well as on privatization of knowledge and the use of private, personal and collective information for unauthorized and commercial purposes.

"We want internet users and users of other information and technological tools to be able to express and participate in programming codes. Most importantly, people should know how to use content and sound editing programs, and others, to disseminate their ideas, becoming content developers instead of consumers", states Cianci.

Another front is linked to training and research. Within this scope, ALER launched three publications on communication and education for good living: "The Walking Word: Popular Communication for Good Living"; "Expressing Hope: The Path to Good Living and Coexistence"; and "Seeds for Good Living: Amid Utopias and Possible Dilemmas". These publications are a compilation of experiences and reflections on this issue.

DEMOCRATIZATION OF COMMUNICATIONS

In Ecuador, ALER had an active participation in mobilizations to pass the Organic Communication Act. Finally, the law was enacted in 2013, with an equal distribution of radio frequency throughout the country: 33% for the private sector, 33% for the public sector and 34% for community and popular media, like in Argentina.

This enactment is a huge achievement because radio frequency is recognized as a right, and, therefore, not only private corporations have the right to voice their opinions, but communities are also given the opportunity to raise their voice and share their views through media. The distribution of radio frequency enables sharing different world views and expressing all the interests of society.

The third front is the development of content to present a dispute over meanings (hegemonic versus counter-hegemonic and plural) as well as to promote alternative news agendas to confront and avoid the media monopoly of public opinion. In the case of education, ALER seeks the promotion and dissemination of discourses that support financing and strengthening of public education, non-discrimination and inclusion, comprehensive and citizenship education, students' and teachers' mobilizations, follow-up of public policies and violations of rights (arrests, evictions, threats, killings), among others.

Supporting social struggles

A significant outcome of the Communication Project for Good Living has been the constant follow-up of denunciations and cases of human rights violations in different countries, such as the criminalization of students in Honduras, the rallies against the constitutional reform in Paraguay, peacemaking and land conflicts in Colombia, and social movement persecution in Panama, Honduras and El Salvador.

"In these cases, the right to popular communication represented the right to live because the news coverage contributed to raise awareness and protect people in vulnerable situation, encouraging international solidarity", underscores Cianci.

At the same time, ALER supports and calls for different civil society initiatives in the region to fight for education from a rights-based perspective, and being a regional member of CLADE has facilitated this process.

"We have developed communication campaigns, researches and position papers for the right to education, as well as press guidelines. We use the power of words to join efforts and foster a more humanitarian view of education", Cianci affirms.



Challenges

In the current regional context, we are moving backwards in terms of rights and human freedoms. Journalists and communicators are under threat and face challenges to perform their duties safely, autonomously, and freely in these contexts where individual guarantees and rights are restricted and there is a trend to privatize and commodify the rights gained through social struggles.

Scarce financing for content development and for other public and policy advocacy actions has an impact not only on ALER but on many national forums and regional networks, hindering the survival of processes and requiring additional efforts from the team, volunteers and allies to keep going.

Sharing lessons learned

- The reflection and the political practice of communication is not only the exercise of a right but also the symbolic construction of the world we want under the critical perspective of public opinion.
- Strategic planning is a fundamental component of any advocacy action and project or social mobilization, as well as the alliance with other networks, organizations and social movements.
- The production of meanings is key to develop narratives and deepen democracy, to avoid regarding as natural the unfair and unequal processes that threat the exercise of rights.
- The advocacy processes at regional level are effective when they connect with territorial struggles taking place at national and local level.

LEARN MORE:

- **Annual Report of Human Rights Defenders at Risk:** https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/es/resource-publication/annual-report-human-rights-defenders-risk-2017
- Publication "The Walking Word: Popular Communication for Good Living": https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/5792128.pdf
- Publication "Expressing Hope: The Path to Good Living and Coexistence": https://archivo.aler.org/s/ZsYwN50lK7KBdXS
- Publication "Seeds for Good Living: Amid Utopies and Possible Dilemmas": https://archivo.aler.org/s/FPhxWg92sE6Gjay
- Other documents produced by ALER: https://aler.org/buen-vivir



CLADE PROMOTES REGIONAL

MOBILIZATION FOR PUBLIC AND FREE EDUCATION FOR ALL

The Latin American Campaign for the Right to Education (CLADE) is a plural network of civil society organizations, present in 16 countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. It encourages social mobilization and advocacy actions to defend and promote the human right to a transformative, public, secular and free education for all, throughout life and as a responsibility of the State.

Year of foundation: 2002.

Number of members: 16 national forums, 9 regional networks and 5 international NGOs.

Geographical scope: at regional level, it is present in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru and Dominican Republic.

Key focus area: advocacy for public and free education; defense of an emancipatory education that guarantees rights; lifelong learning, from early childhood education to youth and adult education; monitoring the realization of Education 2030 Agenda; secondary education and youth participation in the debate on education policies and in policy-making; inclusive education and non-discrimination; education with gender equality; justiciability of the right to education and strengthening of democracies.

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At the beginning of 2017, the Global Campaign for Education (GCE) launched a call for action to increase and improve financial resources for the achievement of the RTE.

This campaign was launched to push for enough and adequate financing for the realization of the Education 2030 Agenda, as well as to guarantee a transformative change in education financing for the 2018-2020 period, in the preparatory process towards the Education Financing Conference organized by the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) on February 1 and 2, 2018, in Dakar, Senegal. The idea of the call was to join efforts and forge alliances with other civil society organizations, not only GCE members, to work collectively to increase and improve education financing at global level.

CLADE responded to this call for action and, together with its members, organized a regional mobilization under the imperative "Fund what is fair! For free and public education for all". The initiative was launched between September 18 and 24, 2017, within the scope of the first Latin American Action Week for the Right to Education, back to back with the 72nd. Session of the UN General Assembly. The actions continued in 2018 and will continue to be promoted during 2019.

The purpose of the "Fund what is fair!" initiative is to press governments in the region to comply with international agreements made in terms of financing the RTE and the realization of SDG 4, giving priority to the effective use of resources to guarantee public, free and quality education for all. The campaign also seeks to raise the awareness of members of the education community and society in general, on the need to strengthen public education systems and free education, and also to have a fair and equitable tax and fiscal system to secure sustainable resources to finance education.

Strategies to urge governments to "Fund what is fair!"

During the week when the "Fund what is fair!" initiative was launched, CLADE and its members promoted a widespread mobilization through social networks and other communication actions, to inform citizens about the financial commitments made by States in Education 2030 Agenda and to press governments to fulfill them. In this sense, some

WHAT IS EDUCATION 2030 AGENDA?

This agenda comprises Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 – "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" by 2030 – and the Education 2030 framework for Action.

This goal provides that all Members States must guarantee 12 years of free and equitable quality education for all by 2030 and allocate a minimum between 4% and 6% of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and a minimum between 15% and 20% of their total public budget for education. Developing countries equally committed to allocate 0.7% of their GDP to Official Development Assistance (ODA), reinforcing the support to education.

activities were planned and coordinated at national and regional level, and a pamphlet was produced with goals, background, key messages and suggested actions that could be launched in each country. Likewise, a website was created for this mobilization, to provide visibility to the actions and theme, as well as a package of memes and video testimonies for joint dissemination through social networks.

CLADE also warned about education budget regressions observed in different countries in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). In this context, the "Monitoring System of Financing the Human Right to Education in Latin America and the Caribbean" was launched. It is a virtual platform that collects data on public financing for education in 20 countries of the region, for the 1998-2016 period.

The information available is organized in three dimensions of analysis: public financing effort (how much money States invest in education compared to their GDP and the national budget overall, taking the 6% and 20% benchmarks respectively, to which Ministries of Education in the region committed in the Lima Declaration, in 2014); availability of resources per school age persons (the amount of resources that States invest in education is divided by the number of school age persons in each country); and equity in school access (addressing the gap between the levels of school access of population groups with more or less income). The platform provides analysis of data available for each country and a regional synthesis reporting lower levels of education spending in countries like Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador and Honduras, praising, at the same time, the efforts of Bolivia and Dominican Republic to increase investment in education.

ADDRESSING THE 4 S

The Fund what is fair! campaign adopted, for its mobilization and advocacy actions, the principles of the 4 S developed by GCE:

Size - Increase the size of education budget overall;

Share - Increase the GDP percentage and the share of the national budget spent on education;

Sensitivity - Sensitivity of education spending, giving priority to bridging social gaps and the rights of the most disadvantaged groups;

Scrutiny - Scrutiny/social participation in decision-making and follow-up of the education budget.

¹ Know more about it here: https://monitoreo.redclade.org/



"The analysis of the gap between the figures of a certain country and international benchmarks, with specific indicators on education financing, is a useful tool of advocacy and political pressure on national governments. With this initiative we would like to contribute to civil society advocacy based on specific data and evidence", explains Camilla Croso, CLADE general coordinator.

These were other actions developed within the framework of "Fund what is fair!": dissemination of messages during strategic international events; permanent dissemination and support for events, debates, advocacy actions and mobilizations, as well as studies developed by CLADE members; holding virtual exchanges with students in the region to discuss how education reforms promoted across the country have an impact on the right to education; and organization of face-to-face meetings on education financing and tax justice in Argentina and Peru, as well as a communication and mobilization campaign on this issue through social networks and in partnership between CLADE, its members in Argentina and Peru, Latindadd² and the Tax Justice Network for Latin America and the Caribbean, with the purpose of raising awareness and informing citizens about the importance of tax justice as a means of ensuring sustainability of financing for the human right to education.

"Unless countries of the region establish fair and equitable fiscal systems to counter tax evasion and avoidance, they will not have enough public funds to overcome inequalities and guarantee human rights, among them, education", states Croso.

² Latin American Network on Debt, Development and Rights.

Outcome

Advocacy and communication actions through media, promoted by CLADE in partnership with national forums, led to the publication of opinion articles in *Contrapuntos* section of *El País* newspaper, and in the regional newspaper *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Likewise, interviews and news about the monitoring system and the "Fund what is fair!" campaign were published by the press in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil and Uruguay.

Virtual meetings were held with CLADE members/coalitions and allies, to share reflections and interpretations of the monitoring system data, becoming an advocacy and social watch instrument. The inputs and analyses that derived from these meetings contributed to update the system data and will be used for its improvement.

Attention was drawn to the demands of the "Fund what is fair!" initiative within the ambit of the 72nd. Session of the UN Assembly and the GPE Financing Education Conference, where governments acknowledged that financing is key and the main challenge to fulfill the Education 2030 Agenda, underscoring the need to increase the budget on education. At the GPE Conference, 50 developing countries from all over the world announced that they would increase their national education budgets in 30 billion dollars from 2018 to 2020. At the same time, at this meeting, greater attention was paid to tax justice as the key principle to guarantee sustained education financing.

CLADE shared its experience of monitoring the fulfilment of education financing in LAC at the GCE board meeting held at the beginning of May 2018, in Lebanon, and also through articles published in GPE's website and newsletter, and within the framework of the "Make it public" initiative of the Global Education Monitoring Report (GEM/UNESCO).

CLADE used the "Fund what is fair!" motto in its advocacy actions at the Regional Meeting of Ministers of Education of Latin America and the Caribbean (July 25 and 26, 2018 in Cochabamba, Bolivia³), where the Monitoring System of Financing was presented with updated data and analyses; and at the UN High Level Political Forum, which is the main platform to follow up SDGs at global level (July 9 - 18, 2018, in New York, USA).

Within the scope of the Meeting of Ministers of Education and the Joint Meeting of G20 Ministers of Education and Employment held in Mendoza, Argentina on September 5 and 6, 2018, CLADE, in partnership with members from G20 countries in the region (*Campaña Argentina por el Derecho a la Educación, Campaña Nacional por el Derecho a la Educación de Brasil* and CEAAL in México) urged these States to reconfirm their commitment to guarantee adequate, sustainable and fair public financing to strengthen public, free and inclusive educational systems, enabling the realization of Education 2030 Agenda⁴. The outcome was a final declaration of the Meeting of G20 Ministers of Education reaffirming the commitment with the implementation of the Education 2030 Agenda and recognizing the importance of securing enough national and international investment in education, in pursuit of an inclusive, equitable and quality education as well as permanent learning opportunities for all.

³ Note on CLADE advocacy at the Regional Ministerial Meeting: http://bit.ly/RRMEALC

⁴ Note on CLADE advocacy at the G20: http://bit.ly/cladeg20

CLADE members in Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, El Salvador, Haiti, Peru and Dominican Republic continued their advocacy efforts to monitor education financing, and continued their struggle and social mobilization to obtain more resources for public education at national level through: close dialogue with authorities and presence in institutionalized spaces of social participation; organization of seminars and debates; social watch processes and research on education budget; and forging alliances with different sectors, education communities and networks that defend tax justice.

Sharing lessons learned and experiences

- The development of joint actions with CLADE members and the creation of a Working Group of the campaign to plan and follow the initiative, gave the mobilization consistency and strength. The alliance with Asociación Latinoamericana de Educación y Comunicación Popular (ALER) and Agencia Pressenza, and the permanent exchange with these networks, has been essential to provide coverage to these actions and to promote mobilization and communication actions with positive impact.
- Coordination with networks that work on tax justice issues has been essential to provide more complexity and depth to the debate on education financing and ways of guaranteeing its sustainability.
- Financial crisis and corruption scandals in our region have led to the persistence or increase of cuts on public spending and economic austerity measures in different countries.
- The sustainability of civil society actions is challenging due to scarce resources, closed spaces of civic participation and repression of social protest.
- Lack or insufficient data for different indicators in some countries of the region, particularly in Central America, urges to advocate for government accountability and the transparent presentation of reliable and disaggregate data on education financing for its citizens and for international databases that are used as resources for monitoring.



Recent and next steps

In the ambit of the "Fund what is fair!" campaign, demands to increase government commitment to education financing were presented at the Global Meeting of Ministers of Education (December 3-5, 2018, in Brussels, Belgium).

