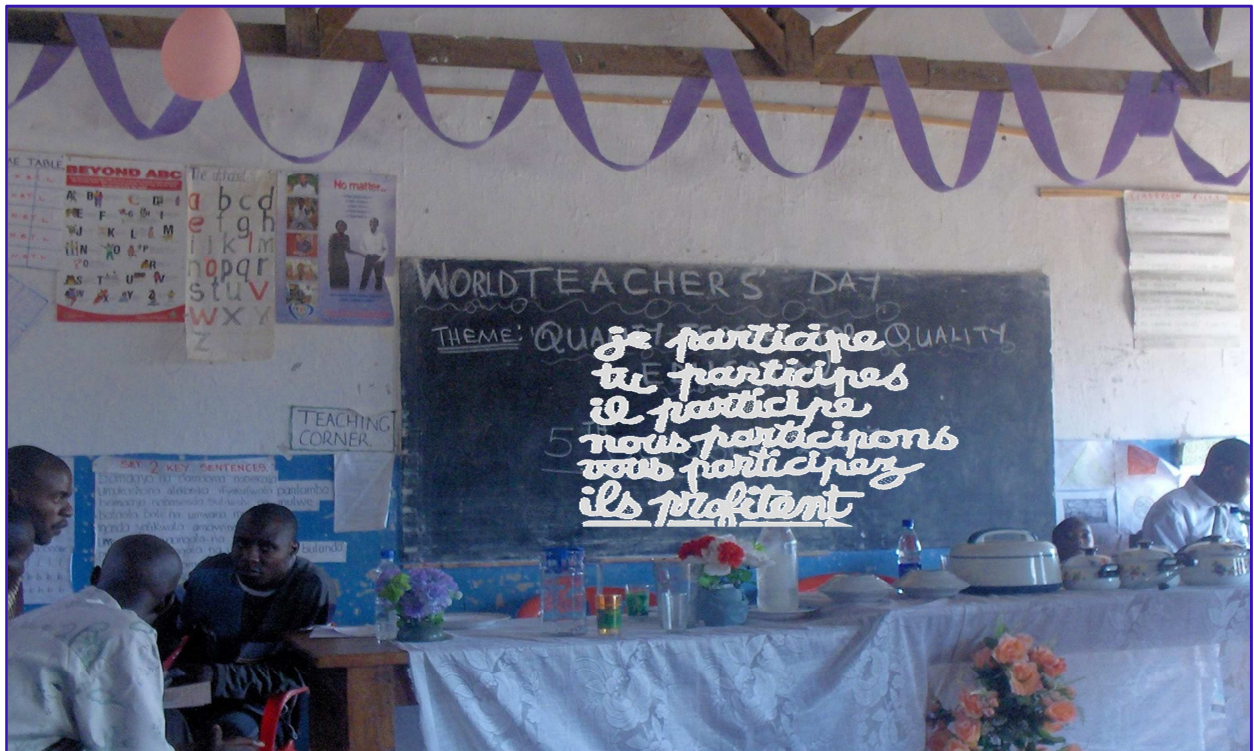


Zambian Teachers' Unions in education policy making

“They call us”



Erasmus University Rotterdam,

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Prologue

Hereby I present the final thesis for the completion of the master International Public Management and Public Policy. For me, the completion of this study is a dream that becomes realized.

In 2007 I decided to quit my job as a primary school teacher, to give up my house and to travel to Zambia. I had a wonderful experience and the opportunity to learn a little bit about the Zambian education system. Back in the Netherlands in 2008, I started the study public administration at the Erasmus University. It was a change, from teacher to student again, but I enjoyed and appreciated every minute of it. After finishing the premaster, I returned to my former profession for one year and worked at a primary school at Aruba. It was a wonderful time, but my motivation to complete the study was even stronger than the permanent sunshine. Now the end is in sight. In this thesis I tried to combine my fields of interests. Quality education will hopefully be a feature of my future job. At least I hope to be able to continue absorbing knowledge and passing on knowledge.

I can honestly say that I have worked hard to achieve this point, but I must give credits to many people who believed in my abilities and helped me succeed this master. First of all Nils, whose status changed from boyfriend to fiancée to husband in the course of this study, but all the time he remained my greatest supporter. My parents, who gave me the opportunity to conduct interviews in Zambia. My sisters and my friends, who, although in different phases of life, were interested in my activities and still want to be my friends despite the years of neglect of my side.

Further I am very grateful to Wouter van der Schaaf. He brought me into contact with the relevant persons in Zambia and made that I was welcome to interview them. And I am very grateful for all the advice and guidance of Geske Dijkstra and my second reader, Mrs. Beukenholdt. It was a pleasant process.

(The picture on the front page is taken during my time in Zambia, while I was celebrating International Teachers' Day with my colleagues. The text on the black board is copied from the article about Arnstein's ladder of participation.)

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Abbreviations

ANCEFA	African Network Campaign on Education For All
BESSIP	Basic Education Sub Sector Investment Program
BETUZ	Basic Education Teachers' Union of Zambia
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSPR	Civil Society for Poverty Reduction
DFID	Department for International Development
ESIP	Education Sector Investment Plan
FAWEZA	Forum for African Women Educationalists of Zambia
FNDP	Fifth National Development Plan
FTI	Fast Track Initiative
IDA	International Development Association
IIEP	International Institute for Educational Planning
IMF	International Monetary Fund
JAR	Joint Assessment Review
JASZ	Joint Assessment Strategy Zambia
MMD	Movement for Multiparty Democracy
MoE	Ministry of Education
MOESP	Ministry of Education Strategy Plan
MoF	Ministry of Finance
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NIF	National Implementation Framework
PRGF	Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAG	Sector Advisory Group
SETUZ	Secondary Education Teachers' Union of Zambia
SWAp	Sector Wide Approach
TU	Teachers' Union
UNIP	United International Independence Party
ZANEC	Zambia National Education Coalition
ZCTU	Zambia Congress of Trade Unions
ZNUT	Zambia National Union of Teachers

Abstract

Despite worldwide recognition of the fact that education is one of the most substantial affairs in life, many children lack access to quality education. Quality education begins with decent education policy. In order to improve the quality of education policies, contributions of those working in the field of education, should be encouraged. Under the Sector Wide Approach and later the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers, donors brought the concept 'civil society participation in policy making' to Zambia. This research is concerned with the participation of Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process. The description of the degree of participation is based on the ladder of Arnstein. She distinguishes eight rungs, from non participation to participants' power. The degree of Teachers' Unions participation in education policy making in Zambia is between these extremes. The participation is mainly placation, in other words: fake participation or symbolic participation. In some stages of the policy cycle, the degree of participation is higher or lower than placation. Besides degrees, there are the different types of participation. Participation of the Teachers' Unions of Zambia in the education policy making process is both performed alone and performed shared, within a coalition. And the participation is direct, face to face negotiations, and indirect, when other measures to influence the policy are practiced.

For the explanation of the degree of participation, the distinction is made between factors that promote or hamper the degree of participation at the level of the government, the level of the Teachers' Unions and the level of donors. At the level of the government, the factors that can promote or hamper participation, are the level of democracy, and the willingness and capacity of the government. At the level of the Teachers' Unions, the capacity in terms of institutionalization, legitimacy and concerning the participation process is investigated. The relationship between donors and the government, donors and the Teachers' Unions, and the activities of donors, are the factors that can determine the degree of participation at the level of donors. The factors hampering most, are the poor level of democracy in Zambia, expressed in limitations of the freedom of speech, and the unwillingness of some government officials. At the level of the Teachers' Unions, it turned out that they lack legitimacy within their own organization and capacities with regard to the participation process. At the level of donor; donors provide facilities to improve participation.

1. Introduction

In this introductory chapter, the structure of this thesis will be outlined. In the first paragraph the problem will be explored. The following paragraphs contain the objectives of the research, the central research question and sub questions. The main concepts will be shortly explained. The fifth paragraph gives an overview of the research design; how will the sub questions be answered and which methods will be used. The sixth paragraph justifies this research, in terms of academic and policy relevance. The last paragraph is a reading guide for the rest of this thesis.

1.1 Problem definition

'Too many of the world's children are out of school or receive spotty, sub-par educations. Each one of these children has dreams that may never be fulfilled, potential that may never be realized. By ensuring that every child has access to quality learning, we lay the foundation for growth, transformation, innovation, opportunity and equality.' (Unicef)

The worldwide consensus about the importance of education is reflected in various international treaties. The United Nations' Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, article 13, declares that everyone has the right to education. None of the 160 countries that ratified this Covenant, has made reservations to the phrase that 'primary education shall be compulsory and available free to all'. On the African level, the exact same text can be found in the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, which is ratified by all the members of the African Union. In 2000, 189 countries signed the Millennium Development Goals. The second goal is to achieve universal primary education by 2015. To achieve this, policies and finances must be put in place.

Education is seen as playing a key role in poverty reduction. 'Education lays a foundation of sustained economic growth' (World Bank). 'There is a close parallel between the rates of economic growth of a country and the overall level of education of its economically active population' (The British Department for International Development, 2000: 2). 'Education enhances lives', states Unicef: 'It ends generational cycles of poverty and disease and provides a foundation for sustainable development. A quality basic education equips boys and girls with the knowledge and skills necessary to adopt healthy lifestyles, protect themselves from HIV/Aids and take an active role in social, economic and political decision-making as they transition to adolescence and adulthood. Educated adults are more likely to have fewer children, to be informed about appropriate child-rearing practices and to ensure that their children start school on time and are ready to learn.'

No one will dispute the benefits of education, but despite all the acknowledgement, the reality is that 69 million children are missing out on quality education (Global Campaign for Education, 2011). In Sub-Saharan Africa one of three children who start, never complete basic primary school. What is the cause of this? Is it due to poor education policy? And then who is responsible for the policy?