Mobilization actions also took place in the context of the G20 Leaders' Summit held on November 30 and December 1st. 2018, in Buenos Aires, Argentina. CLADE advocated for the inclusion of the commitments of G20 Members States to tax justice, the guarantee of fair and adequate education financing and the realization of the human right to education and the 2030 Education Agenda in the final declaration of the Summit. As a result, this document states that "access to education is a human right and a strategic area of public policies for the development of more inclusive, prosperous and peaceful societies". The declaration also mentions the importance of tax justice.

The mobilization and advocacy actions of "Fund what is fair!" campaign will continue during 2019 embracing the goal to achieve a stronger and clearer commitment of the States to the guarantee of a fair and adequate financing of the educational policies, the end of the harmful tax incentives and the implementation of progressive tax reforms.

At the same time, the commitments announced by developing countries of Latin America and the Caribbean at the GPE Conference, will be monitored, to make sure they deliver on their promises.

LEARN MORE:

- Fund what is fair! For free and public education for all Campaign: www.financienlojusto.org
- Monitoring System of Financing the Human Right to Education in LAC: https://monitoreo.redclade.org
- Regional analysis on regressive education financing in the region: https://monitoreo.redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/CLADE_ Analisis2018_web.pdf
- Education 2030 Framework for Action: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/ images/0024/002456/245656s.pdf



FOSTERS INTERVENTION AND TRAINING ACTIONS FOR THE PROMOTION OF MIGRANTS' RIGHTS IN THE REGION

The mission of **Espacio Sin Fronteras (ESF)** is to influence decision-making at local, regional and international level, proposing the development of public policies for migrants, based on human rights.

Year of foundation: 2007.

Number of members: 9.

Geographical scope: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay.

Key focus area: defense and promotion of migrants' human rights.

CLADE Member since: 2016.

Contact details:

• Website: www.redesf.org

• Facebook: Espacio Sin Fronteras

• Blog: https://espaciosinfronteras.wordpress.com/

With the purpose of defending migrants' human rights, the regional network ESF organizes forums, training activities, meetings with authorities, publications, conducts researches and monitors public policies at regional level and in eight countries of Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) where its members come from.

Although the network works broadly to defend and promote different migrants' rights, there is an example of work specifically focused on the RTE: "Citizenship Tents for Migrant Children and Adolescents", launched in Sao Paulo, Brazil.

Sao Paulo is the Brazilian city that receives the most part of migrants and, among them, a high number of children and adolescents are enrolled in public education systems at state and municipal level. Around 45% of the adult population of the metropolitan area of Sao Paulo comes from other states or countries⁵.

There is a consensus among public education administrators to incorporate these communities into the education system. However, these migrants suffer attacks and discrimination, they are victims of different kinds of abuse, harassment and violence in education centers. Some publicly known incidents are worth mentioning. For example, in 2010, an incident was reported in Padre Anchieta School⁶, where Bolivian students were threatened and attacked if they stopped paying lunch for Brazilian students.

This led the Center for Migrants' Human Rights and Citizenship (CDHIC, by its Spanish acronym), member of ESF in Brazil, to act in terms of public policies for integration, and, thus, created the Citizenship Tents. The goals of the initiative are: to develop, jointly with teachers, good practices for the inclusion of migrants at schools, inside and outside classrooms; to create a place for cultural exchange and recreational activities, where key issues are discussed related to citizenship and rights, creating a feeling of empathy and fighting xenophobia; raising people's awareness in the municipality of Sao Paulo on the challenges for the integration of migrants, based on the creation and dissemination of specific material on this issue.

"School is the main link that migrant children and adolescents have with the host society, in terms of legal and bureaucratic issues such as regularization of migratory status, issues related to social vulnerability such as child labor exploitation, and cultural and family issues related to the integration in a new society. School is a transformative agent in the lives of children and adolescents. Paying attention to the way the public education system that receives these communities operates means paying attention to integration policies as the main instrument to realize rights", states Nathália Condé, advisory of regularization of migratory status of CDHIC.

⁵ Source: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada de Brasil - IPEA (2011): http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/images/stories/PDFs/comunicado/111006_comunicadoipea115.pdf

⁶ http://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/2010/09/secretaria-da-educacao-de-sp-diz-que-investigara-bullying-contra-bolivianos.html

COMPREHENSIVE APPROACH TO MIGRANTS

ESF stands for the interdependence, inalienability and indivisibility of rights, and based on this, it promotes the Social and Legal Clinic of Human Rights and Migrations, founded in 2016 through the partnership between Asociación Ecuménica de Cuyo, member of ESF, Xumek (Association for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights) and the National University of Cuyo.

This initiative is carried out by interdisciplinary teams of students, teachers and graduates from Social Work, Legal and Sociology Programs, and tries to provide a space where migrants can be listened to and advised pro bono, regarding steps to become residents or in cases of violation of rights such as: documentation problems; informality and labor precariousness and/or exploitation; discrimination incidents in healthcare centers and public schools; and the demeaning of the values of their culture.

The work of the Clinic has five broad goals and based on them different activities are developed: care and support for migrants; training of students, graduates and public servants; raising awareness; advocacy and liaison with other sectors and clinics⁷.

Partnership with education communities

The Citizenship Tents operate together with teaching staff of public schools from state and municipal education networks in Sao Paulo, with the purpose of promoting inclusive, collective and cultural actions. They have also forged alliances with migrants' associations, particularly with: Asociación Gastronómica Cultural y Folclórica Boliviana Padre Bento, Feria Kantuta and Centro Integrado del Inmigrante.

The initiative has two lines of action, both essential to develop good practices of integration: listening, raising awareness and training school teachers; and monthly activities with migrants and their descendants to address key issues such as citizenship, xenophobia, borders, inclusion and culture, in a recreational way.

As part of the first line of action mentioned, the project carried out a study on public schools that were attended by migrant children and adolescents and their descendants (the first generation of sons and daughters of migrants in Brazil). Based on this study and through different meetings with schools, agreements were made with three education centers: Domingos Faustino Sarmiento State-owned School, Duque de Caxias Municipal School of Basic Education and Infante Dom Henrique Municipal School of Basic Education.

⁷ Learn more: https://redclade.org/promueven-formacion-orientacion-y-asesoramiento-a-familias-migrantes-en-argentina

In each of them, conversations were held with coordination staff as well as with teachers, to understand their demands regarding the incorporation of migrant students in the classroom and the already implemented (or not) forms of integration, as well as to raise teachers' awareness on the migrants' rights and the situation of migration in Brazil and in the municipality of Sao Paulo. These meetings were held to reduce bureaucratic and cultural barriers between migrant students and teaching staff, such as difficulties with Portuguese language, educational credential assessment, indiscipline as a defense mechanism, low self-confidence, as well as teachers feeling that they do not have enough tools for the integration of these students.

The second line of action tries to complement the work done with educators through the so-called Citizenship Tents, by holding events including cultural activities and debates on the issue of migration. From December 2016 to June 2018, 22 Tents were organized with 11 activities addressing issues such as cultural appreciation, fight against xenophobia and citizenship, in a recreational way. Story-telling, short-film viewing, sculpting, painting and other expressions and methodologies were used to spark reflection on migration.

"Using the public space is a fundamental strategy to develop activities and to work with children on the feeling of belonging to the place where they live. Therefore, the tents were placed in Kantuta Square, well-known for the concentration of migrants during the weekend and at Escuela de la Familia de la Escuela Estadual Domingos Faustino Sarmiento", says Condé.

Outcome

Within the scope of the initiative, the book called *Libro de las Tiendas* [The Tents' Book] describes and presents the project, the implementation of activities and the methodologies. The idea was to assist 200 children but, in the end, the figure reached to 348, i.e. 72% over the expected number.



The impact was positive on children and adolescents attending monthly activities, on family groups, on teachers, educators and coordinators from the participating state-owned schools as well as on students and communities in general. These are some of the benefits attained: reduction of discrimination and bullying in education centers, cultural appreciation and the manifesto for the rights of migrants.

"This project was the starting point for the development of good practices for integration and inclusion, inside and outside the classroom, for migrant children, adolescents or descendants. The idea is to replicate this experience in other regions, municipalities and states", adds the advisor of CDHIC.

Challenges

The project faced difficulties to reach and engage the education community: teachers of the municipal and state network, school directors, parents and migrant students. However, despite challenges to coordinate school agendas, a network of teachers working on education and migration started to communicate and liaise, through phone calls, meetings, conferences and seminars attended by the institutions involved in the project. This liaison led to the exchange of experiences and lessons learned regarding the integration of migrant students in education centers, joining efforts to replicate, improve and optimize these practices.

LEARN MORE:

- The Tents' Book a dialogue on migration with communities and schools (available in Portuguese): https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/Livro-das-Tendas.pdf
- Institutional presentation of Red Espacio sin Fronteras: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/La-Red-Documento-Geral.pdf
- Bolivian students must pay to avoid attacks at State-owned school (available in Portuguese): https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/cotidian/ff2809201012.htm



Alliance of CADE withs academia and teachers' unions to analyze and put forward education policy proposals

Campaña Argentina por el Derecho a la Educación (CADE) is a national coalition created from the liaison of social organizations that defend the realization of education rights and the promotion of social justice in education by developing coordinated advocacy actions, conducting analyses and reviews of regulations and programs on the educational issues, and by monitoring, debating and formulating proposals in alliance with other stakeholders.

Year of foundation: 2006.

Number of members: around 50 organizations.

Geographical scope: national level, with organizations based in the city of Buenos Aires, Province of Buenos Aires, Jujuy, Salta, Formosa, Misiones, Chaco, Córdoba, Mendoza, Río Negro, Neuquén, Santa Fe and Entre Ríos.

Key focus areas: education financing, secondary education, adolescents deprived of liberty, pre-primary education, human rights and education, education workers' rights, non-formal and social/community education, intercultural education and higher education.

CLADE member since: 2007.

Contact details:

Website: www.derechoseducacion.org.ar
 Facebook: CADE Argentina

By the end of 2015, Mauricio Macri takes office, promoting changes in the education policy following the implementation of a neoliberal austerity-based socio-economic agenda, with negative impact on the living conditions of the population, such as: increased concentration of income (the Gini Index – the indicator of income inequality – reached 0.42 in 2017, the same value as in 2008⁸), unemployment (rising from 7.6% in December 2016 to 8.3% by the end of 2017⁹) and poverty (with an impact on 30% of the population¹⁰). Likewise, the purchasing power fell in the most vulnerable sectors and an annual inflation rate of 23.5%¹¹ aggravated the situation at national level, with an impact on the learning pathways of children and adolescents.

The government has published official reports and indicators to justify budget reforms, with a strong impact on media across the country, spreading the feeling, among people, that the only way to overcome the financial crisis is through austerity measures, budget cuts and public spending freeze.

However, in August 2016, education experts, national legislators and workers from the Ministry of Education itself, reported wrongdoings in the National Department of Education Statistics and Information (DiNIEE, by its Spanish acronym¹²), as well as its emptying and dismantling. Some months later, the government announced the signing of an agreement between Esteban Bullrich, Minister of Education at that time, corporate foundations and education experts from private universities of Buenos Aires, with the purpose of creating an Education Observatory that would have the State role of systematizing and disseminating data and indicators on the state of the education system.

In this context, with the aim to oppose government's position by diffusing different interpretations and information about the educational and economic model been applied in the country, CADE, in July 2017 wrote the report "The Right to Education in Argentina: where are Current Education Policies Heading?", in partnership with academia and teachers' unions.

"This document is in response to the distorted information about the impact of education policies implemented by Mauricio Macri's government during his first year and a half mandate. For example, the disinvestment in education and work precariousness of teachers who have increasingly less opportunity to speak out about policies", states Alberto Croce, national secretary of CADE.

⁸ National Institute of Statistics and Census (Indec, by its Spanish acronym): https://www.indec.gov.ar/uploads/informesdeprensa/ingresos_3trim17.pdf

⁹ National Institute of Statistics and Census (Indec) https://www.indec.gob.ar/uploads/informesdeprensa/EPH_cont_3trim17.pdf 10 Observatory of Argentine Social Debt of the Catholic University of Argentina: http://www.uca.edu.ar/uca/common/grupo68/files/2017- Observatorio-Informe-pobreza-por-Ingresos-Final.pdf

¹¹ Central Bank of the Argentine Republic: http://www.bcra.gov.ar/PoliticaMonetaria/ComunicadosAnteriores/ComunicadoPM171212.asp

¹² DiNIEE is the department in charge of compiling, systematizing and disseminating statistics about the education system.

Drafting of the report and key findings

The document was written by teams of researchers from the universities of the country, based on a careful analysis of official data and on a survey conducted with different civil society sectors, among them, representatives from CADE member organizations and teachers from the Education Workers' Confederation of the Republic of Argentina (CTERA, by its Spanish acronym) and the Argentine Union of Private Teachers (SADOP, by its Spanish acronym). The participation of academia in the drafting of the report gave more credibility to the document and was far more accepted and recognized in different local and international arenas.

Among other issues, the report deals with: education of native peoples, and intercultural and bilingual schools; education in rural areas; education financing; participation of civil society and education communities in debates and policy-making. The report reveals that public funding allocated to education in 2017 national budget reflected a 13% loss of participation compared to the 2016 budget. This resulted in teachers' salary depreciation that remained 16% below inflation in 2017.

Besides, the report indicates that resources were cut for socio-educational programs, school infrastructure, cultural activities and computerization of education centers, whereas the government spent more in paying the public debt than in education. For each peso invested in education in 2017, 1.55 pesos were paid to State creditors.

According to the report, in 2017, the amount allocated to build childcare centers was 5,592 million pesos (equivalent to 156,877,241 USD) but only 9% of that amount was spent in the first half of the year. Likewise, the report warns about the market rationale applied to the





education system, through the implementation of the *Aprender* [Learn] test¹³ in all the country. The report indicates that, in 2016, this assessment program received 35 million pesos (981,885 USD), that were taken, by government decision, from the Program for the Improvement of Rural Education. Finally, it reveals that assessment policies do not consider the context and cultural diversity of Argentine provinces, as well as the need to present, prioritize and make policies for equality in and from education.

Key contribution to public debate and advocacy

The document had significant resonance among the education communities and the human rights defenders, authorities and parliamentarians interested in education or working in that field. Its findings raised the interest of media across the country, for example, *Página 12* and *Tiempo Argentino* newspapers, and *Contrapuntos* blog of *El País* newspaper, well-known at regional level.

Its content was also used as an input for the elaboration of a spotlight report on the state of early childhood education in the country, submitted to the United Nations Committee

¹³ Aprender test is a national mechanism to assess students' learning and to systematize information on some development conditions. In November 2017, 5th. and 6th. grade students of secondary education had to sit for 2017 Aprender tests in mathematics and language; 6th. grade students had to sit for this test in natural and social science; and 4th. grade students of primary education had to sit for this test in written work. For more information, visit this link https://www.argentina.gob.ar/educacion/aprender



on the Rights of the Child in Geneva. And in July 2017, it was submitted to the UN High Level Political Forum, the official platform used to follow-up and review the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals at global level.

"This process gave more visibility to CADE's actions in defense of the human right to education and, therefore, CADE was able to join efforts and reinforce arguments with academia and civil society stakeholders, to do advocacy at national and international level, against the implementation of neoliberal policies in the country", affirms Croce.

After the conclusion of the report, CADE felt the need to start writing a second document, to present proposals addressing the challenges and setbacks mentioned in the first analysis. Thus, in May 2018, the Campaign published the "Contribution to Education Public Policies" report.

The recommendations in this document target different jurisdictions in Argentina, as guarantors of the right to education, on the following issues: education financing; early childhood care and education; transformation of secondary school; adult education; education and employment; education in contexts of deprivation of liberty; training and teaching career; education assessment systems; rights of the child and young people; socio-educational spaces and digital education.

In this report, CADE suggests the creation of a new Education Financing Act, to guarantee enough and adequate resources to ensure inclusive and quality education, with clearly defined goals and deadlines. Besides, the report underscores the need to guarantee investment in this field, as a social and political priority, for the long-term sustainability of all the education system.

Regarding education assessment, the report calls for a consensus between different education players to develop evaluation systems consistent with new learning and teaching methods; they should be inclusive and consider the processes, needs and goals that the Argentine society proposes for its education system.

Sharing lessons learned

- The strength and consistency of the analysis included in the report is the result of a collective process of research, consultation, reflection and dialogue.
- Partnerships with researchers are key to make diagnoses and analyses on education policies. Additionally, in this experience it is worth mentioning that coordination was voluntary, without having to pay a consultant to conduct the study. This strengthened political bonds between CADE, the academia and teachers' unions.
- The search for reliable data is fundamental to defend education and to propose public policies when progress is reversed or when the right to education is under threat.

LEARN MORE:

- Document "The Right to Education in Argentina where are the Current Education Policies Heading?": http://derechoseducacion.org.ar/2017/07/09/informe-hacia-donde-van-las-politicas-educativas-actuales/
- Publication "Contributions to Education Public Policies": http://derechoseducacion. org.ar/2018/05/14/declaracion-de-la-cade-aportes-a-las-politicas-educativas-nacionales/
- The impact on media of CADE advocacy actions:
 - > **Página 12:** https://www.pagina12.com.ar/53500-una-gestion-marcada-por-el-ajuste
 - > **Tiempo Argentino:** https://www.tiempoar.com.ar/nota/denunciaran-las-politicas-educativas-del-gobierno-en-un-foro-de-naciones-unidas
 - > **El País:** https://elpais.com/elpais/2017/09/27/contrapuntos/1506477786_010901.html



Coordination at international level and with other movements strengthens the actions carried out by CBDE to defend inclusive education

Campaña Boliviana por el Derecho a la Educación (CBDE) is a network of civil society organizations that defends the right to quality, public and free education, as a responsibility of the State.

Year of foundation: 2009.

Number of members: 8 international organizations, 20 national non-governmental organizations, 14 social and community-based organizations, 4 national education networks, 12 children and youth organizations, 2 higher education institutions and 22 activists.

Geographical scope: 9 departments of Bolivia: La Paz, Oruro, Potosí, Cochabamba, Chuquisaca, Tarija, Santa Cruz, Beni and Pando.

Key focus areas: development of knowledge, generation of public opinion, communication, advocacy and demands to comply with education public policy through mobilization and the participation of organized civil society from the Plurinational State of Bolivia.

CLADE member since: 2009.

Contact details:

• Website: http://campanaderechoeducacion.org.bo

• Facebook: Campaña Boliviana por el Derecho a la Educación

• Twitter: @CampaaBoliviana

Since early 21st. century, different movements and civil society organizations (CSOs) from Bolivia – feminists, young people, indigenous people, collectives fighting for the respect of sexual and gender diversity, activists from the fields of art and culture, defending the RTE, among others – have consolidated advocacy processes for their recognition and participation in education policies.

Since its foundation, CBDE has liaised with different sectors and social movements to demand the guarantee of a thoughtful, inclusive education, for freedom and diversity, based on decolonization and depatriarchalization, to be included in the national education agenda. This was partially achieved with the incorporation of these civil society demands in the Education Act, the Avelino Siñani - Elizardo Pérez Act, passed in 2010.

After this achievement, it was the turn of civil society to organize itself to demand the fulfillment of the political and legislative commitments made. In this sense, since 2009, CSO platforms such as CBDE, have been created with a view to have a technical and thoughtful force working for the fulfillment of social demands and proposals included in national legislation, through the development of new policies, towards a liberating education that respects diversity.

In defense of education without discrimination and throughout life

This way of working is reflected in the CBDE's participation at the "8th. International Meeting on Alternative and Special Education" organized by the Ministry of Education of the Plurinational State of Bolivia, from July 4 to 7, 2017, in La Paz. CBDE had an active participation in this event, working together with other organizations on the follow-up of the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at national level.

More than 800 civil society delegates, teachers, parents and activists participated in this event where they held working sessions to build strategic lines and proposals for a transformative and inclusive education, in coordination with communities and organizations and in connection with the Education 2030 Agenda. In this opportunity, CBDE made proposals for the realization of an inclusive education, throughout life, for youth and adult education, non-violence and gender equality in education centers.

At the end of the event, the drafting committee of the Declaration of La Paz collected all civil society recommendations and formalized the State's commitment to respond to these demands through education policies. CBDE joined the drafting committee and was appointed rapporteur to share the text, which underscores the importance of fulfilling the Education 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and suggests that, in Bolivia, the debates and policies for this purpose should be grounded on a comprehensive education for "good living" and throughout life. The declaration also underscores the importance of inclusive education and equal opportunities for the most vulnerable groups of society such as women, persons with disabilities, adults, persons in detention, peasants, indigenous people, the elderly and other historically discriminated groups.

"The content of the document reinforces and reaffirms the SDG guiding principle of leaving no one behind and establishes the State commitment with education without violence, respectful of diversity, and with gender perspective", affirms David Aruquipa, executive director of CBDE.

The advocacy efforts carried out by CBDE during that meeting resulted in alliances for the organization of a new event: "Dialogue on Violence Prevention Experiences in the Field of Education". This meeting was organized by CBDE in December 2017, in partnership with the Pedagogic University, OXFAM and the Ministry of Education. The objective was to promote sharing and presentation of practices to prevent violence in education environments.

After the meeting, CBDE included the inputs in a document of recommendations and next steps for the design and implementation of a national policy to prevent and respond to violence at schools. The Bolivian government committed to consider the document when planning and implementing measures linked to this issue.

Participation in both meetings enabled CBDE to gather contributions and include them in a "Call for Action", a document with guidelines, and a specific agenda for the realization of a public, inclusive, equitable and quality education in the country. CBDE presented the documents at the "V National Pedagogic Meeting" held in La Paz, on December 21 and 22, 2017, by the Ministry of Education. This is the most important event of popular consultation and discussion on national education policy, with the participation of around 1,000 people. CBDE contributed to this event, addressing issues such as early childhood, inclusive education and teachers' training. The working sessions became permanent spaces to monitor and advise the government on the design and implementation of policies related to the different themes addressed. In this way, CBDE will be able to monitor and push for the fulfillment of the commitments made by the State.

Decisive background

Since 2015, the Bolivian Campaign has come a long way to be recognized as a legitimate civil society representative by the government and to play an effective advocacy role in national education policy. This has been possible thanks to its participation in international events, such as the World Education Forum (in Incheon, Republic of Korea, from May 19 to 21, 2015) where the Education 2030 Agenda was approved. Equally important was the participation at the 70th Session of the UN General Assembly (in New York, United States, from September 25 to 27, 2015), where the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development was approved.

In these international arenas, CBDE held conversations with the Mission of Bolivia to the United Nations and the Ministry of Education on the importance of adopting an Education Agenda by 2030 focused on the realization of an inclusive, equitable and quality education, and its implementation in Bolivia through coordination, dialogue and cooperation between the State and civil society.

"In this process, CBDE proved to be credible and representative as a civil society coalition capable of influencing the public education debates and the official spaces of discussion, design and definition of educational policies", says Aruquipa.



Sharing lessons learned and experiences

- The follow-up and fulfillment of commitments discussed during activities and sharing between the State and civil society must be coupled with the elaboration of systematization documents of these recommendations, and they must be operational, able to influence and orient public policies in a proactive and legitimate way. The creation of these documents is promoted by drafting committees formed by CBDE members and the output of this work is presented at the General Assembly of CBDE for approval.
- The recognition and credibility of CBDE as a delegate involves permanent dialogue with
 its members and with civil society. This is possible through the systematic organization
 of workshops and face-to-face meetings with members and representatives of allied
 organizations from other sectors, on issues of the political agenda and specific struggles,
 or through activities and campaigns collectively organized, such as the Global Action
 Week for Education. Throughout 2017, apart from this kind of meetings, four gatherings
 of the board of the coalition were held. The General Assembly of members takes place
 every two years.
- What made the difference was CBDE's experience, accumulated throughout the years, with negotiations and conversations with the government. Through this process CBDE realized that they should set in stone the fact that human rights are non-negotiable, but, on certain occasions, they also must be flexible regarding time frames and proposals of less urgent policies and focus on addressing issues that require stronger and immediate action.

"Based on our experience, we have to choose timely and collectively a priority line of struggle that also affects other areas of the education policy. Based on this idea, since 2015 our priority and cross-cutting issue has been the fight against discrimination and violence in the field of education. Urgent issues have been set forth through democratic debate with members of the Campaign, guided by the realization of human rights and considering that we must continue pushing for the rest of the issues in other spaces and in specific activities of each member", adds Aruquipa.

- Before adopting an advocacy strategy, we need to make a detailed analysis of the context, possible agents, institutions, opportunities, rapporteurs, individuals, organizations and political as well as political and legislative frameworks that define the realization of the education agenda in each context.
- The participation of CBDE in regional platforms such as CLADE has been fundamental to showcase the work they are doing not only as a national social movement, but also as a committed network that liaises with movements that have regional and international outreach. Participation in discussion forums of the Education 2030 Agenda has helped to consolidate the campaign as a legitimate representative before the State, to shape the national education policy.
- It is important to work coordinately with different civil society agenda, presenting education proposals that are consistent with different sectors, projects and programs that defend an integral and intersectoral approach to the realization of rights. An example of this is CBDE's alliance with women's movements and organizations that defend gender equity and non-discrimination, with the purpose of linking the implementation of Education 2030 Agenda at national level with policies that aim to achieve the SDG 5 related to gender.



"CBDE emerged as a civil society coalition that is connected to and dialogues with activists from other human rights areas such as the women's movement and organizations that work on culture and gender issues in education. In this process, we notice that the relations with different sectors strengthen the movement and reinforce advocacy actions. We need to identify social sectors with which we can work together and forge alliances, supporting their causes and encouraging them to join our struggles", adds the executive director.

Challenges ahead

- Continue with the advocacy work based on civil society self-determination and autonomy, so that CBDE continues to have the role of representing social demands, since there is a trend towards political polarization and uncompromising stances in the public policy debate. In this context, the Campaign observes, cautiously, the risk of internal polarization among its members, threatening or weakening the bond between these organizations and activists united around the same causes, and the decision-making process based on consensus. To address this challenge CBDE will reassert to citizens and, particularly, its members, that the right to education must be considered as a political as well as programmatic issue, thus, it must be the number one priority of the struggle, and also fundamental for national development and the realization of the rest of the human rights.
- The proposed advocacy work is a medium and long-term process, thus, the Campaign must keep on working permanently, seeking to contribute to national policies from different fronts, and coordinating different civil society agendas around the guiding principle of defending education as a right. An example of this challenge is the fight that CBDE has been waging since 2015 to prevent and eliminate violence in learning environments, specifically sexual orientation and gender-related violence and discrimination. Thanks to the permanent dialogue with authorities, education communities and social movements and organizations, the coalition has managed to influence and push for the issuance of different executive orders as well as legislative frameworks.

LEARN MORE:

- Declaration of La Paz, adopted at in the 8th. International Meeting of Alternative and Special Education: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/ Declaración-de-La-Paz.pdf
- CBDE's call for action for inclusive, equitable and quality education, and lifelong learning for all: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/llamado-a-la-accion-de-cbde.pdf
- Action guidelines for public, inclusive, equitable and quality education: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/lineamientos-para-educacion-en-Bolivia.pdf



The National Campaign exerts pressure on government, in international arenas, for the fulfillment of education commitments

Campanha Nacional pelo Direito à Educação do Brasil (CNDE) is a network that coordinates hundreds of groups and entities across Brazil, including school communities, social movements, unions, national and international non-governmental organizations, foundations, university, students and community groups, apart from citizens who believe in building a just and sustainable country through the provision of quality public education. Its mission is to work for effective and broad education policies that guarantee the right to public, free, inclusive, secular and quality education.