One of the principles of the Dakar Statement of 2000, composed by the World Education Forum, is 'that education is a matter of national interest which requires the involvement of civil society. In this context specific mention is to be made of one group within civil society in particular: those working in the education sector'. The Communiqué of The International Conference on Teachers for Education For All in Africa, recommends to 'encourage at national level the convening of a social dialogue or inclusive policy dialogue with a holistic approach on the teacher issues and education financing'... 'Civil Society Organizations should work in partnership with governments to develop and implement policy frameworks' (Conference of Teachers EFA Africa, January 2011).

Participation of Civil Society Organizations in the policy making process is expected to have several advantages. First, the public involvement in governance can enhance the quality and legitimacy of decision making (Cornwall, 2003). Second, political participation can be an instrument to foster democracy (Fowler, 2000: VIII) and third, participatory approaches appear to bring about more equitable development (Cornwall, 2003: 1325). According to Molenaers and Renard (2006), civil society participation is, under certain conditions, able to generate three effects: broad based ownership, pro-poor effectiveness and accountability. And this could lead again, in accordance with the other authors, to the improvement of democracy and to more effective poverty reduction.

Mechanisms of consultation and participation of citizens are widely accepted principles of good governance (OECD, 2003). But how do these mechanisms work? Only the idea of participation of civil society will not lead to the listed benefits. Is the idea of participation not just a mandatory obligation of donors towards the receiving developing countries, an obligation that is, moreover, badly monitored (Molenaers & Renard, 2009)? Are the practices of the government such that participation is possible? And if governments would indeed start including Teachers' Unions, would unions themselves be fully equipped to take that role (Van der Schaaf, 2009)?

1.2 Research objective

As described in the problem definition, education policies can be improved by inviting knowledgeable stakeholders from civil society in the education policy making process. If integrated well, participation can lead to advantages. Both on the level of government as on the level of civil society organizations, there are factors that can hamper or promote participation. Also factors on the level of donors can influence the degree of participation, because donors can set conditions for assistance on the government, or provide assistance to the Teachers' Unions.

The object of this research is first to describe the extent to which the Teachers' Unions in Zambia participate in the education policy making process. Subsequently the extent of participation will be explained by looking at factors that determine the degree of participation.

1.3 Research question and sub questions

Deduced from the problem description and the research objective, the central research question is as follows:

Which factors determine the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process in Zambia?

The dependent variable is the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process.

According to Molenaers and Renard (2006), factors that may influence participation in policy making in developing countries are found at the level of government, the level of civil society and at the level of donors. Factors at these three levels are the independent variables.

Figure 1 displays the scheme of the independent variables leading to the dependent variable. Only few examples of the independent variables are given. More factors will be drawn from the theoretical framework in the second chapter. The line between the three different levels implies that there is an interactive process going on between them.

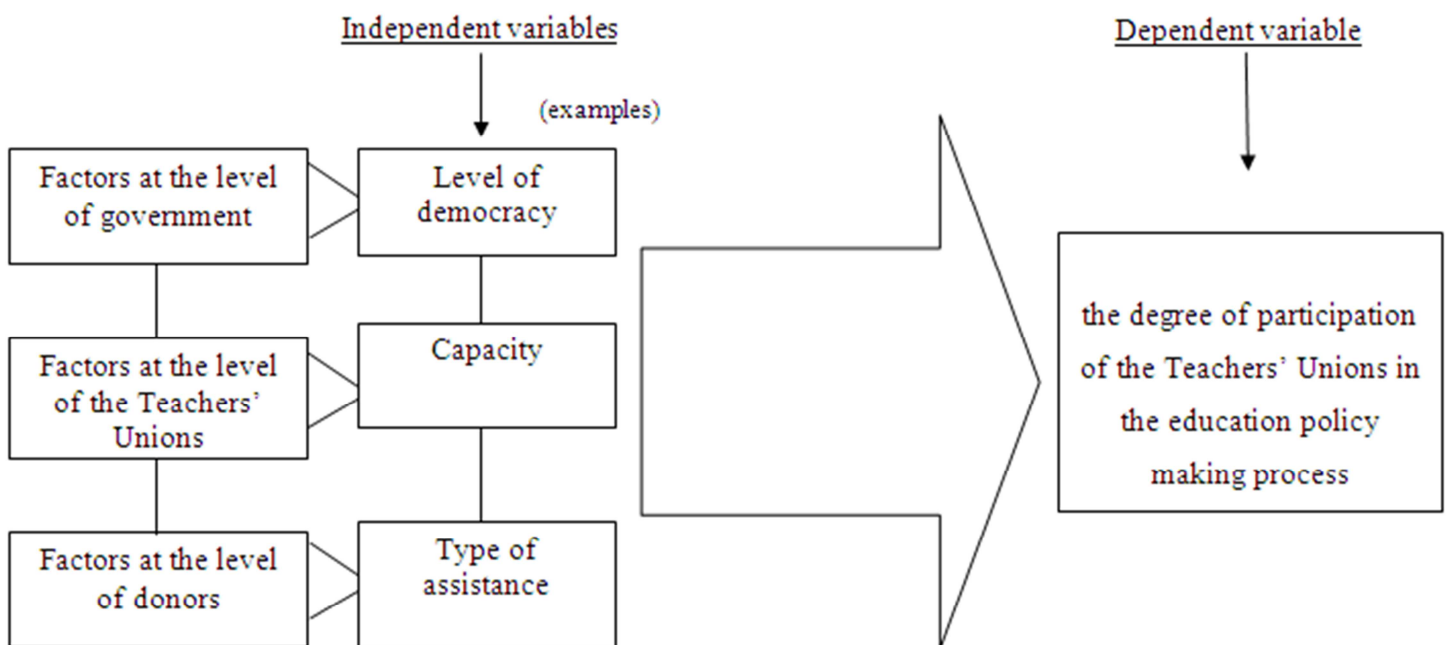


Figure 1: Relation independent and dependent variables

The sub questions, which cumulatively contribute to answering the central research question are:

1. What is participation in the policy making process?
2. Which factors determine the degree of participation in the policy making process?
3. How is the state of affairs regarding the factors that determine the degree of participation, at the level of the government, the Teachers' Unions and at the level of donors?
4. What is the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process in Zambia?

The first two sub questions are theoretical, the latter two are empirical. The third sub question describes the factors present that can determine the degree of participation, the fourth sub question describes the degree of participation in Zambia of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process. The conclusion will be an explanation of why the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making, is as it is.

1.4 Concepts

The two main concepts: participation in the policy making process and the factors that determine the degree of participation, will be elucidated shortly. The second chapter contains a comprehensive elaboration of these concepts.

1.4.1 Participation in the policy making process

In everyday language, participation means 'the action or fact of having or forming part of something' (Oxford English Dictionary). Participation can take place in various institutions, but this thesis focuses only on participation in the government policy making process. Participants can be a group of citizens, a Civil Society Organization, stakeholders, employees. The difference between the different types of participants is not that evident, the similarity is that they have common interests or goals. In this thesis, descriptions about citizens participation and civil society participation will be used. Citizen participation refers to different mechanisms for the public to exert influence on decision making processes. The World Bank describes civil society participation as part of the concept of good governance (Tomuschat, 2008: 62). The OECD differentiates the relationship between the government and its citizens in all stages of the policy making cycle as a one-way relation, two-way relation or a relation based on partnership (2003). According to Arnstein (1969), citizen participation is citizen power. 'It is a means by which citizens can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society' (p.216). Arnstein distinguishes eight types of participation, ascending from non participation to citizen control. The description of the input of citizens in the process determines the degree of citizen power. This distinction is criticized by Connor (1988). He lists the limitations of Arnstein's scheme and draws a new ladder which applies 'to a broad range of situations and whose elements have a cumulative effect' (p.250). Vroom and Jago (1988) describe various forms of participation, not ascending, but existing alongside each other: direct or indirect, formal or informal and performed alone or shared. They state that participation can also vary in scope and occur during one or more stages of the policy process.

Participation is said to have many advantages. As Arnstein puts it: 'Participation of the governed in their government is in theory the cornerstone of democracy; a revered idea that is vigorously applauded by virtually everyone' (1969: 216). Legitimacy, ownership, accountability, more quality, more effective poverty reduction, are words used to describe the possible benefits of participation. Irvin and Stansbury (2004) divide the positive effects of participation in advantages for the participants and advantages for the government, and advantages that occur during the decision process and at the outcome stage. Furthermore, they list for each subdivision the disadvantages. For the government for example, citizen participation in the decision making process can be very costly and time consuming. Negative side effects like this can occur if certain conditions are not sufficiently fulfilled (Molenaers & Renard, 2006: 10). This point brings up the next concept.

1.4.2 Factors determining the degree of participation

Participation is an engagement between participants; Civil Society Organizations, citizens, Trade Unions, private companies etcetera – and the government. All parties should be able to organize themselves as such that participation is possible. 'Deeper engagement of citizens and civil society does not mean that elected governments relinquish their responsibility to make decisions in the public interest, it does mean that they have to invest more time and energy in explaining their proposals and seeking citizens' views throughout the policy cycle' (OECD, 2003: 10). In this research, the focus lies on the participation of the Teachers' Unions in Zambia, as representing the participating actor.

Zambia is a low income country (World Bank) and was classified as a Heavily Indebted Poor Country and therefore receives aid from donors. 'Donors do not hesitate to impose consultations with civil society on governments as a condition for continued aid' (Molenaers & Renard, 2006: 7). Also in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the most recent one presented in August 2007, civil society participation is mandatory from the preparation stage up to the supervision and implementation. Donors can be bilateral, as in a foreign country's government; multilateral, for example the UN, or NGOs and private initiatives.

Factors pertaining to the mentioned actors can hamper or promote the degree of participation of the Teachers' Union in the education policy making process. On the level of government for example, the level of democracy is an important factor that influences the degree of participation. Freedom of press and freedom of association are factors that contribute to the standard of democracy and democracy is a promoting factor for participation. On the level of the Teachers' Unions, factors that relate to the organization structure should be involved, it displays the capacity of the unions. On the level of donors, factors that relate to type of assistance they provide may affect the degree of participation.