Year of foundation: 1999.

Number of members: around 205 organizations.

Geographical scope: at national level in Brazil, Latin America, Lusophone countries, international.

Key focus areas: institutional liaison, government pressure, popular mobilization, development of knowledge, communication, training of social players and justiciability.

CLADE member since: 2002.

Contact details:

• Website: www.campanha.org.br

• Facebook: Campanha Nacional pelo Direito à Educação

• **Twitter:** @camp_educacao

In 2014, the first fiscal adjustments were introduced in Brazil, with an impact on social policies. These measures aggravated when Mr. Michel Temer took office, after the institutional coup in 2016, during former president Dilma Roussef's mandate. These measures were implemented through the approval and sanction of the constitutional amendment (CA) 95, of 2016, that freezes public spending on education, health and social welfare for 20 years (until 2036). This hinders the fulfillment of the National Education Plan (NEP) that sets forth education goals and strategies to be achieved from 2014 to 2024, impacting on the next plan, expected to come into force between 2024 and 2034.

To make matters worse, since Dilma's impeachment, the government has been progressively closing all spaces of dialogue, participation and social watch regarding policies, among them, the ones referred to education. Apart from the policy dismantling, there has been a growing influence from fundamentalist religious and ultraconservative groups on federal decisions, with an impact on local governments and municipalities of Brazilian states. This further weakens national democracy and legitimates the violation of rights and regression in terms of gender equality.

In this context, CNDE, which had already focused its advocacy actions at international level to guarantee the human right to education, starts to work strongly abroad to pressure the Brazilian government and strengthen debate.

Attempts to restrict CA 95

In 2015, CNDE influenced Brazil's questioning by the United Nations Committee on the Rights of the Child. On this occasion, the Committee recommended that the country should adequately invest in education to be able to fulfill the National Education Plan, even in the context of economic crisis, and, thus, giving priority to human rights. The need to promote debates and education for ethnic, sexual orientation and gender diversity at schools was also underscored.



The following year, in the face of the Proposals of Constitution Amendments (PCAs) 241 and 55 submitted to the National Congress, resulting in CA 95, the Campaign claimed before international bodies that said amendment threatened the realization of human rights. The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Ms. Koumbou Boly Barry and the UN Special Rapporteur on Poverty, Mr. Philip Alston, signed a statement where they warned about the possible harmful consequences of this proposal.

By the end of 2016, days before the approval of the amendment at the National Congress, the commissioners of the Inter-American Commission for Human Rights (IACHR) of the Organization of American States (OAS) also expressed their opposition to the approval of CA 95, arguing that the principle of non-regression in human rights would not be respected. The Commission also warned that ultraconservatism is gaining ground throughout the country, particularly through the *Escola Sem Partido* bill¹⁴ that the Commission considered a threat to human rights and a persecution of education professionals.

Both situations widely resonated across the country, increasing people's opposition to Temer's first measures of his mandate.

Pressure to repeal the "Expenditure Ceiling" amendment

After the approval of CA 95 (on December 15, 2016) and with the purpose of pushing for the realization of the human right to education in Brazil, CNDE participated in the 27th. Universal Periodic Review (UPR). UPR is an assessment mechanism among peers of the UN Human Rights Council on the realization of rights at national level. This mechanism creates pressure and coercion in international multilateral relations when countries do not comply with the recommendations made by the rest of the Member States.

Three reports are made to support the review: one is presented by the country under review; the second is written by the UN itself; and another one includes a summary of civil society recommendations.

In May 2017, the Brazilian government underwent review by other 103 countries and, in this context, months before, CNDE, in partnership with the NGO Ação Educativa, the National Association of Centers for the Defense of the Rights of the Child and Adolescent (ANCED, by its Spanish acronym) and CLADE, decided to draft a report to present RTE setbacks in the country.

"Considering that there was no longer an internal debate on how to handle economic policy in Brazil, becoming increasingly unilateral, we used the UPR to denounce what was happening in the country, trying to coerce the Brazilian government to fulfill its commitments with human rights", indicates Daniel Cara, national coordinator of the National Campaign for the Right to Education.

¹⁴ Escola Sem Partido is a political movement with the support from conservatives politicians, religious actors and citizens to banish gender education from the educational curriculum and stimulate the persecution of teachers who address the subject and the "marxist ideology" during classes.

In this document, the high rates of violence against women were reported as well as gender equality setbacks in education, lack of fulfillment of the NEP and the need to guarantee adequate public spending to maintain a quality public education system, among other challenges.

These recommendations were included in the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Report. This report presents an executive summary of civil society contributions within the UPR process. CNDE, had even stated in its document, the education privatization trend and the removal of measures against sexual orientation, race and gender-based discrimination from education plans in Brazilian municipalities and states.

Outcome

Out of 103 countries participating in Brazil's UPR, 45 considered the recommendations and denunciations of the report made by the Campaign, 26 reinforced the importance of the implementation of NEP and 6 recommended to increase investments in education and reduce inequality, and/or criticized the austerity economic policies. On the other hand, 26 countries made recommendations related to discrimination and violence based on sexual orientation and/or gender identity.

WHAT IS UPR?

The UPR is a justiciability mechanism promoted by the UN Human Rights Council, to review the situation of human rights across the world. It provides the opportunity to review the persisting challenges faced, in a country, to achieve equal and universal rights.

The process starts with the presentation of an official national report about the situation of the realization of rights in the country, and this is studied by other UN Member States. After the analysis of the official report, Member States make recommendations to the country under review, which can accept making the commitment to comply with them or "take note" of them, without taking measures in this regard. Recommendations must be implemented before the next review of the country, five years later.

Civil society can participate in this process and make contributions to the official government report for review, by preparing alternative reports and presenting them to the Human Rights Council as additional inputs, talking to delegations of the Member States that are making the recommendations and following up their implementation.

Learn more about the UPR: https://www.upr-info.org/es/upr-process/what-is-it and https://www.ohchr.org/sp/hrbodies/upr/pages/uprmain.aspx



"We raise awareness by providing information on the current situation where we are sliding back. Therefore, other States were concerned about the impact of the investment cuts on social policies. This was the first time that Brazil received so many recommendations on education, focusing on structural and permanent public policies, not only those that deal with urgent situations upon flagrant violation of human rights, such as threats to physical integrity and similar cases", states Cara.

Despite recommendations, in September 2017, the Brazilian government rejected UN's recommendation to interrupt the freeze of investments in education and other social policies for the next twenty years. According to the Brazil report, sent by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, CA 95/2016 "guaranteed additional resources for health during 2017", which different studies proved to be false.

Another recommendation rejected by Brazil was the one from the Vatican requesting to protect "family and natural marriage, between husband and wife, as the basic unit of society, as well as the unborn". The campaign considered this was a positive action by the government because the Vatican's recommendation clearly discriminated the LGBTI community and women.

Advice for civil society advocacy in the face of UPR

- Study UPR processes and rules in detail, as well as their channels, stages and deadlines, define advocacy strategies and look for resources to participate in international events.
- Make proposals and reports using sound arguments as well as verifiable and official data (or taken from well-known academic research sources) and resort to international bodies' position papers from previous UPRs or on the issues addressed.
- Follow and participate throughout the whole advocacy process: the presentation of the civil society report, the public consultation held by the Member States to rate and review critically the report presented by the government; the UPR pre-sessions, the conversations

with the permanent missions of each Member State to the UN and the questioning of the country under review.

• Guarantee that the advocacy process at international level is broadcasted by local media. If this does not happen, the State will probably not feel obliged to accept and comply with the recommendations.

Monitoring recommendations

In 2018, to monitor compliance with the recommendations accepted by the Brazilian State, the organizations that influenced the UPR process founded the Brazil UPR Collective. The group also joined the Brazilian Committee of Human Rights and Foreign Policy (CBDHPE, by its Spanish acronym), formed by civil society and the Federal Bureau of Citizens' Rights that systematically monitors how the country deals with human rights issues at international level, together with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Rights.

The first strategy of the group will be to make a mid-term report in 2019, about compliance with the recommendations accepted by Brazil. For this purpose and following the recommendation of CBDHPE, a Public Hearing was held in the Committee of Human Rights and Minorities of the Chamber of Deputies. At the same time, the Campaign started dialogues with the Brazilian Judiciary and state audit bodies such as public ministries and courts of audit.

"The NEP is an act that rules constitutional provisions and the right to education, the first social right appearing in article 5th. of the Federal Constitution. The realization of the right to universal education is an obligation of the family and of the State. In case of non-compliance, state entities must be held accountable, because they must implement the necessary policies to guarantee this right", states Andressa Pellanda, executive coordinator of the National Campaign.

LEARN MORE (material is available in Portuguese):

- National Campaign dossier with the UPR recommendations for Brazil: http://campanha. org.br/direitos-humanos/dossie-especial-revisao-periodica-universal-onu-saiba-como-osblocos-de-paises-votaram-quais-foram-as-principais-recomendacoes-sobre-educacao-e-leiaanalises-de-especialistas-sobre-as-recomendac/
- **Report of the Brazilian government in response to the UPR:** https://nacoesunidas.org/brasil-aceita-mais-de-200-recomendacoes-de-direitos-humanos-da-onu-rejeita-quatro/amp/
- Conectas Handbook with guidelines on Brazil's UPR process: https://www.conectas.org/noticias/rpu-brasil
- E-book of the Institute of Development and Human Rights, with UPR guidelines: http://iddh.org.br/rpu/e-book-sociedade-civil-e-direitos-humanos-guia-pratico-sobre-a-revisao-periodica-universal-rpu/



Contrato Social spearheads the creation of a national agreement on education within the scope of the presidential elections

Contrato Social por la Educación (CSE) is a huge movement of citizens, diverse and pluralistic, based on principles of defense and exercise of human rights, particularly the right to education, and gender, generational and geographical equity. It is known for its struggle for economic and social inclusion, and respect for diversity and interculturality.

Year of foundation: 2002.

Number of members: 54 institutions.

Geographical scope: at national level (advocacy focused on the central government) and at local level, in the provinces of Pichincha, Cotopaxi, Chimborazo, El Oro and Zamora.

Key focus areas: citizens' participation for the right to education; research and training; proposals, advocacy and monitoring education policies.

CLADE member since: 2008.

Contact details:

• Website: www.contratosocialecuador.org.ec

• Facebook: ContratoSocialEducacion

• Twitter: @CseEcuador

For the past three years, democratic relations and spaces in Ecuador have weakened, in the face of the centralization of decision making in the Executive Power and the fragmentation and co-opting of different civil society sectors by the State. Criminalization of social protest grew while places for collective discussion were closed.

In the case of education, systematic actions were taken against leaders of the students' movement, resulting in sanctions and trials on charges of sabotage and terrorism, as well as their expulsion from the education centers they were attending. The persecution of organized teachers led to elimination of the legal registry of the largest and oldest teacher's union in Ecuador, the National Teachers' Union (UNE, by its Spanish acronym), in 2016. At the same time, thousands of rural schools have been closed without previous dialogue with the communities that were hit hardest by these measures, in this case, peasants.

In 2017, when the mandate of Rafael Correa came to an end, after 10 years in power, civil society in Ecuador witnessed increased tension and polarization in the political sphere. Education was one of the most popular issues addressed during the presidential election campaign, together with the economic, corruption and democracy crisis.

In this context, CSE planned an advocacy strategy, seeking to guarantee the realization of the RTE regardless of the election results. In this sense, the "Citizens' Agenda for Education" was created in partnership with 16 civil society national organizations, coordinated through a platform called Convergence Board. The document sets forth a group of proposals for the implementation of quality education and was publicly signed by the candidates running for president and for the National Assembly.

A specific and plural agreement to transform education

It took three years to draft the "Citizens' Agenda for Education", based on a collective research developed in dialogue with different social sectors, among them, marginalized groups, indigenous people, environmentalists and rural communities, to collect their opinion on the issues that should be given priority in education policies.



MAIN ISSUES RAISED BY THE CITIZENS' AGENDA:

Educational Project by 2030: based on the respect of human rights; the inclusion of ethnic, gender, age, nationality, special needs and sexual orientation diversity in education; interculturality; relevance; sustainable development and harmonious relation with people and nature.

Education quality from a diverse approach: the idea is to go beyond the current vision of "exclusionary meritocracy", to create a comprehensive proposal through consensus of education quality.

Quality community schools adapted to context: demanding to guarantee and restore the right of indigenous people to adequate, quality education and to strengthen an intercultural bilingual education.

Different issues are addressed in this agenda. It sets out, among others: increased investment in education and quality of spending; more civil society participation in the debate and in public policy-making; creation and implementation of an educational project based on the commitments made by the State in the Education 2030 Agenda; and education assessment to improve students' schooling (rather than for control or sanction) as well as better working conditions for teachers, administrative and management staff.

"During Correa administration, the attitude of the Ministry of Education in Ecuador was centralist and authoritarian, although the education budget increased and access to basic education and high school was accomplished. There were still structural problems of quality, a homogenizing education model was used, and the most visible resource was the application of a standardized evaluation system", says Milton Luna, former national coordinator of CSE.

The strategy of analyzing pending challenges and the impact of the centralization policy of the national education system made civil society recover its role and opened space for the elaboration of a common agenda among different social sectors.

This agenda was reflected in the electoral debate, in public opinion and in the overview of the two final candidates running for president, particularly regarding the closing of thousands of rural schools and the exclusion of more than 500,000 students from tertiary education. The Citizen's Agenda was handed and embraced by the two final candidates running for president, Guillermo Lasso from the party called Creando Oportunidades (CREO), from the neoliberal and center-right wing, and Lenin Moreno from Alianza País, the same party as Correa.

Dialogue with the new government

With the electoral success of Moreno, CSE has started a new advocacy stage, pressing the president to fulfill his commitments, and demanding response about the education priorities presented in the electoral debate: assistance to rural schools and communities; evaluation

of the National Education Plan; reform of the National Evaluation System to overcome its exclusionary vision based on merit; and free access to universities.

Another line of action has been the dialogue with the Ministry of Education to restore communication that had been cut off during the past years, paving the way for dialogue between other organizations and teachers' unions with the authorities.

Outcome

The most significant outcome of the advocacy actions was the government's will to reopen rural schools that had been closed and the collaboration (between the government and indigenous organizations) to draft a roadmap to restructure and strengthen the System of Intercultural Bilingual Education in the country, giving priority to the participation of indigenous communities and organizations of Ecuador.

In this sense, a mixed team was created, composed by government representatives and delegates of the National Confederation of Indigenous Organizations of Ecuador (CONAIE, by its Spanish acronym) with the participation of CSE on the technical side.

Moreno also committed to reform the National Evaluation System, with a non-punitive approach and the creation of education indicators that allow a vision from a perspective of comprehensive education and respect for human rights.

Main challenges of the advocacy process

The decision to observe objectively the political scenario and criticize government actions, in a context where civil society was suffering systematic blows and fragmentation, took its toll on CSE because some sectors walked away, fearing that being part of a movement that is critical of the education policy, could harm them. However, the decision was to continue advocacy from the grassroots, giving CSE good reputation and credibility, and the coalition was acknowledged as an independent, legitimate and relevant civil society voice in the national education debate.



SE Archiv

Sharing lessons learned

- With the purpose of reopening channels for social participation, in a context of strong authoritarianism and centralism of the State, CSE chose wisely to prioritize the development of joint actions and agendas through grassroots, and also forging alliances with media, academia and other social and political actors. This is the most complex but most effective way to address challenges.
- A video on the content of the National Agenda was produced and disseminated before the kick-off of the electoral campaign. The material was seen and/or shared by different civil society sectors and media as well as by authorities that became aware of the cause. Besides, a video was produced, reporting the closing of rural schools, under the title: The joy is gone, with 10,923 views, by January 2018.
- The issues raised by the National Agenda are specific, direct, feasible, and based on reliable research, thus, its proposals were understood and supported by media and civil society in general.
- Building agendas collectively brings sense, and stronger and tangible commitments to the strategy. The Citizen's Agenda received inputs from local agendas, promoting the reinstatement, shaping and development of the social organization. The methodology used, the research-action, gave the involved players skills, commitment and understanding of its content.

LEARN MORE:

- Learn more about "Citizens' Agenda for Education": http://contratosocialecuador. org/images/publicaciones/agendascse/Agendaciudadana2017.pdf
- Publications produced by CSE: http://contratosocialecuador.org/index.php/ publicaciones-diigitales
- Link to the "The joy is gone" video: https://youtu.be/4TWtjbQBo5w
- Systematization of the Citizens' Collectives for Education project that was used as the local basis for general advocacy: http://contratosocialecuador.org/ index.php/cce-colectivos



RESALDE campaigns for adequate financing for the right to education

Red Salvadoreña por el Derecho a la Educación (RESALDE) is a coalition of civil society and cooperation organizations working for education as a fundamental human right for all. Its aim is to ensure that access to inclusive education is guaranteed, providing equal opportunities, and without any discrimination throughout life.

Year of foundation: 2013.

Number of members: 22 civil society organizations and 2 cooperation agencies as observers.

Geographical scope: national level but focused in San Salvador.

Key focus areas: obtain the approval of 6% of GDP for education, and, based on this increase in public investment, achieve the universalization of education in the country.

CLADE member since: 2014.

Contact details:

• Facebook: Resalde - Red Salvadoreña por el Derecho a la Educación

• Twitter: @6porlaeducacion

RESALDE is a coalition of civil society organizations and movements that defends the RTE in El Salvador. Since its creation in 2013, its advocacy and mobilization actions have focused on education financing.

In 2014, within the scope of presidential elections and with a view to exert influence on the candidates' plans and proposals, RESALDE developed and launched a study called "Education Financing in El Salvador". The research revealed, through reliable data, the need to increase public investment in education across the country to obtain adequate and enough funding. Based on its findings, the network developed the "6% yes, for education" campaign demanding the investment of at least 6% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in education, to universalize education from early childhood to tertiary education.

"The campaign was created based on the study and with two coordinated approaches: to mobilize civil society and to call on the El Salvador government to invest, during the next 5 years, more and better resources in education, progressively, to universalize education in our country", says Max Ayala, communications coordinator of RESALDE.

Advocacy and dialogue with authorities

Within the ambit of the campaign, RESALDE reached out decision-makers, mayors, the Ministry of Education and each deputy of the National Legislative Assembly, to convince them about giving priority to education in budgets and policies. The network had conversations, particularly with members of the Commission of Education and Culture of the Legislative Assembly, which strongly supported the campaign, and this led to the creation and proposal of a preliminary draft of a bill, in partnership with civil society, for a special act on education financing.

The preliminary draft of this bill intends to increase investment in education, science and technology, improve spending efficiency and regulate the way in which the progressive increase of budget allocation to public education should be done, establishing the items where resources should be invested in. Besides, it intends to meet the needs to improve quality in education, extend coverage and guarantee equal opportunities, through research and access to information and communication technologies, to achieve the universalization targets.

Thanks to its permanent advocacy and to the respectful and constructive dialogue with deputies of the Legislative Assembly and representatives of the Ministry of Education, RESALDE has gained the support of authorities for the campaign and for the creation of the preliminary draft of the bill. However, this received criticism from the Treasury Department of El Salvador: an increase in education budget would imply the need to create a new tax with impact on all the population.

RESALDE and its allies have responded with a proposal to charge 0.01 USD per phone call across the country. The Ministry accepted the proposal but applied it to security financing, which forced RESALDE to seek other options to finance education that would be accepted by the authorities. This held back the completion and submission of the preliminary draft of the bill to be formally voted in plenary session at the Legislative Assembly. In any case, due to RESALDE's previous advocacy efforts, deputies of this legislative body already know the preliminary draft of the bill, which will facilitate future exchange.

In 2014, RESALDE was also invited to be one of the founding civil society networks of the National Education Council (CNE, by its Spanish acronym). By doing this, the government took a stand to improve education quality and to promote civil society participation in the debates and in education policy-making. This council supported the production of *Plan El Salvador Educado* [Educated El Salvador Plan] where the six key challenges of education in El Salvador are underscored and more than 120 actions are presented to face these challenges.

After the presentation of *Plan El Salvador Educado* – which considered the findings and data of RESALDE's research – groups were formed to follow up its accomplishment and RESALDE took over the responsibility for monitoring the challenge 4, which establishes the State obligation to guarantee "12 years of public, free and universal schooling". Likewise, RESALDE also follows five of the six expected outcomes of the plan because member organizations of the network have joined these follow-up groups.

"This is an important effort because, in this way, we are providing first-hand information on the situation of education in the country and this participation strengthens the network's role of political player and spokesperson before the national government", says the communication coordinator of RESALDE.

Citizens' awareness

Apart from advocacy, the 6% campaign intends to inform people about the importance of providing more resources and using the budget for education more effectively, encouraging participation and citizens' mobilization. Meetings and dialogues with civil society have been organized monthly. In 4 years, debates were held in 42 municipalities.

"We have raised the awareness of many people, particularly the most vulnerable ones in our country, who now support and recognize the network as an ally, and as a relevant collective of the country", affirms proudly Ayala.



For these meetings, RESALDE succeeded in convening and forging strategic alliances with collectives such as Afro-descendent organizations, teachers' unions, as well as indigenous communities and communities with high levels of violence and social vulnerability. Another strategy to extend the outreach and impact of the campaign has been to enter alliances with academic institutions, such as the Central American University and the National University of El Salvador (UES, by its Spanish acronym) and with the Early Childhood Education Network of El Salvador (REINSAL, by its Spanish acronym).

In partnership with REINSAL, a meeting was held on November 22, 2017, with 102 mayors who signed the Commitment with Early Childhood, whereby they take ownership of developing a project of their own for early childhood education. As a result, around 40% of 262 munipalities committed to work for early childhood.

At that meeting, shocking figures were revealed in terms of public investment in education and early childhood care, and the preliminary draft of the bill was made public. The attending authorities publicly expressed their support to the 6% yes, for education campaign and to the preliminary draft of the bill while committing to "work on early childhood issues so when the 6% of GDP for education is approved, there will be already advancements in identifying where we need to invest first."

Outcome

Through RESALDE's advocacy, progress has been made in terms of raising people's awareness on the importance of the RTE, its connection with the public budget and the fight to secure education financing.

The 6% yes, for education campaign had an impact on the most popular media networks in the country and they currently attend most of RESALDE's activities and events.

RESALDE has been able to call on government, in a very concrete and assertive way, for a strategic change in education policies and their financing, successfully influencing the Ministry of Education and the Legislative Assembly. The network organized 10 forums with different civil society players and each of them had an attendance of 100 people. The three events organized by RESALDE and REINSAL gathered 500 people each.

Challenges

The key challenge faced while developing the initiative was to dialogue with authorities and convince them about the importance of the campaign demands, because many of the representatives of the Legislative Assembly and government representatives with whom RESALDE held conversations were doubtful about the possibility of getting 6% of GDP for education and the impact this would have on the national budget. RESALDE managed to explain them that this goal would be reached gradually so the support of many decision-makers, particularly, mayors, was obtained for the preliminary draft of the bill.

For RESALDE, these are other challenges ahead: to maintain dialogue with the national authorities elected in the last presidential elections in February 2019, and to move the conversations forward with the Treasury Department, to get their endorsement for the

submission of a preliminary draft of a bill on education financing, to be voted in Plenary Session of the Legislative Assembly.

Sharing lessons learned

- Through this experience it was possible to notice that people in general are very open to support education and, in fact, the success of any awareness and advocacy campaign depends on them, on their support and participation.
- Persistence and perseverance at work are required to reach the goals set. It's been five years since RESALDE started advocating for increased investment in education.
- Together we stand. This was evidenced by the fact that gathering RESALDE members, which used to advocate individually, in a Salvadorian Network for the Right to Education, gave further strength and outreach to their actions and struggles.
- The conduction of a trustworthy research is essential to provide credibility to the advocacy process before different audiences: authorities, media and society in general.
- It is important to make efforts to sign letters of commitment with authorities for future accountability reports on agreements made and to enable the organization of mobilizations regarding the fulfillment of commitments.

LEARN MORE:

- Preliminary Draft of the Bill for the Special Act on Education Financing: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/anteproyecto-de-ley-financiamiento.pdf
- **Study "Education Financing in El Salvador":** http://fieca.org.sv/publicaciones/libro_el_financiamiento_de_la_educacion_en_ES.pdf
- Publication "Education for all 2030": http://fieca.org.sv/publicaciones/educacion.pdf
- Identifying sources of funding in El Salvador: http://fieca.org.sv/publicaciones/identificacion.pdf
- Leaflet of the "6% Yes, for Education" campaign: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/triptico.pdf
- Video of the "6% Yes, for Education" campaign: https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=-APkmbFb0aQ
- "El Salvador Educado" Plan: http://dialogoelsalvador.com/dialogo_sv/admin/uploads/documentos/galerias/3c9b0-el-salvador-educado.compressed.pdf



REPT advocates for the approval and publication of an act that regulates school fees

Regroupement Education pour Toutes et Tous (REPT) is a coalition of social movements and organizations of Haiti working together to build a permanent coordination, with strategic actions to promote the right to free, public and quality education.

Year of foundation of REPT: 2003.

Number of members: 50.

Geographical scope: 9 departments of Haiti.

Work focus: defend and promote the human right to public, free, fair and inclusive quality education, through the following initiatives: raising awareness about the importance of public education and Education 2030 Agenda/SDG4; social mobilization; advocacy for the achievement of Education 2030 Agenda/SDG4; defense of adequate and fair financing for public education; provide civil society the opportunity to participate in debates and educational policy-making processes, such as the Local Education Group and Municipal Commissions of Education; promote free education and fight against the commodification of education.

CLADE member since: 2007.

Contact details:

Website: www.repthaiti.org

• Facebook: Rept Haiti

In Haiti, around 80% of schools are private, mostly administered by non-governmental organizations, for-profit institutions or religious entities. Apart from enrolment and monthly fees, private schools charge an annual fee for the maintenance of general school infrastructure. Families must also pay school uniforms, teaching material, exams, graduation and end-of-year parties, and tutoring classes when children do not reach a satisfactory standard in the exams. Enrolment fees have increased dramatically year after year, seriously restricting access to education and with a strong economic impact on families.

In the face of this scenario, in 2009, former senator of Haiti, Kely Bastien, presented a bill to regulate the school fees charged by the private sector. At that time, the president was Réne Préval, who had a social democratic political orientation and the majority of seats in Parliament, so the School Fees Act was approved by the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, in the same year.

This initiative created an enabling environment to incorporate the discussion on the role of the private sector in education into the public agenda, and to demand its regulation as well as the strengthening of public education systems.

Thus, during the mandate of President Michel Joseph Martelly (2011 - 2016), education stood out in the public debate and was a priority policy for the government, launching the bill of the National Education Fund (FNE, by its French acronym) and the Free and Compulsory Universal Schooling Program (PSUGO, by its French acronym).

However, the approval of the School Fees Act, establishing obligations, was widely opposed by part of the private sector, so the presidency did not publish it, and, thus, postponed its entry into force.

WHAT ARE THE FNE AND THE PSUGO?

The purpose of the FNE is to increase education financing and to guarantee access to free education by charging five cents per minute of international calls received in Haiti and 1.50 dollars for each incoming or outgoing wire transfer. On the other hand, the FNE bill established financing through distribution of vouchers, allocating these resources to private schools and its management was strongly controlled by the presidency. After the mobilization of several stakeholders, leading to beneficial changes in public education and a tighter control by the Ministry of Education, the bill that shapes its structure and operation was finally passed by the Chamber of Deputies in 2012, and by the Senate in June 2017.