1.5 Research design

1.5.1 A qualitative case study

The method chosen to investigate the Teachers' Union's participation in the education policy making process is the qualitative single case study. 'A case study is expected to catch the complexity of a single case' (Stake, 1995: xi). In public administration research, the case study strategy is often used (Van Thiel, 2007: 97).

To examine if and how participation of Civil Society Organization in the policy making process works, all the concerned factors must have a place in the research. Instead of a large N, the focus lies on factors related to the level of government, to the level of the Teachers' Union and to the level of donors in just one country. That is for practical and time reasons, but as well makes it possible to bring immersion into the single case. 'The aim is to thoroughly understand' (Stake, 1995: 9). 'We do not choose case study designs to optimize production of generalizations. The real business of case studies is particularization, not generalization (ibid: 8).

1.5.2 Answering the sub questions

The first two sub question are theoretical. In the second chapter a theoretical framework is constructed and this framework provides insights in the concept of participation in policy making, what types and degrees of participation exist and which factors can determine the degree of participation. The methods used to obtain this information are document analyses and meta analyses: theories of academic authors about participation are studied and an overview of previous research findings is given.

The latter two sub questions are empirical. These are answered by both analyzing existing documents and by conducting interviews in the field. 'Initial theory and understanding of what is being studied is necessary before any field contact' (Yin, 1994). Therefore the focus of the document analysis is defined by the theoretical framework. Based on both the theoretical framework and the outcomes of the document analyses, interview questions are drawn. The respondents of the interviews are representatives of the different levels.

The gathered qualitative data lead to a description of the existing factors at the level of the government, the level of Teachers' Unions and the level of donors and to the degree of participation in Zambia, concentrated on the participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process. The factors present explain the degree of participation.

1.5.3 Triangulation

Yin advises to hold on to three principles of data collection: use multiple sources of evidence; create a case study database and; maintain a chain of evidence (1994). Keeping all the study notes and documents in a structured manner, will help to answer the research questions, the evidence. In the appendixes, some notes will be included.

Using multiple resources, applying triangulation, is very important in a case study. 'Because of the small N the reliability and validity of a case study is small. Triangulation reduces this problem' (Van Thiel, 2007: 104). In the empirical part of the research, different methods are used to gather information; meta and document analyses and interviews. In the interviews will be tested what is distracted from the documents. Claims of one respondent will be verified by other respondents during the interviews.

1.5.4 The case

The country selected for this research is Zambia. Within Zambia the participation of Teachers' Unions on the education policy making process will be examined. The country is selected, because it is a sub Saharan African country and a country that, in principle, is open to dialogue. If open dialogue in a country is not possible, participation does not exist and cannot be investigated. The case could have been another country within these selection criteria, but because of personal interest and the possibilities to make contacts in this country, Zambia is chosen.

1.6 Relevance

1.6.1 Academic relevance

'Theoretical relevant work will help us to arrive at a better understanding of the phenomena that we study theoretically or empirically' (Lehnert et al., 2007: 23). Theoretical literature about types and degrees of participation is tested in this research on its applicability. Molenaers and Renard have described conditions that have to be met by the government, donors and Civil Society Organizations, before participation can potentially lead to advantages as poverty reduction and democracy (2006: 9). This thesis examines the factors that are necessary to achieve these advantages in practice. Thus existing theory will be tested and the conclusion of this research can contribute to the theory. Tuler and Webler even argue that 'case study research into the normative aspects of public participation should be encouraged' (1999: 451). If the theory appears to be applicable, the design of this research can serve as an instrument to investigate participation in the policy making process in other sectors, or other countries.

1.6.2 Policy relevance

'The most popular definition of social relevance centres on the question of whether people care' (Lehnert et al., 2007: 25). Molenaers and Renard argue that although civil society participation at the macro political level, so at the highest level of government, is imposed on governments by donors in the PRSP-process, it is not seriously monitored (2009: 271). This research gives a description of the participation situation in Zambia. It will be a sort of monitor report of the participation and provides information about the degree of participation in one policy domain. Donors that promote civil society participation should care about the degree of participation and the factors that determine that participation. Civil Society Organizations or political actors can use the explanations of this research for participation improving actions.

1.7 Reading guide

This first chapter introduced the research and outlined the structure of the thesis.

The second chapter is the theoretical framework, the basis for the design and the direction of the research. The main concepts will be explained. Before elaborating the research design, chapter three will provide a general picture of Zambia and its education system. The features of the country and the education system of the country are necessary to take notice of before continuing. Main policies during the years are elucidated in this chapter. The fourth chapter is a comprehensive research design. The strategy, the documents that are studied and the respondents of the interviews are introduced in this chapter. This chapter is the 'action plan for getting from questions to a set of conclusions' (Yin, 1994). Chapter five is a description of the factors that determine the degree of participation of Teachers' Unions in the policy making process at the level of the government, the Teachers' Unions and at the level of donors in Zambia. The degree of participation is described in chapter six. This degree of participation, based on the factors at the three levels, is explained in the final chapter. This concluding chapter answers the central research question.

Chapter 2: Participation and determining factors

The concept participation is very broad and is interpreted in different ways by different authors. This chapter gives an overview of existing definitions of and theories about participation. First, the concept participation will be limited to a scope that is relevant for this thesis. In the second paragraph the possible, mostly applauded, effects of participation are indicated, to give an idea about the prevailing perceptions and expectations of participation. Also pitfalls of participation are mentioned. In the third paragraph, the definition of participation will be constructed. It is a definition that exists of the various degrees and types of participations and the description of these degrees and types. The factors that determine this degree of participation will be outlined in paragraph four. A distinction is made between factors on the level of government, on the level of Civil Society Organizations and on the level of donors.

2.1 Defining the scope of the concept participation

Understanding Teachers' Union's participation in the education policy making process is part of the research objectives of this thesis. The word participation can refer to different types of participants. Participants could be citizens, stakeholders, community representatives, Civil Society Organizations and similar. The line between the different types of participants is not very clear. Especially the line between citizens and civil society. Civil society is described as 'a society considered as a community of citizens characterized by common interests and collective activity. Or: the aspect of society that is concerned with and operating for the collective good' (Oxford English dictionary). Civil Society Organizations can be described as: 'Heterogeneous entities, composed of diverse elements, reflecting the political cleavages and conflicts of the wider societies in which they are located' (Bratton, 1994: 4). The Teachers' Union is an organization that protects the common interests of teachers and tries to improve their working condition. It is concerned with education, which is a collective good. So a Teachers' Union is a good example of a Civil Society Organization.

The most common organizational structure in civil society, is according to Bratton, 'the voluntary association, a grouping of citizens who come together by reason of identity or interest to pursue a common objective' (1994: 2). Fioramonti and Heinrich argue that civil society is 'an arena, occupied by individuals and groups that perform a specific role' (2008: 378). As individuals, 'citizens define community needs and do so primarily by clustering together in organized groups of like-minded individuals in order to obtain common objectives' (Bratton, 1994: 3). But also 'social groups like tribes, clans, village association, religious sects etcetera are based on shared norm and use these norms to achieve cooperative ends' (Fukuyama, 2001: 9).

Both Civil Society Organizations and groups of citizens that want to participate in a policy process, have common goals and are institutionalized by certain norms and rules. Because of these resemblances, in defining the concept participation in the next sections, literature about civil society participation and literature about citizen participation is used.

'The processes of participation do not change because different people are participating' (Richardson, 1983: 2).

A difference between the two types of participants is that when citizens participate in a policy making process, it is mostly at the invitation of a governmental actor. Without this invitation, the participating group of citizens might not have been established. Civil Society Organizations are more autonomous and can have an opposite position towards the government before interaction has taken place. The relation of Civil Society Organizations with the state is different than the relation between citizens and the state. The literature about civil society 'highlights the inherent tension between civil society and the state' (VonDoepp, 1996: 27). So the factors that determine the degree of participation will depend on the relation between the government and the participant. These factors will be elaborated in the last paragraph.

A distinction can also be made between participation in labour processes, in a company or in government policy making. Only participation in government policy making is relevant for this research. Participation in other areas will be left out.

2.2 Prevailing perceptions, desired effects and pitfalls

The perceptions and opinions about participation are very positive, taking the views of the different texts about participation, in which the concept is often glorified; 'It is widely argued that increased community participation in government decision making has many important benefits. Dissent is rare' (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004: 55); 'The idea of citizen participation is a little like eating spinach: no one is against it in principle because it is good for you' (Arnstein, 1969: 216); 'Citizen participation is a many-splendored thing' (Connor, 1988: 249); 'The necessity to involve the public in political decision making is hardly disputed in the literature' (Renn et al., 1993: 189); 'It is now widely accepted that members of the public should be involved in environmental decision making' (Tuler & Webler, 1999: 437). 'Participation creates better decisions and better decisions would also bring greater fulfilment and understanding to those involved' (Richardson, 1983: 5).