PSUGO is a school grant program through which the government supports the two first stages of basic (primary) education in private or public schools. Its aim is to guarantee access to education of lower income students. Currently, the program has turned out to be a failure due to wrongdoings and corruption, such as the creation of "phantom" schools to take advantage of the program, misuse of funds, delayed payments, allocations below those agreed and falsification of data.



"Since the submission of this bill to parliament, the private sector has opposed, meeting senators and deputies to discuss the content of the law. They argued that it was not necessary to pass it because there was already a norm in place. After the law was passed, the private sector campaigned to prevent its publication which was postponed for two presidential terms", tells William Thélusmond, general coordinator of REPT.

After a persistent popular mobilization, the presidency decided to publish the law, in January 2017.

Advocacy for approval and publication of the law

Since 2009, REPT has engaged in some advocacy activities and social mobilization across the country to confront the private sector that opposed the law regulating school fees, to provide visibility to the RTE and to push for the approval and publication of the law.

First, the bill submitted to Congress in 2009 was recovered and copies were made to distribute among different grassroot constituencies which are members of REPT, such as teachers' unions and parents in different parts of the country. Besides, meetings were held with education communities and social movements to present the bill, discuss it and collect recommendations to enrich the document with a civil society perspective. Likewise, REPT promoted press conferences to make the case for the approval of the bill and to influence public opinion.

In a second stage, the REPT secretariat organized meetings with deputies and senators to express the positions and recommendations collected, and to advocate for the approval of the law. During the meetings held across the country, REPT also encouraged participants to demand their representatives (deputies and senators) to vote in favor of the law approval.

"Our strategy was to influence public opinion, at national level, first, in favor of the vote and, second, in favor of the publication of the law. This was replicated in many regions of the country, to make organizations (not only REPT and teachers' unions) voice their opinion in favor of the law, which contributed significantly to its approval", Thélusmond says.

Persuasion and persistence for the publication of the law

Throughout the process leading to the publication of the regulatory framework by the President's Cabinet, in January 2017, REPT's strategy was to keep the importance of the law in the public agenda and to demand its publication from the grassroots. For more than seven years, REPT has used every opportunity to underscore the need to publish the law, whether at meetings with education communities, social movements and organizations or at press conferences.

Likewise, in response to the lobby carried out by the private sector to avoid the publication of the law, REPT looked for allies at the National Palace and urged them to request the transitional government to publish the norm. One of the allies was former Senator Kely Bastien, who was Secretary of Health at that time and oversaw the relations of the cabinet of President Jocelerme Privert. REPT held a formal meeting with Bastien and managed to have bilateral conversations as well with other members of the president's cabinet, to demand the publication of the law.

"Democratic progress in the country and in society is essential to defend the RTE and to guide those in parliament and the presidency. Sometimes there is more room and we need to harness it to move forward regulatory frameworks", says REPT coordinator.

After the publication of the law, there was a strong reaction from the private sector and a huge public debate on this issue. In this context, REPT, together with teachers' unions and other players, drafted position papers and press releases, and had interviews with media welcoming the publication of the law and reinforcing the importance to protect families from excessive fees charged by private actors.

Likewise, to provide visibility to the law and make it known, REPT made a massive dissemination of its content throughout the country and organized meetings with the education community and local authorities, urging them to apply the law. REPT also asked the minister of Education and Vocational Training, professor Pierre Josué Agénor, to take a public stand on the mandatory nature of the law and demanded the creation of mechanisms of implementation and verification of compliance with the law.

WHATS DOES THE SCHOOL FEES ACT ESTABLISH?

The law, submitted to parliament by Senator Kely Bastien, regulates the payment of school fees and extracurricular activities as well as the frequency in which fees are increased in private schools of the country. The new norm requires the payment of school fees in local currency and prohibits to charge a re-enrolment fee, with a security deposit maximum of 500 gourdes (7.57 dollars) required by private education centers. The school fees charged in education centers in Haiti are used to pay access to drinking water, electricity, educational materials, sanitary and sports facilities, insurance and toilets.

Additionally, the new act establishes that private schools must pay sales taxes for school supplies and uniforms sold in their premises. In the case of extracurricular activities, the norm prohibits teachers to tutor any student of his/her class without the prior consent of the student's parents and the pedagogic council of the education center.

Sharing lessons learned

- There are many economic and profit interests in education, which do not necessarily support its
 realization as a human right, universalization, inclusion or equity. Civil society participation
 is vital to defend this right, either in the formulation of laws or in the coordination of
 different sectors and areas of the country to agree on common demands. The maximum
 diversity of players around a demand is the key to its success.
- Raising awareness and communication processes are essential to inform people about national issues and public policies enforced, and to enable their mobilization and coordination for the improvement of education.
- Advocacy processes to change regulations are medium and long-term, thus, we need an ongoing fight to achieve concrete outcomes.

Challenges ahead

- Demand full compliance with the law and urge the Ministry of Education to draft provisions
 for its implementation, with the constant involvement of unions and social movements
 from different areas. For this purpose, REPT will continue mobilizing people, disseminating
 information about the law and promoting debates to oversee its compliance by the Ministry,
 competent authorities and schools.
- Keep an eye on the private sector actions and strategies to weaken or nullify the law and, at the same time, be aware of people's demands to make sure any modification of the law responds to their needs instead of private interests.

LEARN MORE (materials are available in French):

School Fees Act: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/ley-de-tasas-escolares-de-Haiti.pdf

National Education Fund: http://www.sgcm.gouv.ht/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/ Avant-Projet-de-loi-portant-création-organisation-et-fonctionnement-du-Fonds-National-pour-l'Éducation-FNE.pdf

PSUGO: http://menfp.gouv.ht/psugo.htm

Use and application of the law: https://lenouvelliste.com/m/public/index.php/article/176179/decision-de-justice-contre-violation-de-la-loi-sur-les-frais-scolaires60



Foro Dakar contributes to the incorporation of Education 2030 Agenda into the new education sector strategic plan

Foro Dakar Honduras (FDH) is a civil society entity that provides a space to reflect, analyze and make proposals to monitor progress of education public policy and for the promotion of the human right to quality, free and inclusive public education, within the framework of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, signed by the government of Honduras.

Year of foundation: 2004.

Number of members: 24 civil society organizations.

Geographical scope: national level.

Key focus areas: promote a national agreement among different civil society players to commit them to work for the achievement of SDG4; raise awareness and obtain the commitment of different stakeholders (teachers' unions, professors, authorities, deputies of the National Parliament) to work for the full exercise of the RTE; raise the awareness of society and state decision-makers about the need to increase the budget for education and the efficient use of these resources; promote research as a tool to make proposals; develop socialization and awareness campaigns around Education 2030 Agenda through radio media.

CLADE member since: 2013.

Contact details:

• Website: http://forodakarhonduras.info

Facebook: Foro Dakar Honduras

• Twitter: @ForoDakarHn

Since 2010, the government of Honduras has implemented some measures to reorganize the structure of public administration. One of them was to change the role of the National Forum of Convergence (FONAC, by its Spanish acronym) that used to receive, organize and submit to the Council of Ministers and to the Legislative, civil society contributions and recommendations about bills and public policies, including the educational ones. Since then, FONAC has taken on the role of civil society forum in charge of overseeing the compliance with Country Vision and Nation Plan, instead of specifically interacting and taking decisions about education policies.

On the other hand, the National Education Council (CNE, by its Spanish acronym) was created by the government (provided in the Fundamental Education Act passed in 2012), as part of the actions to promote an education reform in the country. This council oversees policy-making for pre-school, basic and secondary education, formal and non-formal, public or private education, and is also responsible of convening the education sector, to engage in dialogue about education. The council is legally authorized to organize a Technical Advisory Committee formed by civil society organizations (CSOs) and government institutions working in the education field. It represents the main locus of debate and decision-making of education policies in the country and Foro Dakar Honduras has joined this committee.

Despite the existence of the abovementioned opportunities of social participation, the dialogue between the government and the education community has not always been fluent and easy in Honduras. Historical protests and strikes demanding more salary and payment of outstanding salaries organized by teachers' associations, added to the government's non-compliance with agreements, has caused, until today, a feeling of distrust among people. Likewise, there has been strong repression and criminalization of students and, in 2017, the Counterterrorism Act was approved, whereby participants of social rallies are criminalized.

WHAT ARE THE COUNTRY VISION AND NATION PLAN?

They are documents drafted in 2009 based on a consultation process with different groups of the Honduran society and they include the expectations regarding development and the specificities of different regions across the country. The documents seek to plan comprehensive development and economic growth in the country, setting strategic lines that should be accomplished by 2038. Both became law by Decree 286-2009, in force since February 2, 2010.

In terms of education, the goal of Country Vision is "Honduras without extreme poverty, educated and healthy, with consolidated social welfare systems"; the goal is to "increase the average years of schooling to 9 years" by 2038. The 2010-2022 Nation Plan comprises strategic lines, goals and indicators that public administrations must follow to achieve the Country Vision. The plan seeks to eradicate poverty, improve education and health by 2022, expecting 100% of public education centers to have achieved 200 school days and over 70% of education coverage from kindergarten to secondary education.

In 2016, within this context and with a view to increase participation in the conversations with the government, Foro Dakar Honduras decided, apart from being part of CNE, to engage in the drafting process of the 2017-2030 Education Sector Strategic Plan (PESE, by its Spanish acronym) with the technical and financial support of the Global Partnership for Education (GPE), a multilateral fund seeking to strengthen education systems in developing countries. At that moment, the government recovered and restructured the Local Education Group (LEG), formed by technical experts, education institutions, CSOs, donors, government entities and secretariats, as well as the World Bank.

Advocacy for participation in the Local Education Group

With the purpose of participating in the meetings of the Local Education Group, on one hand, Foro Dakar Honduras sought CLADE's support to establish contact with the national representative in GPE, Sandra Maribel Sánchez, Vice-Minister of Education at that time. At the same time, the Foro sent a letter to the World Bank, in charge of the administration of GPE resources in the country and able to influence LEG's decision-making processes, to ask for information about the group and to request participation. Finally, with the support of the Executive Secretariat of CNE and FONAC, Foro Dakar Honduras requested the minister of General Coordination of State an invitation to participate in the LEG, and in 2016 the Foro was able to participate in the meetings of elaboration of the Education Sector Strategic Plan.

"The Foro asked to be part of the LEG to influence education policies, but decided to join without becoming a member, to maintain its political autonomy because the group might approve issues contrary to the Foro's position, such as the privatization of education. The main strategy of the Foro is to use dialogue rather than confrontation. In FONAC we have used this form of participation for some years with great success", says Aminta Herrera, coordinator of Foro Dakar Honduras.

To elevate its participation in the LEG, duly representing the voice of education communities and of the most marginalized groups, apart from collecting the contributions of its members in eight regions of the country (among them, organizations of indigenous, Afro-Honduran, feminist people and persons with disabilities) the Foro organized workshops with students, parents, teachers and teachers' unions, in particular, the Association of Pedagogues.

Jointly with teachers, it fostered a process of analysis, reflection and training on the Honduran education context and Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4; how and where the teachers are in this context and which are the necessary measures to improve education. At the meetings with students and family members, participants engaged in deep reflection and interpretation of the education problem in the country, and the Education 2030 Agenda and Sustainable Development Goal 4 were presented. During those workshops, participants were divided into work groups to develop case studies on which points they consider most important to be developed by the State to achieve SDG 4 and to solve the problems of public education.

The issues raised by the education communities were agreed and systematized, and, afterwards, presented by the Foro to the Executive Secretariat of CNE and the technical team in charge of the proposal of the 2017-2030 Education Strategic Plan.



"The students' ability to describe their situation, the limitations of the system and present alternatives, when given the opportunity, is impressive. This makes us feel satisfied and indicates we are on the right track", says Herrera.

Among the key demands made by teachers and students we found more quality, through better teachers' training and hiring process, school premises, distribution and use of adequate teaching materials and increase the budget for public education. Free provision was also widely discussed with parents. Another issue addressed as an obstacle for school completion was insecurity and violence in education environments.

Through this process, some of the issues raised have been incorporated in the PESE: teachers' training and hiring; promotion of intercultural bilingual education; and provision of a public and free education. However, the free provision mentioned in the Plan only refers to enrolment and monthly fees, without considering the cost of teaching materials, transportation and meals.

These are other relevant issues that were not considered: safety in education environments and gender issues. Unfortunately, the document included some contributions regarding the assessment of teachers' performance and standardized tests, despite the resistance of Foro Dakar Honduras and other organizations and movements.

The 2017-2030 Education Strategic Plan is deemed to be the result of a participatory effort and its content was approved by the government for the 2018-2021 period.

Sharing lessons learned

- For the debate of the Education Strategic Plan, contributions had to be prepared and offered in many different areas of the national education policy, demanding time and qualified people. It was an intense process, it required exclusive dedication and demanded two or three persons working exclusively on this.
- The strategy adopted was to dialogue and discuss respectfully. It is not about confronting, but proposing and presenting evidence, proposals and alternatives. During negotiations with the State, it is important to present why and where education policies are failing and, at the same time, we must make proposals to deal with these challenges.
- The fact that Foro Dakar Honduras participated from the beginning in the drafting of the plan, enabled the incorporation of its proposals into the document.
- The actions and the existing regulatory frameworks must remain visible as well as the content of international agreements ratified by the State, to inform and empower citizens for the defense of their rights.

Challenges ahead

- Focus on the follow-up of the implementation of the Plan.
- Continue with the socialization of Education 2030 Agenda and ensure that people in general and, particularly, teachers, students and new government officials know about the Education Strategic Plan, take ownership of its content and actions for its fulfillment.
- Advocate for budget allocation to implement the Education Strategic Plan and for the establishment of implementation guidelines, overseeing and ensuring they are followed.
- Participate in the definition and adoption of indicators to monitor the plan and check whether its content can be reworded and improved.

LEARN MORE:

- National Forum of Convergence (FONAC): http://fonac.hn/
- Proposals of Foro Dakar Honduras for the 2017-2030 Education Sector Strategic Plan: http://forodakarhonduras.info/posicionamiento-ante-lapropuesta-preliminar-del-plan-estrategico-del-sector-educacion-2017-2030/
- **Learn about GPE:** https://www.globalpartnership.org/
- How Local Education Groups work: https://www.globalpartnership.org/ about-us/how-we-work



FEDH-IPN cordinates civil society for the creation of a National Education Agenda

The advocacy work carried out by **Foro de Educación y Desarrollo Humano de la Iniciativa por Nicaragua (FEDH-IPN)** resulted in the current General Education Act, the National Education Plan and the follow-up of international agreements signed by the government of Nicaragua. The Foro is present in 41 municipalities and has an Education Observatory that measures progress in terms of accessibility, quality and relevance of education.

Year of foundation: 1996.

Number of members: 20. The coalition coordinates with and is formed by civil society organizations, individuals, universities, social movements and local consultation spaces known as Municipality Education Boards. The role of these local entities is to be the focal points of FEDH-IPN in the municipalities of: Laguna de Perlas, Kukra Hill, Nueva Guinea, Camoapa, Estelí, La Trinidad, Matagalpa, Jinotega, Masaya, San Lucas, Somoto, Telica, Quezalguaque, San Rafael del Sur and Ciudad Sandino. Red Nacional de Juventud, Mesa Nacional LGBTI and Red de Desarrollo Sostenible (RDS) are among FEDH-IPN members.

Geographical scope: The coalition operates in the western area, the northern area and in a significant part of the southern area, but, to a lesser extent, in the Caribbean coast of Nicaragua.

Key focus areas: the human development approach and the human right to education.

CLADE member since: 2008.

Contact details:

Website: www.fedh-ipn.org

• Twitter: @fedhipn

• Facebook: Foro de Educación y Desarrollo Humano Fedh-Ipn

The history of FEDH-IPN is linked to the creation of education agendas at municipal and national level. The *Foro* was created in 1996, in a context of general elections in Nicaragua, when different organizations joined efforts to elaborate a proposal of a National Education Agenda. Since then, in each national or municipal election, the coalition mobilizes to create an agenda connected to the needs of the population.

In 2016, José Daniel Ortega Saavedra was re-elected as president, and his wife Rosario María Murillo Zambrana, as Vice-President, both candidates of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN, by its Spanish acronym). FSLN also won the municipal elections the following year.

These two processes prompted FEDH-IPN, in partnership with Fe y Alegría Nicaragua and Instituto de Educación de la Universidad Centroamericana (IDEUCA), to spearhead the creation of the "Agenda to Transform National Education", a proposal to improve education in the country, finally launched in November 2017.

The purpose of the agenda is to contribute to critical and proactive reflection about the situation of national education, encouraging broad participation of different social sectors, to extend the levels of social responsibility in the educational transformations that the country needs, and inviting the Ministry of Education (MINED, by its Spanish acronym) to be part of this proposal.

A CITIZENS' PROPOSAL FOR EDUCATION

The "Agenda to Transform National Education" analyzes different elements of the situation of education in Nicaragua. Its structure is based on core themes that show the challenges and educational opportunities in different forms and stages of education, addressing, at the same time, their relation with teachers' training and recognition, human and socio-economic development, education policy management and accountability towards citizens, as well as their consistency with international agreements signed by the country.

These are the 21 core themes: **1.** Economic growth model; **2.** Current education model; **3.** Human development model and new educational model; **4.** The education reform needed; **5.** Education policies; **6.** Quality of education model; **7.** The right to education; **8.** The demographic window in education; **9.** Education in the Caribbean coast; **10.** Technical education; **11.** Teaching profession; **12.** Teachers' training; **13.** Education management; **14.** Adult education; **15.** Primary education policies; **16.** Rural and multigrade education; **17.** Educational inclusion and new educational sensitivity; **18.** Teaching-learning-assessment methods; **19.** Information, monitoring and assessment of education - Accountability towards society; **20.** Educational legislation and world summit agreements; **21.** Research, systematization and publications.

The document is focused on education in its early, basic, secondary, adult, special and technical stages as well as on teachers' training. It is based on different contributions, proposals and experiences collected in the consultation forums with social groups representing Nicaraguan society and education communities. It has 21 core themes, including inputs from researches on the situation of education in the country.

Consultation with education communities as a strategy

Between 2016 and 2017, a consultation was launched with teachers, students, parents in different parts of the country, inviting them to reflect and propose what was necessary to improve education.

"It was a very enriching process and we could reach communities in remote areas, far from the capital. We found very interesting proposals, so we organized an agenda with 21 themes, analyzing the situation of each one and making proposals to improve them", says Jorge Mendoza, coordinator of FEDH-IPN.

The relation between the organizations that promoted the consultation and the education communities made it possible. Participated in the process staff from private and public schools where these organizations were present or where they had a close relation with teachers, the union or the municipal education delegate.

Challenges and solutions

During the consultation we observed that most teachers were poorly informed about the situation of the education policy, and about national and regional education plans. In this regard, they needed more information to make more significant contributions and propose education changes.

Another challenge of the process was the opposition of education authorities to the consultation. The Agenda was promoted in a context in which authorities have closed their doors to civil society organizations in a way that none official communication with the MINED was possible at any level.

"We found barriers to convince education authorities that our proposal intended to contribute to the ongoing efforts of the Ministry of Education", says Mendoza.





As MINED did not allow the promoters of the consultation to enter schools, teachers and students were interviewed in parks, at their homes and in other public spaces.

"A planned strategy to reach people was important to build the agenda and strengthen FEDH-IPN", explained the coordinator of the coalition.

Outcome

As the agenda was developed in alliance with other organizations and in connection with education communities, this process has strengthened the convening power and leadership capacity of FEDH-IPN.

The initiative also allowed the organizations promoting the agenda to deal with themes that are not typically addressed in the debate on education policy in the country, and to be aware of important challenges in national education. Thus, these struggles and challenges were able to be systematized and given public visibility.

For example, initially the consultation would only address basic and secondary education, but throughout this process, they realized they needed to deal with other issues, stages and modalities of the education system. Many young people from rural areas or from outside Managua, mentioned the importance of technical education and adapting the curriculum to rural areas and small towns. Other participants mentioned the need to guarantee a multicultural bilingual education throughout the country, particularly in the Caribbean coast. Therefore, both issues were incorporated into the document.

Although there was no support from the State, the consultation process started to exert influence on the government and opened dialogue between civil society and education authorities. Officials have talked to national media and mentioned the initiative, but without formally addressing the proposals of the agenda.

The agenda has become a reference document to identify the problems of education in the country and a civil society proposal to improve it.

Sharing lessons learned

- Coordination with education communities is key to legitimize and rate the proposals of a national coalition advocating for the human right to education.
- At times when citizens' participation is restricted, it is important to be creative and find the way to promote popular coordination and make expectations and proposals visible.
- In the consultation processes with education communities, it is important to be flexible and open to incorporate elements that were not initially considered, strengthening the relation at grassroot level.
- A high-quality document, produced using reliable sources and in consultation with even the most remote communities, cannot be ignored by government authorities.

Next steps

Back to back with the promotion of the Education Agenda, the Nicaraguan National Assembly carried out another consultation about education in the country, where FEDH-IPN was not invited to participate.

"We started a process of dissemination of our Agenda, to make it widely known and to be included in the national public agenda. Besides, we would like to develop a training process about the Agenda and how it can connect with government plans, increasing outreach and influencing official policies", indicates Mendoza.

In this sense, the findings of the consultation will be disseminated widely, among the National Assembly and MINED, but also among citizens in general. The coalition is developing communication and mobilization strategies through social networks and to spread the agenda through traditional media.

LEARN MORE:

- Proposal of the "Agenda to Transform National Education": https://drive.google.com/file/d/1kkZF3GA1ixmQwokRQNf0DxI75la46pWG/view
- Impact of the agenda in El Nuevo Diario, a national newspaper:
 https://www.elnuevodiario.com.ni/nacionales/445487-proponen-atencion-especial-escuelas-adolescentes-o/
 https://www.elnuevodiario.com.ni/nacionales/445201-presentan-propuestatransformar-agenda-educativa-n/



CPDE contributes to the assessment of the peruvian government in the face of the Universal Periodic Review

Campaña Peruana por el Derecho a la Educación (CPDE) is a coalition of civil society organizations that defends the right to education and embraces the following principles: quality, equity, inclusion and more and effective financing for free public education in Peru. Actions revolve around influence on education policies, information and awareness about the situation of education in the country and civic training of children and adolescents.

Year of foundation: 2003.

Number of members: 20.

Geographical scope: 8 regions (Ayacucho, Cajamarca, Cusco, Huancavelica, Lambayeque, La Libertad, Lima and Piura).

Key focus areas: equity and inclusion in education; advocacy for education with gender equality; demand better training and salaries as well as adequate working conditions for teachers; addressing interculturality and gender as cross-cutting issues; defense of the RTE of persons with disabilities, young people and adults, indigenous people and other historically marginalized groups.

Contact details:

• Website: http://cpde.org.pe

• Facebook: CPDE

Researches on the situation of education in Peru reveal inequality and inequity, and this has hit especially hard small children, girls and women, persons with disabilities, indigenous people and other historically marginalized groups. Likewise, they reveal the negative impact of privatization on the realization of education as a human right. The biggest concern is that market rationale and private services in the public system are gaining ground and low-cost private schools and universities are growing.

Another concern is the existence of 26 high performance schools that are considered a financial priority by the State; investment on them is over five times higher than on regular schools, creating segregation and inequality among learners and education centers. Finally, the working conditions of teachers are sometimes precarious and their training is poor or is not up-to-date in terms of the commitments made by the State by signing the Education 2030 Agenda¹⁵.

CPDE has been supporting and following the development of these studies and analyses on the situation of the RTE at national level, and, based on their findings, in 2017, it decided to design and create, in partnership with other networks and civil society organizations, a "spotlight report" as a contribution to the assessment of the Peruvian government in the face of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR).

The initiative was implemented through the creation of a national civil society collective with regional outreach, known as the UPR Collective Peru and it was built on CPDE alliances with academics and different institutions having research and advocacy expertise on issues such as Youth and Adult Education (YAE), rural education, non-discrimination and early childhood care and education.

Spotlight report on education challenges and advancements in Peru

The report prepared by civil society, as a contribution to UPR, underscored pending issues for the realization of the RTE in the country, such as: education inequality, based on gender, race, ethnicity or territorial belonging; growth of private education and low-cost and low-quality schools targgetting low-income families; defunding public systems; demeaning the value of individuals in the education community, particularly teachers and education workers, labor precariousness and restrictions on unionization, autonomy and participation.

The document presented the following recommendations to the government:

- adopt immediate measures to eliminate existing inequalities, through policies to bridge gaps as a priority, through intersectoral work and between different government levels, and allocating equal shares of the budget to reach the most disadvantaged sectors;
- adopt adequate measures to eliminate discrimination and end violence against girls and women, ensuring equal rights to education;

¹⁵ Download the Education 2030 Framework for Action: http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002456/245656E.pdf



- move forward in terms of regulatory, political and budgetary frameworks to strengthen a free and quality public education system, to achieve progressively, at least, the international benchmark of 6% of GDP for education;
- implementation of policies regarding data collection and production of statistics on privatization of education, and analyze their impact on the RTE and other rights;
- develop and implement policies and practices designed to regulate and oversee private, basic and tertiary education, as well as oppose for-profit education.

Strategic alliances and learnings

Inter-institutional coordination established for the development of the spotlight report and assertive advocacy actions based on the content of the document were key elements. To that effect, the support that CPDE received from the United Nations office in Peru was essential. They offered training and put the coalition in contact with other organizations and civil society networks that were working on the elaboration of their own reports, focusing on non-discrimination and non-violence against girls and women.

For the creation of the document, the coordination and exchange with different stakeholders helped to collect more relevant data and recommendations for the government of Peru on different issues. CPDE focused and made a more solid contribution to the analysis on issues related to the RTE.

"The collection and presentation of updated official data was essential to show to which extent the RTE is realized in the country, and, at the same time, to base our demands on reliable information", informed Madeleine Zúñiga, CPDE coordinator.

CLADE supported the development of the spotlight report, offering UPR Collective Peru guidance in terms of format, language and content requirements to be followed to draft the report.



The document was also developed based on the experience of other CLADE members that participated in the review of their countries, such as *Campaña Nacional por el Derecho a la Educación* from Brazil¹⁶.

"Most importantly, the document must be able to summarize information; the report can have up to ten pages, but we had to reduce it to two for embassies and authorities that participated in the evaluation", explains Zúñiga.

Finally, institutional coordination was key to guarantee civil society presence in Geneva, Switzerland, where the headquarters of the UN Human Rights Council is located. Although CPDE did not have enough resources to participate, other members of UPR Collective were able to be there, which was fundamental to present civil society recommendations to the missions of the Members States that would review Peru.

Outcome and achievements

After its review, the government of Peru accepted 177 of 182 recommendations related to human rights, made by 69 delegations of UN Member States that participated in the review. Peru has "taken note" of the other five recommendations. Of the total number of recommendations, 19 referred to education and all of them were accepted by Peru.

The first three recommendations of the group formed by CPDE were accepted, but those related to privatization of education did not draw the attention of the reviewing Member States. The Peruvian Campaign took extra care to recommend a gender approach in the curriculum and the right to comprehensive sexual education, an issue raised by other organizations of UPR Collective.