Integrating participation in policy making processes can have different objectives or different desired effects. 'For each objective there is a different technique' (Glass, 1979: 180). 'The form of participation influences the effectiveness of that participation' (Cotton et al., 1990: 147). What precisely are the possible objectives or effects of participation? Some of Cornwall's listed desired effects are: minimizing dissent, defusing opposition, enhancing accountability and more (2003: 1327). Glass identifies five objectives of participation: Information exchange, education, support building, supplemental decision making and representational input. Education means 'becoming experts, understanding difficult situations and seeing holistic solutions' (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004: 56). Representational input can be defined as an effort to identify the views of stakeholders on particular issues, in order to create the possibility that future plans will reflect their desires. 'Involve citizens in planning and other governmental processes and, as a result, increase their trust and confidence in government, making it more likely that they accept decisions and plans and will work within the system when seeking solutions to problems' (Glass, 1979: 181). 'With citizen participation, formulated policies might be more realistically grounded in citizen preferences. The public might become more sympathetic evaluators of the tough decisions that

government administrators have to make. And the improved support from the public might create a less divisive, combative population to govern and regulate' (Irvin & Stansbury, 2004: 55). According to the source book of the World Bank, the expected impact of participation in developing countries is 'effective development and poverty reduction strategies and actions'. Participation in poverty reduction strategies is expected to 'contribute to the outcomes of accountable, transparent, and efficient processes for economic decision making, recourse allocation, expenditures and service delivery, to increased equity in development policies, goals and outcomes, and to share a long term vision among all stakeholders for development' (Tikare et al., 2001: 239). 'A public involvement process would lead to informed and collaborative dialogue among stakeholder holding diverse interests and values.' 'Public involvement is an instant tool for developing ownership, partnership, understanding and commitment.' (Tuler & Webler, 1999: 439). Irvin and Stansbury claim that 'if citizens become actively involved as participants in their democracy, the governance that emerges from this process will be more democratic and more effective' (2004: 55). The same argument holds for civil society. Molenaers and Renard name three effects that can occur when civil society participates in policy making: broad-based ownership, pro-poor effectiveness and accountability. In the context of development aid, ownership means 'when recipients play the leading role in coordinating the aid to ensure it is consistent with the country's own priorities' (Riddell, 2009: 66). The Paris declaration defines ownership as: 'Partner countries exercise effective leadership over their development policies, and strategies and co-ordinate development actions' (OECD, 2005: 3). Broad-based ownership means that the power the government has over the development policies, is shared with civil society. Civil society is supposed to have an active input in developing these policies. Broad-based ownership in the context of participation means, thus, that civil society's desires and ideas are reflected in the policies. Broad-based ownership, pro-poor effectiveness and accountability are besides desired effects, also the objectives for civil society participation. They are deemed to contribute to the ultimate effects of participation: democracy and poverty reduction. In figure 2.1, the scheme of the successive effects are drawn.

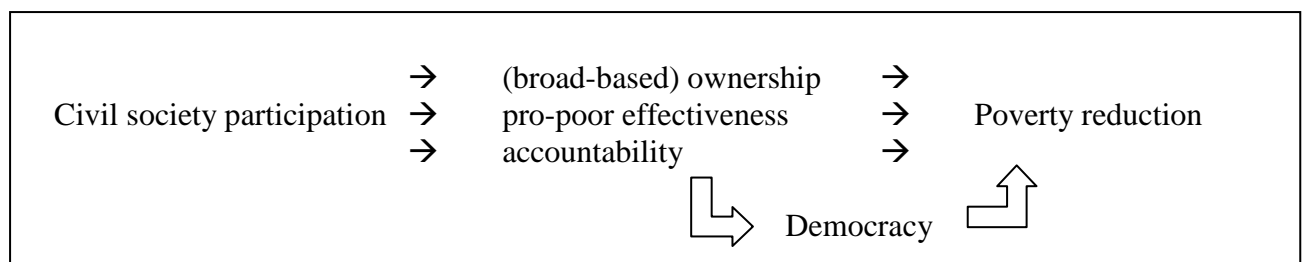


Figure 2.1: Civil society causality chain (reproduced from Molenaers and Renard, 2006: 8)

The intended effects: broad-based ownership, pro-poor effectiveness and accountability have been the base for donors, when setting civil society participation as a condition for donor aid. A positive effect of this aid approach is that 'room was created for civil society representatives to debate social and economic policies with the government, leading to a level and intensity of interaction, that had not existed before' (Molenaers & Renard, 2009: 260). Also 'the formation of civil society networks, umbrella organizations, strategic alliances and all kinds of policy platforms are mentioned as important gains' (Eberlei, 2007a: 5, in Molenaers and Renard, *ibid.*).

Irvin and Stansbury divide the positive effects of participation in advantages for the participants and advantages for the government, and advantages occurring during the decision making process and ones that can emerge at the outcome stage. In addition, they list for each subdivision the disadvantages. The opportunity to educate, already being mentioned by other authors, is an advantage during the decision making phase for both the participants and the government. The participants have the opportunity to persuade and enlighten the government and the government learns from and informs the participants. In the outcome stage, for both the participants and the government, the opportunity to break gridlocks is an advantage. 'A participatory initiative can allow factions to compromise and find solutions to previously intractable problems' (Reich, 1990 in Irvin & Stansbury, 2004: 57). 'By opening the process to meaningful public input, the department is empowered to make decisions it could never make unilaterally' (Applegate, 1998: 931, in Irvin & Stansbury, *ibid.*). Another expected positive effect at this stage for the participants is the possibility to gain some control over the policy process, which could lead to better policy and better implementation decisions. 'The institutions of civil society protect citizens against excesses by the state by acting as a buffer against possible predatory behaviour' (Bratton, 1994: 10). Better policy and policy implementation decisions are positive aspects for the government as well.

A negative effect of participation of stakeholders in the policy process is, amongst others, that it can be very time consuming. 'Participation processes require heavy time commitments' (Lawrence & Deagen, 2001, in Irvin & Stansbury, 2004: 58). Besides the extra time a policy making process takes when, instead of having a single administrator take the decision, the content of the policy is discussed with participants, it will be very costly. Also the participants, for example a Civil Society Organization, make costs for the participatory process. If the input of the Civil Society Organization in the decision process is ignored, the time and money spent were pointless.

A disadvantage for the participants, in the outcome phase, is that opposing interest groups might participate too and influence the outcome towards their preferences. Or the government selects a particular group of stakeholders and excludes other groups. 'Governments can avoid the involvement of the more dissident voices' (Molenaers & Renard, 2009: 260). For the government, there are more disadvantages at the outcome phase: loss of decision making control, the possibility to end up with a bad decision that is politically impossible to ignore and less budget for the implementation, when a substantial part of the budget was already used for the participation process.

Negative perceptions about the idea of participation are paraphrased by Molenaers and Renard and focus on the participation of civil society in the construction of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: Governments never really warmed for the idea of participation. Donors discovered they had stumbled into a political minefield. The expectations of the civil society were too optimistic (2009: 255). Civil Society Organizations are not automatically pro-poor. Organizations have their own perceptions and interests and act accordingly.

In table 2.1 and 2.2, a summary of the possible positive and negative effects of participation, as were outlined in this paragraph, is given.

Table 2.1: Positive perceptions of participation in policy making

Participants	Government
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informing - Supplemental decision making - Representational input - Empowerment - (Broad based) ownership - Network building with other organizations - Break gridlock ; achieve outcomes - Better policy and implementation outcomes - Effective development - Pro-poor effectiveness - Poverty reduction (strategies and actions) - Democracy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Informing - Supplemental decision making - Build trust, support and confidence, minimize dissent, defuse opposition - Enhance accountability and legitimacy - Break gridlock; achieve outcomes - Better policy and implementation outcomes - Effective development - Pro-poor effectiveness - Poverty reduction (strategies and actions) - Democracy

Table 2.2: Negative perceptions of participation in policy making

Participants	Government
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time consuming - Costly - Pointless if the decision is ignored - Worse policy decision if the policy was heavily influenced by opposing interest groups - Some participants can be favoured, others excluded; selective corporatism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Time consuming - Costly - Loss of decision making control - Possibility of bad decision that is politically impossible to ignore - Less budget for implementation of actual projects

2.3 What is participation in the policy making process?

Vroom and Jago (1988) say: 'Typically, one participates when one has contributed to something'. But: 'the exact nature of participation remains ill-defined' (Tuler & Webler, 1999: 437). Glass shares this perception: 'The term citizen participation is an overgeneralization that often is defined simply as providing citizens with opportunities to take part in governmental decisions or planning processes. Neither the term nor the definition provides even the slightest suggestion of how participatory efforts might be structured or what might be expected of them in terms of results' (1979: 180). Objectives and possible results of participation are mentioned in the previous paragraph, but how to structure them, so that an intelligible definition of the concept remains?

There are different definitions of participation; opposing types, and definitions of participation in ascending terms regarding participants' power; degrees of participation.

2.3.1 Types of participation

When has somebody contributed to something? Does taking part in governmental decisions also mean sitting around the table in a meeting, without saying a word? Richardson claims that 'participation is a state of mind. Your mind is concerned with a certain issue' (1983: 9). Though, if the intention of the participants is to influence the policy making process, for example the forming of the problem definition, or the decision of how to implement the policy, action is required. About active participation, Richardson states: 'Participation implies sharing in an activity, undertaking activities with other people' (ibid.). 'When civil society turns into self-conscious opposition to the state, it can be considered active' (VonDoepp, 1996: 28). Thus, inactive participation means being concerned, active participation is when activities are undertaken.

Vroom and Jago (1988) describe participation by making a division between two opposite forms of the concept: direct and indirect participation, formal or informal, performed alone or shared. The types direct and indirect participation refer to the status of the participant. Is the person at the policy making table a direct representative of the organization it negotiates for, or does the participation occurs through an intermediary who is not a direct representative of the organization, but has to speak with its voice? Richardson also distinguishes direct and indirect participation, but defines it differently: 'Direct participation refers to all those means by which people take part in efforts to influence the course of government policy, involving personal (face-to-face) interaction with the official spokesmen. Indirect participation refers to those means by which people take part in such effort, but not involving personal interaction with these spokesmen' (1983: 11), for example campaigning or demonstrating. The meaning of formal and informal participation speaks for itself: How formal are the relationships, how formal, structured and coordinated are the meetings? Shared participation can be understood as the number of people that take place at the policy making table: Is it for example just one person of the organization who represents the Teachers' Unions and defends its interests, or is it a group of persons? In the first case, the question is if the members of the Teachers' Unions are well represented; is the voice of the person who attends the meeting, reflecting the opinion of the other members? As a second significance, shared participation can relate to the involvement of other parties with same interests as the Teachers' Unions'. NGOs with the same interest can form a network with the Teachers' Unions in the participation process and thus practice participation together. An advantage of this type of participation is that 'the network provides space for freedom of association and expression and for anonymity of voice' (Martin, 2010: 41).