¹⁶ Know more about the experience and advocacy results of the National Campaign of Brazil on page 40.

"Overall, we advocated for the education of Afro-descendent and indigenous women and girls, persons with disabilities, and inclusive education, as well as for the right to comprehensive sexual education. These recommendations were made by 18 countries, further adding the elimination of child labor and the reinsertion of migrants to the education system and their right to basic education, a relevant recommendation given the growing migration of Venezuelans to Peru", says Zúñiqa.

After the presentation of the spotlight report for the UPR, the UPR Collective Peru managed to obtain support to make a publication of the different civil society thematic contributions, which were sections of the spotlight report, but presented as friendly articles. Around one thousand copies of the document were handed out to organizations that are part of UPR Collective, for widespread dissemination among citizens and strategic stakeholders. The book was even presented at UN headquarters in Peru.

Next steps

In the future, UPR Collective Peru must keep strengthening to become the promoter of collective advocacy and follow up the recommendations made to the government, on a permanent and comprehensively basis, deciding which organizations of the Collective shall be in charge of convening, gathering and presenting common agendas for that follow-up.

Likewise, it is necessary to plan collectively the communication strategies and actions that will be used to inform and sensitize people in general as well as education communities and authorities, and to forge alliances with other institutions and civil society collectives to extend the outreach, the working opportunities and representativeness of UPR Collective Peru.

Sharing lessons learned

- Availability of official updated data is essential, as well as quality analyses and studies developed with this information, for the preparation of arguments underpinning the recommendations and issues raised for government. In this regard and most importantly, alliances must be forged with academics and researchers who are experts in data management.
- An equally important point is the elaboration of the spotlight report; its text must be clear, accurate, concise and succinct, following the UN terms and recommendations and, at the same time, presenting plenty of reliable information on the issues raised.
- The dissemination of the spotlight report and the recommendations addressing the government must be planned and carried out on a permanent basis, in the medium and long term, simultaneously with the advocacy actions and follow-up of the commitments made by the government.
- Interinstitutional alliances and the consolidation of an outspoken and representative civil society collective are key to strengthen communication with citizens, advocacy and dialogue with authorities within the framework of the UPR process.

LEARN MORE:

- **Spotlight report by UPR Collective Peru:** http://cep.com.pe/informe-para-el-tercer-ciclo-de-revision-de-peru-ante-el-mecanismo-del-epu/
- Friendly report with civil society recommendations: https://pt.scribd.com/document/372227975/
 Publicacion-Situacion-Ddhh-en-Peru-to-Upr-Feb2018#from_embed
- Report from countries participating in Peru's UPR, including all the recommendations presented to the government of Peru: http://kausajusta.blogspot.com/2018/03/peru-acepto-177-de-182-recomendaciones.html
- Specific recommendations made to Peru regarding education: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/EPU-Peru_recomendaciones-sobre-educacion.pdf
- Peru's official report in response to the UPR recommendations: http:// kausajusta.blogspot.com/2017/11/epu-informe-nacional-presentado-al.html



Foro Socioeducativo advocates for a national system of early childhood comprehensive care and protection

Foro Socioeducativo (FSE) is formed by institutions that debate on socio-educational issues, generate information and elaborate proposals to contribute to the improvement of education in Dominican Republic and the development of critical citizens, as well as building a rule of law.

Year of foundation: 2000.

Number of members: 15.

Geographical scope: FSE does not have offices outside Santo Domingo, the capital of Dominican Republic, but its actions are carried out in the areas where member organizations are based or work, mainly in the southern and northern regions of the country.

Key focus areas: since its creation, the Foro has typically promoted reflection and the creation of proposals coordinated by civil society for the improvement of education in Dominican Republic.

CLADE member since: 2010.

Contact details:

• Website: http://www.forosocioeducativo.org.do/

• Facebook: Foro Socioeducativo

The General Education Act N° 66-97 of Dominican Republic, approved in 1997, sets forth that education is a human right and establishes universal education provision since an individual is 3 years old. However, by 2017, the country did not have yet a specific public policy for Early Childhood Comprehensive Care (ECCC), and this accounts for the current education gap in early childhood. According to up-to-date figures from the website of the National Institute for Early Childhood Comprehensive Care (INAIPI, by its Spanish acronym), 517 childcare centers are operating under its coordination, assisting 152,771 children¹⁷ in early childhood age, representing 26.3% of the children between 3 and 5 years old¹⁸.

It was only in 2012 that the Executive Power enacted decree N° 491-12, whereby the General Department of Special Programs (DIGEPEP, by its Spanish acronym) was created, under the Ministry of Presidency. One of its roles was to coordinate the implementation of the first national ECCC program, "Quisqueya Starts with You". At the same time, the following year, decree N° 102-13 was enacted, creating the National System of ECCC. Based on a broad consultation process with stakeholders from institutions and civil society, the Guidelines of the National Plan of ECCC were established, in line with the 2010-2030 National Strategy of Development, and INAIPI was created, forcing the decentralization of the National System of Protection of Children and Adolescents that was, until that moment, under the National Council of Childhood and Adolescence (CONANI, by its Spanish acronym).

These measures enabled progress towards the consolidation of institutionality of the public policy on ECCC. However, it was still vulnerable to governmental changes, because it relied on presidential decrees, at risk of being regressively and unilaterally repealed or modified by the Executive Power. In 2016, to avoid potential setbacks, FSE and other groups that coordinate and mobilize civil society considered strategic to focus advocacy actions on the drafting process of the preliminary draft of the bill of Intersectoral Coordination and Regulation for Early Childhood Comprehensive Care and Development, to strengthen the institutional framework of this policy.

FSE participation in the consultation process on the preliminary draft of the bill

The review process of the preliminary draft of the bill was led by DIGEPEP and in December 2013 a first workshop to share the document was organized with the attendance of civil society representatives, the Presidential Technical Commission on Early Childhood (in charge of following up the National Plan goals in terms of ECCC) and the Early Childhood Advisory Board (a coordination space between government institutions, civil society and international bodies for the development of policies, programs and initiatives addressing the population aged 0 - 5), as well as legal scholars, experts on the issue of governmental sector and UNICEF, among others. The observations made were incorporated by DIGEPEP in February 2014 and they resumed the review process in 2015, holding four meetings of review and coordination promoted by the Subcommittee of Institutionality, under the Presidential Technical Commission on Early Childhood, and three workshops were held attended by representatives from: Ministry of Education (MINERD), CONANI, National Council of Social Security (CNSS), Young People with Don Bosco/Coalition of NGOs for Childhood, INAIPI and DIGEPEP.

¹⁷ Source: https://www.inaipi.gob.do/transparencia/index.php/estadisticas-institucionales/category/108-estadisticas-2018. Information updated by April 30, 2018.

¹⁸ The projection of population aged 3 -5 is 580,254, National Bureau of Statistics (ONE, by its Spanish acronym) - 2018.

Until 2016, FSE had never been invited to participate in consultations although some of its members connected to the Early Childhood Advisory Board and the Coalition of NGOs for Childhood had already participated. By mid-2016, FSE submitted a request to DIGEPEP to join the process, aiming to synergize efforts with the Advisory Board and the Coalition of NGOs, and, thus, amplify the voice of civil society organizations.

From July 2016 to July 2017, three new consultation workshops were organized, where the preliminary draft of the bill was carefully reviewed.

FSE made the first recommendations on September 8, 2016 and, afterwards, made an analysis jointly with the Early Childhood Advisory Board, to consolidate the contributions of the organizations that are part of those groups. The document was handed to the executive director of DIGEPEP, and its recommendations were shared with technical staff of that department and with the external consultant Dorina López, in charge of drafting the proposal.

In September 2017, DIGEPEP sent the last version of the preliminary draft of the bill to FSE and to the Early Childhood Advisory Board, and the result of the assessment was that out of the 28 proposals presented, 22 were incorporated into the preliminary draft of the bill either fully or partially.

"The duration and depth of the consultation was possible due to the strong advocacy actions carried out by FSE, which requested DIGEPEP to extend the process and offered to contribute with its technical skills, in pursuit of improving progressively the text of the preliminary draft of the bill. Apart from participating in the workshops, FSE communicated and held meetings with DIGEPEP, and coordinated civil society organizations to agree on the recommendations", affirms Silvio Minier, former member of the coordination team and representative of Plan International Dominican Republic at the FSE.



Civil society contributions to the preliminary draft of the bill

Following the structure of the preliminary draft of the bill, FSE and the Advisory Board presented the following recommendations:

- Reinforce the State responsibility as main guarantor of the rights of children and adolescents;
- Extend the references to national legislation, international covenants and recommendations from international human rights bodies;
- Ensure consistency between the "purpose of the act" and the first principle of the Code of Protection of the Rights of Children and Adolescents (Law 136-03)¹⁹;
- Place more emphasis on the State obligation to provide ECCC services for the most vulnerable children and adolescents;
- Include the following principles: universality, indivisibility and interdependence of rights; the best interests of the child; inclusion and non-discrimination; survival and development; the right to voice opinions and be heard; universal accessibility; equity; accountability and priority;
- Clarify the oversight, shared management and parental care terms;
- Prevent the modification of the National Governing Board of CONANI from undermining the representation of churches, civil society, unions and the private sector in this council;
- Establish useful Expert Technical Commissions to support the work of the National Governing Board of CONANI:
- Establish more clear functions of stewardship, regulation/supervision, authorization, accreditation and control of private ECCC providers;
- Ratify and strengthen the stewardship role of CONANI;
- Establish the assignation of CONANI and INAIPI to the Ministry of the Presidency;
- Make a conceptual difference between the categories of Sectoral Services and ECCC Services;
- Incorporate availability, accessibility, and adaptability criteria in the provision of services, with special attention on article 31 regarding the ages of the children who would benefit from ECCC services financed by Social Security. In the Social Security system, the coverage period is 45 days after the child is born up to 5 years old, instead of being from birth up to 6 years old;

¹⁹ This principle establishes the objective of the code. The objective of the code is to guarantee the full and effective exercise and enjoyment of the fundamental rights of children and adolescents. For this purpose, the code defines and establishes the comprehensive protection of these rights regulating the role and relation of the State, society, families and individuals with children and adolescents from their birth to 18.

- Establish an ECCC information and data management system;
- Establish family planning services;
- Strengthen the connection of local structures of the protection system with the implementation of ECCC policies;
- Establish a process to transfer tools and skills to CONANI to take up the role of the National Council of Child Day Centers, that provides accreditations and oversees service providers;
- Strengthen the mandates of Law 136-03, in articles 448 and 449, regarding public financing of the National Protection System to use those funds for the implementation of the national ECCC policy and stop depending on the funds allocated to pre-tertiary public education;
- Address more broadly and with more specificity the role of INAIPI;
- Address the role of families and communities in the implementation of the policy;
- Establish a deadline for the enforcement of the act.

Specific outcomes

These are some of the key issues incorporated into the preliminary draft of the bill: a more clear objective; reinforcement of the role of the State as guarantor of the rights of the child; universality of access to ECCC, in line with the guiding principles of the Code of Protection of Children and Adolescents, particularly the most vulnerable ones; more clear roles, tasks and responsibility of oversight entities and service providers as well as concepts of the preliminary draft of the bill; establish the stewardship role of CONANI.

"However, the aspects that were not improved in the last version of the preliminary draft of the bill are presented as challenges and threats to the efficiency of the norm. These aspects are: financial dependency of programs on the funds allocated to pre-tertiary public education; complex relations between CONANI, INAIPI and MINERD, and between the sectoral coordination mechanisms for the implementation of the policy; the need to link local structures of the childhood protection system with the implementation of ECCC programs and programs to strengthen the disability approach; combination of the principles of higher vulnerability and territoriality in the execution of programs", evaluates Francisco Leonardo Feliz, a World Vision representative, at that time, of FSE.

Sharing lessons learned

- Bring together civil society organizations around a cause, embracing the identity as a group of coordination and advocacy, enhances the capacity to influence processes of dialogue and negotiation with the government.
- Timely participation in political processes requires knowledge about the advocacy channels and good relations with decision-makers. If FSE and the other organizations had not been alert, the initiative could have stagnated or move forward behind the back of civil society.

- Coordination and synergy with civil society and State stakeholders is key to draw the attention of decision-makers and to have a relevant participation in public policy-making.
- The influence on decision-makers depends on the technical skills to draft proposals, which enables participation in negotiation tables and constructive contributions.
- Consistent follow-up of different versions of the preliminary draft of the bill contributed to keep DIGIPEP's interest in pushing the consultation. The review of different versions of the text helped identify to which extent civil society proposals were incorporated.
- Most importantly, consensus must be built between different organizations and present legitimate joint proposals to government stakeholders that sponsor this process of dialogue.
 Fragmented criteria and individualism disqualify and have a negative impact on advocacy efforts.

Challenges ahead

The elaboration of a preliminary draft of the bill has represented, more than a consultation, a co-development effort that has resulted in a better-designed proposal but there is still room for improvement. The preliminary draft of the bill is in the hands of the Ministry of the Presidency of the Republic, which formally presented it to the Cabinet.

DIGEPEP has informed that in the forthcoming months, the preliminary draft of the bill will be submitted to the National Congress for approval and will be further enacted by the Executive Power. This roadmap implies risks of regression and delays. FSE will continue its advocacy efforts in the National Congress to succeed in turning the preliminary draft of the bill into an act and to advocate for the incorporation of relevant proposals that were not taken into consideration during the consultation process.

LEARN MORE:

- Last version of the preliminary draft of the bill: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/ley-de-ordenamiento-y-coordinacion.pdf
- Document with comments and observations to the proposal of a preliminary draft of the bill, drafted by FSE and the Early Childhood Advisory Board: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/comentarios-y-observaciones-a-ley.pdf
- Identification of civil society proposals fully, partially or not incorporated into the act: https://redclade.org/wp-content/uploads/analisis-de-propuestas-incorporadas.pdf

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