Figure 2.2 gives an overview of the mentioned types of participation.

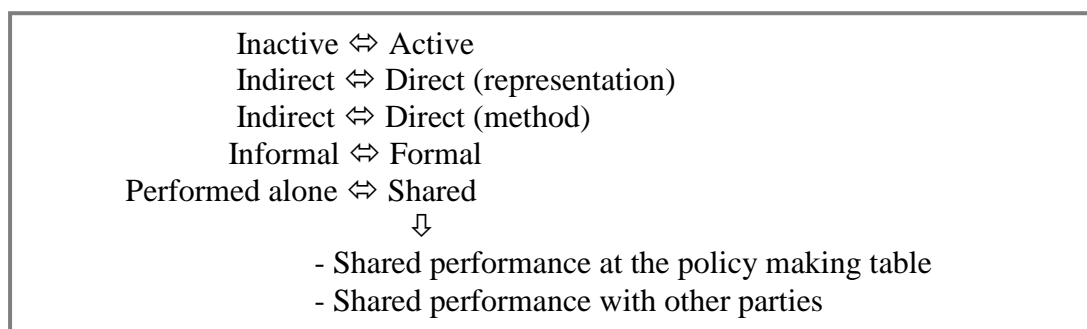


Figure 2.2: Types of participation, based on Vroom & Jago (1988) and Richardson (1983)

2.3.2 Degrees of participation

An often cited author about degrees of participation is Shelly Arnstein. In 1969 she developed a 'ladder of participation'. Each of the eight rungs corresponds with the extent of citizens' power in the participation process. Power, because 'participation without redistribution of power is an empty and frustrating process for the powerless' (1969: 216). The lowest rung on Arnstein's ladder is 'manipulation'. The governmental actor has the purpose to educate the participants to achieve support for its plans. Together with the second rung, 'therapy', which is when the governmental actor tries to change the participants' perspective, manipulation is considered to be 'non-participation'; 'the real objective is not to enable people to participate, but to enable the powerholders to educate or cure the participants' (p.217).

The third rung, 'informing', implies informing the involved of 'their rights, responsibilities and options' (p.219). The next rung, 'consultation', offers no assurance that participants' concerns and ideas will be taken into account. 'When powerholders restrict the input of participants' ideas solely to this level, participation remains just a window dressing ritual' (ibid.). A combination with other modes of participation would be better. Methods for consultation can be surveys, meetings and public hearings. 'Placation' is the fifth rung of the ladder. With placation is meant that citizens - or Civil Society Organizations - are smoothed by the powerholder because the latter invites representatives on board. The purpose is to overcome distrust and animosity, but if the representatives are not accountable to the other members of the organization, or if their number is too small and can easily be outvoted or outfoxed, it is not valuable. The third, fourth and fifth rung are examples of tokenism according to Arnstein; participation is symbolic and real power is not given to the participants.

The sixth step on the ladder is 'partnership'. 'At this rung, power is in fact redistributed through negotiations between citizens and powerholders' (p.221). Arnstein also stresses that 'in most cases where power has come to be shared, it was taken by the citizens' (p.222). Except for citizens, this also applies very well to civil society. 'Civil society represents a potential location of power outside the state' (VonDoepp, 1996: 27). When Civil Society Organizations become partners with the government in policy making processes, the negotiations will be about trying to realize the own preferences of both parties. The penultimate rung is 'delegated power'. Delegated power is the case when the participants achieve 'dominant decision making authority over a particular plan or program' (Arnstein, 1969: 222). Veto right is another expression of this degree of participation. The eight, the final rung of the ladder, is 'citizen control'. This means citizens, or the Civil Society Organization, govern an institution or a program. A limitation of this degree of participation is 'that final approval and accountability will always be with the council' (p.223), or other governmental actors, for example the treasury. Partnership, delegated power and citizen control, are degrees of citizen power; the highest degree of participation.

Figure 2.3 displays the ladder of participation.

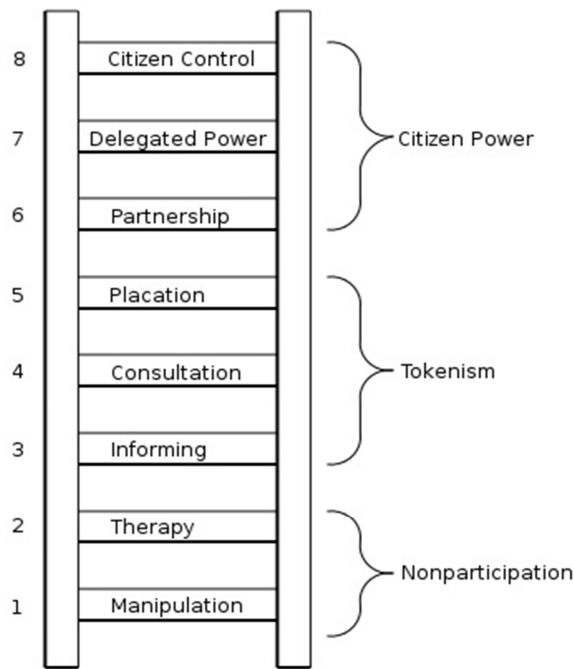


Figure 2.3: *Eight rungs on a ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969)*

In an article by Desmond Connor various degrees of public participation are distinguished. The author criticizes Arnstein for the fact that there is no linear progression from one kind of public involvement to the other in her ranking (1988: 249). He draws a new ladder in which 'there is a cumulative relationship between the rungs. Each successive rung builds upon the previous one' (p.257). Connor's rungs are from bottom to top: education, information feedback, consultation, joint planning, mediation (by a neutral third party), litigation (the process of legitimation) and resolution/prevention. These rungs might be successive, but they are more applicable in conflict solving processes than in policy processes. The successive element seems to go from a conflict which needs to be explored, to a solution for the problem. Arnstein's ladder does not speak about resolutions, because that is not what her ladder is about. Arnstein's ladder exposes successive degrees of participation; the participation can be minimal or ultimate. Each degree stands on its own and can be in place throughout the whole policy process.

Also Tritter and McCallum don't agree with the lack of progression in Arnstein's ladder. In contradiction to what Connor claims, according to them, the ladder is a 'linear, hierarchical model' (2006: 165). Their comment is that Arnstein's model is 'static' (p.156) and 'one-dimensional' (p.163). 'By solely emphasizing power, the potential of the participants is undermined. Relevant forms of knowledge and expertise are left out' (p.156). The authors also argue that the model 'fails to recognize that participation itself may be a goal' (p.156). In Arnstein's explanation of her ladder, knowledge and expertise are not explicitly mentioned, but to be able to fulfil the role of a consulting participant, rung four, it can be assumed that one must have knowledge and expertise. The higher the rung on the ladder, the more specific knowledge and expertise is required. Tritter and McCallum's argument that participation itself could be a goal, is not ignored by Arnstein. The way she explains the concept participation, can be interpreted as that it is not a goal on itself, but a manner to achieve other goals. Inactive participation, where participants can only sit and listen, to be educated or informed, is labelled as 'nonparticipation'. Activity is required to achieve other goals. Strange (1972, in

Glass, 1979: 180) confirms this: 'Participation is a means to other ends and not just an end itself'.

Marisa Choguill tried to apply Arnstein's ladder in situations in developing countries and concluded that 'the results were misleading' (1996: 431). The citizens in developing countries, do not only want power, but also for example resources or services from the government (p.434). Choguill amended the rungs of the ladder; Her levels go in reverse counting than Arnstein's rungs and she named them differently. The first hierarchy level is empowerment. This is the highest degree of participation. 'The development of community awareness through participation, that is empowerment' (p.435). 'It may take the form of people having majority of seats or genuine specified powers on formal decision-making bodies over a particular project or program' (p.436). The levels two to eight are: partnership, conciliation, dissimulation, diplomacy, informing, conspiracy and self-management. The explanation of the different levels is comparable with Arnstein's rungs: conciliation is placation, diplomacy is consultation, dissimulation is a type of manipulation and conspiracy is nonparticipation. Self-management is at the bottom of Choguill's ladder. 'Self-management takes place when the government does nothing to solve local problems and the members of the community, by themselves, plan improvements to their neighbourhood and actually control the projects, not always successfully' (p.441). This phrase clarifies why Choguill's ladder is less appropriate than Arnstein's ladder to understand Teachers' Unions participation; it is too much focused on low income communities. A Teachers' Union is considered to be institutionalized already, so empowerment will not be its greatest goal.

2.3.3 Scope of participation

'Participation can vary in scope, occurring during one or several stages of the problem solving process' (Vroom & Jago, 1988). The authors differentiate the following stages of this process: problem identification, solution generation, choice and implementation. This thesis is concerned with participation in the policy making process. The policy making process consists of similar stages as Vrooms and Jago's problem solving process (1988): agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making and policy implementation. Howlett, Ramesh and Perl add a fifth and sixth stage: policy evaluation and monitoring results (2009: 12).

Molenaers and Renard state that concerning the PRSP process, 'results of participation are mixed with respect to the different stages in the policy making cycle. The results in the first stage have been more impressive than in further stages' (2009: 260). Arnstein's degrees of participation can be applied to every stage of the policy cycle. It says something about the overall degree of participation if solely in one phase of the policy cycle, the participation scores high on Arnstein's ladder, whereas in other stages, the degree of participation is low. Participation should cover the whole process, according to the sourcebook of the World Bank, which assists countries in preparing the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers: 'Participation is the process by which stakeholders influence and share control over priority setting, policy making, recourse allocation and programme implementation' (Tikare et al., 2001: 237). The OECD concurs with this idea. It tried to form a definition of the concept participation, that 'would remain valid for all stages of the policy making cycle' (Vergez et al., 2003: 13).

2.3.4 Additional classifications

The definitions of participation in terms of types and degrees are evident now, but to complete the picture of the concept participation, other classifications of participation are mentioned here. The OECD has composed three conceptions: The first definition is information, which is a one way relation. Consultation, a two way relation, is the second. The third definition is active participation, a relation based on partnership (ibid.). This is comparable with the third, fourth and sixth rung of the ladder of Arnstein, who already noticed that 'informing can be the most important step towards legitimate participation, however, too frequently the emphasis is placed on a one way flow of information with no channel provided for feedback and no power for negotiation' (Arnstein, 1969: 219).

Cornwall lists four forms of participation, categorized by the intended objectives of the participation, like minimizing dissent, defusing opposition, or enhancing accountability. First she mentions functional participation. Functional participation could be practiced to 'enlist people in projects or processes, so as to secure compliance, minimize dissent and lend legitimacy' (2003: 1327). Instrumental participation is the type of participation that could be used to 'make projects or interventions run more efficiently, by enlisting contributions and delegating responsibilities' (ibid.). The third mode of participation Cornwall describes is consultative. This is 'to get in tune with public views and values, to garner good ideas, to defuse opposition and to enhance responsiveness' (ibid.). The last type of Cornwall's list is transformative participation, which is: 'To build political capabilities, critical consciousness and confidence and to enable to demand rights and to enhance accountability' (ibid.). The modes of Cornwall overlap Arnstein's degrees. Instrumental participation seems to hold the same as the seventh rung of Arnstein's ladder: delegated power. Transformative participation could be compared with partnership, since the enabling to demand rights suggests shifts of power in the relation between the participant and the governmental actor. Or with placation, because in this type of participation, the participant is seen as a representative, an agent. For each type of participation, the role of the participant is different. As mentioned before, in the case of transformative participation, the participants are agents. For functional participation, the participants are viewed as objects. In instrumental participation, the participants are instruments.

2.3.5 Conclusion

Undoubtedly there are more degrees and types of participation. 'Arnstein's ladder could have an almost infinite number of rungs if one wished to finely distinguish among the various levels of participation' (Choguill, 1996: 436). But having such an infinite list of definitions will complicate the identification process. And as the classifications in the previous sub paragraph prove: they are so similar to aforementioned definitions and degrees, that there is no added value in making the list of definitions longer.

Arnstein's ladder seems most appropriate to describe the degree of participation. Dissident authors who criticize the ladder have been mentioned, but they seem less relevant for this thesis. Other classifications are too similar to Arnstein's rungs to use separately. In which and in how many stages of the policy cycle the degree of participation is observed, is relevant. So the scope of participation should be included in the determination of the degree of participation.

The different types of participation are not straightforwardly deciding the degree of participation. But indirectly, the type of participation that is practiced can influence the degree. If all the various types of participation are present, there will be a higher degree of participation than when for example only direct participation, or informal participation is possible. Regarding participation performed alone, or shared, it is not possible to say *ex ante* which type is positive or which type is negative. That will have to be observed in practice. For example: when participation is performed shared within a network or a coalition, there is more space for association and expression. The degree of participation will benefit. On the other hand, when participation is performed shared, the chances that the voice of your particular organization will be expressed are reduced, because it might happen that a representative of the network, and not from your organization itself, takes place at the policy making table. Participation performed alone or shared may determine the degree of participation. So one factor that determines the degree of participation is already indicated.

The conclusions of this paragraph are recapitulated in table 2.3:

Table 2.3: Participation in the policy making process

Type of participation	Direct, indirect, formal, informal → the more types are present, the more participation. (Participation performed alone or shared, is a factor at the level of the Teachers' Unions that determines the degree of participation.)
Degree of participation	1. Manipulation; 2. Therapy; 3. Informing; 4. Consultation; 5. Placation; 6. Partnership; 7. Delegated power; 8. Participants' control → The higher the rung, the more participation.
Scope of participation	Agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making, policy implementation, policy evaluation and policy monitoring → in the more stages participation occurs, the more participation.

2.4 Factors that determine the degree of participation in policy making

Irvin & Stansbury argue: 'Participation may be ineffective and wasteful compared to traditional, top-down decision making under certain conditions' (2004, 62). Molenaers and Renard agree: 'Participation makes a lot of sense, but only under restrictive conditions' (2006: 10). Renn et al. state: 'There is controversy over the desirable structure and procedure for participation and the role and authority of the public to take part in the decision making process' (1993: 189). The role of the participants, the conditions that have to be met by the government are all factors that can hamper or promote the degree of participation. These factors exist at the level of government and the level of the participants. But also factors on the level of donors can influence the degree of participation in the policy making process. The role of the donor in the participatory relation between government and civil society has enlarged in recent years. 'Around the turn of the millennium, donors made the participation of civil society a formal condition for debt relief' (Molenaers & Renard, 2009: 255).

In this thesis the degree of participation of the Teachers' Union in the education policy making process is examined. Participation, however, is not limited to one specific Civil Society Organization, or to one policy domain. Participation should be a concept exercised throughout the whole system. 'Participatory approaches are most likely to succeed where they

are pursued as part of a wider radical political project' (Hickey & Mohan, 2005, 237). General factors are applicable to the specific case and therefore, factors that determine participation of civil society in policy making processes will be explored here, instead of specifically Teachers' Unions and the education policy.

2.4.1 Factors at the level of the government

There are certain preconditions that have to be met in a country, before civil society can even exist. 'Civil society cannot flourish if there are no civil liberties' (Molenaers & Renard, 2009: 271). Fair elections must guarantee a democratic electoral system and there must be factors that indicate an open government; accessibility to information and the possibility to take part in public affairs. An important principle of democracy is the separation of powers, the *Trias Politica*. It means that the executive power, the legislative power and the judiciary power operate separately. The Freedom House uses as indicators for democracy the level of civil rights and political rights. Civil rights are freedom of movement, the right to privacy and freedom of religion. Political rights are the right to association, the freedom of speech, the right to vote and the right to stand as a candidate and be elected (Hix, 2005). The level of democracy, expressed in legislation to promote civil and political rights, or restrictions on these rights, is a factor that influences the degree of participation.

The government's capacity is another factor that influences the degree of participation. Governments should be able to make a good quality diagnosis about what items are important to set on the agenda. Therefore the level of experts and their skills in the ministries are important. To organize the participation process, technocratic expertise and ownership are required. 'The planning and timing of the process, the choice for certain participatory techniques, a clear and transparent process and a good communication strategy' are suggestions from Molenaers and Renard (2006: 17) to create an adequate participation process. The degree of participation can be influenced by the way the government facilitates, organizes and coordinates the participation process. More concrete: which platforms where civil society can participate exist and how does the government communicate with the participants?

Besides being an indicator for the government's capacity, communication of the government with participants also tells something about the government's willingness to have civil society participate in the policy making process. Are documents available, are meetings announced on time, is the policy process transparent? As mentioned earlier, it are usually donors who impose the condition of participation on governments. But more often than not, development countries provide limited space to participants and 'this limited space is furthermore strictly managed by the state' (Molenaers & Renard, 2009: 263). States should be committed to pro-poor development (2006: 12) and should allow organizations to participate at macro-level, national level. Civil Society Organizations in the education field have done work on micro level; by being involved in small, local projects, but when they can participate at macro level, they can influence the policy and contribute to poverty reduction, effective development and other advantages listed in table 1. When 'debate on macro level scenarios are studiously avoided or at best transformed into micro-level consultations and political sensitive issues are banned from the agenda and contributions from civil society are listened to, but not included in the final policy documents' (ibid., p.22), the willingness of the government is low. There can exist a discrepancy between government's willingness on paper and governments willingness in practice. Commitments in documents which state that

participation of civil society in the policy making process will be executed, pretend that the government is prepared to have civil society participate. Though if it is observed that the commitments drafted in the documents are not put into practice, it can indicate unwillingness.

2.4.2 Factors at the level of Civil Society Organizations

The pre-requisites for participation have to be set by the government and, potentially, donors. But effects of participation lay partly upon the participants themselves. 'In most low-income countries civil society is weakly organized and embryonic (Van de Walle, 2005, in Molenaers & Renard, 2006: 22). But: 'There is evidence of a nascent civil society in certain African countries' (Bratton, 1994: 1). Factors such as a clear division of tasks, sub units within the organization, well performed documentation, the channels through which they communicate with members, demonstrate the organizational competences that enhance the institutionalization of the organization. The more the organization is institutionalized, the stronger its position can be in participation.

Not only organizational capacities in terms of institutionalizing, but also in terms of legitimizing have to be taken into account as a factor that determines the degree of participation. 'While the organizations of civil society can contribute to the development of democracy, they themselves also need to exist in a wider political culture composed of values and behaviours that is at least minimally or partly supportive to democracy' (Harber, 2002: 272). 'At the risk of oversimplification, African cultures can be described as neopatrimonial' (Bratton, 1994: 8). This implies the dominance of older males in leader positions and the existence of strong interpersonal ties. 'As much as contesting this illiberal political culture, civic organizations in Africa tend to embody and reproduce it. Once such a leader has secured office, they resort to arbitrary decision making and resist initiatives for democratic control or leadership turnover within the organization' (p.9). The democracy within the organization is, therefore, an important factor; how is the board elected, how are decisions made, how is democracy guaranteed, how are the members consulted and provided with feedback, is accountability directed to the members, or to donors? 'The establishment of internal democracy within civic organizations is an important prerequisite to their effectiveness as a force for political accountability in relation to the state' (ibid.).

Concerning the participation process, the Civil Society Organization should have the capacity to engage in the policy debate, the representatives should be equipped for this task, the organization should be autonomous from the state and there should be capacity to monitor and evaluate policies (Molenaers & Renard, 2006: 24). The Civil Society Organization 'needs to adopt political perspectives and strategies in order to represent the issues successfully' (Hickey & Bracking, 2005: 856). A technocratic staff, experts and resources are necessary to fulfil these conditions. Is there for example a lawyer working within the organization? Which means are at the disposal of the participants to influence the degree of participation? Is it face to face contact only, or is the organisation able to demonstrate or to strike in order to influence the content of the policy? The objectives of the participating organizations can be divided in three categories, depending on the knowledge present in the organization: Knowledge based on common sense and personal experience, knowledge based on technical expertise and knowledge derived from social interests and advocacy (Renn et al. 1993: 190). In the case of the Teachers' Unions, their objectives are often 'too one sided on salaries and working conditions' (Van der Schaaf, 2009). Such a narrow vision may hamper the degree of participation. Further it is of importance if the organization has the capacity and opportunities

to form coalitions with other organizations. Are coalitions necessary to be able to have a voice, or does it hamper the voice of the individual organization, because its interests might get lost in the bargaining with these coalition partners? Practical issues regarding the capacity to take part in the participation process, are financial resources and the geographical distance from the residency of the organization to the place where the policy making process takes place.

2.4.3 Factors at the level of donors

Participation is one possible instrument amongst others used by donors in the pursuit of aid effectiveness. But the donors' view on macro-level participation is criticized as being simplistic and naïve, either too optimistic and too ambitious and in some respects just plainly wrong' (Molenaers & Renard, 2006: 8). 'The implicit expectations about civil society are too optimistic and draw on an 'angelical' perspective of civil society' (Molenaers & Renard, 2009: 255). Donors award Civil Society Organizations with sacred characteristics, while the organizations often try to maximize their own interests. The interest of the organization are not necessarily the interests of the people of the country.

Factors at the level of donors that can promote positive outcomes of participation are according to Molenaers and Renard: 'donor-coordination, acceptance of government priorities and alignment of aid' (2006: 17). Donor-coordination and alignment of aid comes down at the same: Instead of various approaches and visions, the donors consult each other and act as one, which makes the assistance of donors less complicated, less time consuming and better organized. This can foster the participation of Civil Society Organizations in the policy making process, because the donors' coordination lead to platforms and structured meetings, in which other stakeholders can participate too. The acceptance of government priorities means that the government has ownership; the government decides on the content of the policies and the allocation of resources, not the donors. When donors don't impose their ideas on the government, space can be generated for Civil Society Organizations to discuss the content of the policies with the government.

Monitoring is an important task for donors, but by exercising this task they should not only focus on the participation activities. 'It is important that donors monitor whether there is freedom for civil society groups to form and flourish. If not, the issue should be raised in the policy dialogue with the government' (2009: 271).

Alongside donor assistance to governments, a Civil Society Organization can be the donor's target. The donor can give 'advice and support to Civil Society Organizations to play macro functions' (2006: 24), for example in the form of capacity building training to make the organization more equipped to participate in the national policy debate. The donors should be aware not to indoctrinate the aid receiving organisation with their preferences. It should be avoided that 'the leaders of the Civil Society Organizations report to donors rather than to members or clients and become agents of foreign interests instead of authentic advocates for a domestic political constituency' (Bratton, 1994: 8). In the programs of Civil Society Organizations that are sponsored by donors, the organization should have full discretion to execute their programs. That is also ownership.

2.4.4 Conclusion

The relationship between the state and civil society can be characterized as a love-hate relationship: 'Both the state and social organizations value autonomy, but are unable to achieve their goals without support from the other side' (Bratton, 1989, in Chazan, 1992: 292). To benefit from the possible positive effects of participation, the state and civil society need each other to achieve these effects. Also the relationship between the government and donors is of importance in the participation approach: 'Government and donors, and their responsibilities, should be brought fully into the equation, in recognition of the fact they jointly set the stage for civil society involvement' (Molenaers & Renard, 2006: 10).

Thus, the degree of participation of the Teachers' Union in the education policy making process is not only determined by the factors on one specific level. All the factors on the three levels are together determining the degree of participation. Though the presence or absence of certain factors, can make the degree of participation shift towards a higher or lower rung of participation on Arnstein's ladder. In table 2.4, an overview is given of the factors that determine the degree of participation per level. If present, these factors promote the degree of participation. When absent, it hampers the degree of participation.

Table 2.4: Factors that promote the degree of participation at the level of government, the level of the Teachers' Union and the level of donors

Level	Factors	Operationalizations
Level of government	Level of democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fair democratic electoral system • Separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers • Freedom of association • Freedom of speech • Freedom of press
	Capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expertise and knowledge in organizing a participation process • Communication capacities
	Willingness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The existence of policy documents in which participation is mentioned • Institutionalization of participation processes; platforms and forums become part of the system • The acts of the government are in compliance with the documents about participation
Level of the Teachers' Unions	Organizational capacities in terms of institutionalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A solid and transparent organizational structure • Accessible and frequent communication with members

	Organizational capacities in terms of legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transparent election procedures for leader positions • A voting system in decision making • Consultations with members • Accountability to members
	Capacities concerning the participation process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expertise • Autonomy (no responsibilities to the government or donors)
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation performed alone and shared in a way that promotes participation • Means and methods to participate direct and indirect • Sufficient financial resources • Geographical access
Level of donors	Relationship with the government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donor-coordination and alignment in the education sector • Leaving ownership to the Ministry of Education
	Relationship with the CSOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leaving ownership to the organization
	Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing participation through activities on government level • Enhancing participation through activities on CSO level • Monitoring activities

3. Zambia

This chapter introduces Zambia. It is convenient to have some initial knowledge about the country and the education system and education policies before continuing to the rest of the thesis. The first paragraph gives some general information about the country. The second consists of information about education in Zambia and a table with an overview of main policies concerning education. The last paragraph provides figures about the education situation in Zambia.

3.1 General information about the country

Zambia is a landlocked country in the south east of Africa. The capital city is Lusaka. Zambia used to be a colony of the United Kingdom and obtained its independence on 24 October 1964. The name changed from Northern Rhodesia to the Republic of Zambia and Kenneth Kaunda was the first President. Over 13 million people live in Zambia, of which the majority lives in rural areas. The main language is English, but there are different dialects which are recognized as regional languages. The surface of Zambia is 752,614 square kilometres (Lonely Planet, 2007). The country is divided into nine provinces and seventy-two districts. The monetary unit is the Zambian Kwacha. The main export commodities are copper and cobalt.

Zambia is an electoral democracy (McGuire, 2010). The incumbent president is Rupiah Banda, from the Movement for Multiparty Democracy. He is the fourth president since independence. Together with his appointed cabinet, he forms the government. The president and the unicameral national assembly are elected by universal suffrage for a period of five years. The national assembly is comprised of 150 members. The president has the discretion to nominate an additional eight members. The national assembly carries out a wide range of public responsibilities, including 'making laws – called Acts of Parliament, approving proposals for taxation and public expenditure and keeping the work of the government under scrutiny and review' (website of the parliament, 2006). The main political parties in opposition are: the United Party for National Development/UPND; Forum for Democracy and Development/FDD; United National Independence Party/UNIP, who together formed the United Democratic Alliance/UDA; Heritage Party/HP; Zambia Republican Party/ZRP and Patriotic Front/PF (Bank of Zambia, 2004). The latest official general elections to elect the president and the national assembly were held in September 2006. In October 2008 there was an unplanned presidential election, ninety days after the sudden death of the president. The election was held to determine who should serve out the remainder of Mwanawasa's presidential term, which ends in 2011, rather than being an election for a full five-year term (Yan, 2008). The upcoming elections are in September 2011. The legal system in Zambia is based on English Common Law and Customary Law and there is an independent Judiciary. The dualist system of law Zambia inherited from Britain, 'ensures that treaties ratified by Zambia do not automatically become part of Zambian law unless they are specifically incorporated through an Act of Parliament, but there has been little domestication of these instruments' (Matibini, 2006: 5).

The GNI of Zambia is US\$960 per capita, the total GDP is US\$12,805,027,606 (in 2009, World Bank). Zambia belongs to the category of Least Developed Countries according to the criteria of the United Nations. According to the standards of the World Bank, Zambia is a low income country. IDA, the World Bank's fund for the poorest, is engaged in eleven projects in Zambia at the moment. Zambia entered the International Monetary Fund in 1965. The last purchase was in 2008. In 2009, the country was still eligible for the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility program (IMF, July 2009). Very recently, June 2011, Zambia had its last review on economic performance supported under the Extended Credit Facility. 'The ECF provides financial assistance to countries with protracted balance of payment problems' (IMF, March 2011). The Official Development Assistance in 2006 was US\$1,115.19 million. Besides the mentioned IDA, the major development partners are the United States, Japan and Germany (UN Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, 2008).

Zambia is a member of the United Nations and of some of its agencies. Further is Zambia a member the African Union (AU) and the World Trade Organization. The relationship of Zambia with the European Union has political, trade and development dimensions (Hervio, 2011).

The AIDS pandemic dramatically affects Zambia. UNAIDS estimated HIV infection rates in 2002 at 21.5 percent, and government figures indicate that Zambia already has nearly 700,000 AIDS orphans (Freedom House, 2007). Much better news is that in 2009 the malaria deaths reported from health facilities in Zambia have declined by 66% compared to 2000 (WHO, 2009).

3.2 Education in Zambia

'The educational system inherited by Zambia at independence was underdeveloped' (Kasonde-Ng'andu, 2003). During the colonial period, education was under the responsibility of missionaries who were unwilling to promote higher levels of education of African people. After independence, primary education expanded enormously. From the mid nineteen seventies onward, however, because of the economic developments and heavy debt burden, the education system witnessed a serious decline. 'Enrolment rates in basic education decreased even though the school age population was growing fast' (IOB, 2008: 11). Literacy rates did not improve, but tended to decline. In the second half of the 1990s the Zambian government wanted to revitalise the education sector.

Before 1991, two ministries controlled education: The Ministry of General Education, Youth and Sport and the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Technology. From 1992, a sole Ministry of Education was set up. Other Ministries are still involved: the Ministry of Sport, Youth and Child Development, the Ministry of Science, Technology and Vocational Training and the Ministry of Community Development and Social Services. The Ministry of Education is mandated to guide education delivery as well as provide education at basic, high school and college (teacher education) levels. It is also responsible for pre-schooling, including pre-school teacher training, schools for continuing education, the Curriculum Development Centre, Educational Broadcasting Services, the National Science Centre and university education. The Examinations Council of Zambia also falls under the auspices of Ministry of Education.

From the age of three to six, preschool can be attended. 'Nationally a very small proportion of preschool aged children is able to attend preschool' (Silanda et al., 1999). Education in Zambia is compulsory from the age of seven, up to the age of thirteen. This period comprises lower basic and middle basic education. The compulsory education is free for all pupils and uniforms should not be mandatory. Primary education is separated in nine grades. Grade one to four is lower basic, grade five to seven is middle basic and grade eight and nine are upper basic education. Most children drop out after grade 7 when fees must be paid (Unesco, 2010). After primary education, there are opportunities to attend various vocation training programs to learn specific skills, or to continue to grade ten and eleven; high school. After secondary school, students can study at the various colleges, around the country. There are three main universities: the Copperbelt University (CBU), the University of Zambia (UNZA) and the Mulungushi University (MU). Fees make university level education inaccessible for some, although 'the government does provide state bursaries' (country study report Zambia, 2003). A school year starts in January and ends in December.

The governance on education is centralized. A teacher is a civil servant employed by the government. The government decides in which district the teacher is going to work. Besides the public schools, there are private schools and community schools. The community schools are organized by parents. Often, the teachers of this type of schools are uncertified.

There are several Teachers' Unions active in Zambia. The main unions are the BETUZ: Basic Education Teachers' Union of Zambia, focussing on primary school teachers. And the ZNUT: Zambia National Union of Teachers. This one is for teachers in all the education sectors: early childhood education, primary, secondary and tertiary education. There is also a union specifically for secondary school teachers, but this one has only a fraction of the members the other unions have and is not incorporated in another prominent stakeholder in the education field: ZANEC. The Zambia National Education Coalition is established through a consultative process around the Education For All framework. It is an umbrella organization that represents Civil Society Organizations in the field of education.

The public opinion about education in Zambia is not positive. 'Zambia education and skills training are terribly inadequate' (Phiri, 1999). 'Zambia's education system is a time bomb. Too many children are out of school and the results of this situation will be witnessed; a rise in the number of street kids, leading to increased criminal activities' (Sulaseki, 2000). There is a 'critical shortage of education materials' (Riddell, 2003: 10). In recent years, progress has been made in improving access to primary education (IOB, 2008: 13), but 'the quality of basic education remains low and results are unstable' (ibid., p.14). Once people have money, they run off to a private school. A pupil of grade four of a private school is better than a pupil in a grade seven of a government school¹. But the government is putting some effort: Last May it provided K5.5 billion for upgrading 927 diploma-holding teachers to degree qualification (All Africa, 2011). Various efforts that are undertaken by the government in Zambia to improve the level of education, are reflected in policy documents.

Table 3.1 is a timeline which displays these policy documents. The Third National Development Plan, for the period 1979 to 1983, is not included in this table. Due to economic decline as a result of falling copper prices, crisis management was preferable above long term planning.

¹ Informal conversation with M. Mumba

Table 3.1: timeline of education policies

Year	Name	Description
1966	First National Development Plan	Within this five year plan a Education Act was adopted. The plan aimed at 'providing sufficient places to ensure that all children received at least four years of primary education' (Kasonde-Ng'andu, 2003).
1972	Second National Development Plan	The second five year plan put more emphasis on primary education, recognising the need for secondary school expansion to be related to human resource needs. Primary education began to be seen as terminal for some children (Chisholm et al. 1998).
1977	Educational Reform Document	A document that emphasised that the education policy should focus on education as an instrument for personal and national development.
1989	Fourth National Development Plan	The theme of the Fourth International Development Plan was 'Growth from own resources'. 'The plan recommended the introduction of teacher training as a distance as a priority' (Jenkins, 1989). The plan was abandoned in 1991. 'The size of the expenditure could no longer be sustained by revenue sources and expenditures on education had to be cut' (Kayizzi-Mugerwa, 1990).
1992	Focus on learning	The goal of this education policy was improving access, equity, efficiency and quality of education through the rehabilitation of school infrastructure, construction of new school, training of education managers, and procurement and supply of education materials to school (Mutangadura). It derived from the World Declaration on Education for all, held in Tomtien, Thailand in 1990. Article 1 states: 'Every person: child, youth and adult shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs'
1996	Educating Our Future	This publication created a path for educational development. Benchmarks of the new education policy are: equity, partnership, decentralization, democratization, efficiency and effectiveness. The construction of the publication involved various stakeholders. EOF is the national education policy document and is still valid.
1997	ESIP	The Education Sector Investment Plan was developed in order to improve the coordination between the different policies and programmes in the education sector and as the pooling of funding (IOB, 2008: 40). Despite all the technical assistance brought in by donors, this plan was too complex. It was delinked into two sectors: basic education and training. The training part was located in several ministries.
1998	BESSIP	BESSIP stands for Basic Education Sub Sector Investment Program. The BESSIP was the result of the narrowing down of the ESIP. Objectives were 'to increase access, improve the school infrastructure, decentralize the educational system,

		build capacity in the educational system, raise equity, develop better a partnership and improve the quality and coordination in basic education' (World Bank, 1998). The BESSIP was the first result of a Sector Wide Approach.
2002	Transitional National Development Plan	The TNDP is a comprehensive document that subsumes the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. The starting year of the TNDP has been kept at 2002 in order to allow full coverage of the PRSP programmes whose time frame was from January 2002 to December 2004. But the TNDP's terminal year had been extended to 2005 in order to enable the smooth dovetailing of the subsequent five-year National Development Plans, which are scheduled to begin in 2006. The emphasis of this plan was on basic education. The plan had also an equity component of the education programme. Among the equity activities are a more streamlined and better-coordinated Programme for the Advancement of Girls' Education (PAGE), abolition of all fees and school uniforms at the basic level and support to community schools. 'Costs to parents of their children's education became obstacles to their attendance and continued enrolment' (Riddell, 2003: 2).
2003	Ministry of Education Strategic Plan	A five year plan as the sequel of the BESSIP. The focus expended from basic education to the whole sector; basic school, high school, tertiary education. Remote and disadvantaged areas would be given special attention (IOB, 2008: 39)
2003	NIF I	The National Implementation Frame was developed as a practical tool for the implementation of the MOESP. It comprises only the education sector.
2006	Vision 2030	The statement of this document is: "A prosperous middle income country by 2030". It was prepared 'within the context of a long-term perspective, which looked over the horizon of a generation'. The document acknowledges that 'education is critical in enhancing a country's social economic development.' One of the aspirations is: 'Diversified education curricula that are responsive to the knowledge, values, attitudes and practical skill needs of individuals and society at large.'
2007	Fifth National Development Plan	The FNDP places emphasis on improvement of quality, while still regarding increase in access as a priority for early childhood care, development and education, upper basic, high school, vocational training and tertiary education. In this regard, reforms in curriculum development; syllabus design; professional teacher enhancement; making the learner environment more productive and conducive to the learning and welfare of the learner; and attainment of educational standards will be among the key reform areas (MoE, 2007: 149)
2008	NIF II	The purpose of the second NIF is to serve as a guide for the articulation of the broad developmental objectives of the

		FNDP into identified activities that would later be defined and re-defined in the Annual Work Plans and Budgets. Secondly, NIF II intends to serve as an important instrument for monitoring implementation performance, targeting mainly outcomes and impact (MoE, 2007: 8)
2011	Sixth National Development Plan	The theme of the SNDP is 'Sustained economic growth and poverty reduction' During the period of five years, the strategic focus of the sector is on expanding access to high school and tertiary education. Further, efforts will be made to improve the quality of education at all levels so that appropriate skills, knowledge, attitudes and values required for social and economic development are imparted to the learners (MoE, 2011, 19). The SNDP is accepted by the World Bank as PRSP
2011	NIF III	The new NIF is supposed to align with the SNDP. The SNDP is general, it gives targets and indicators. The NIF gives practical guidelines about how to reach the targets.

3.3 Inputs, outputs and outcomes in education

3.3.1 Resources

The education expenditures were 1,3% of the GDP in 2008. Compared to 163 other countries from highest to lowest share of the GDP spent on education, Zambia is on the 160th place (CIA, 2011).

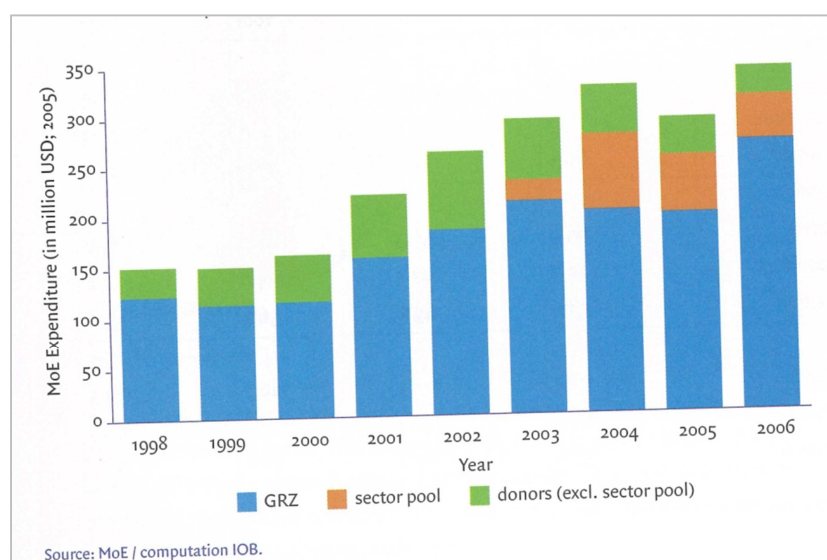


Figure 3.1: Internal and external resources for education in constant prices 2005 \$. GRZ is the Government of Republic of Zambia (IOB, 2008: 47)

3.3.2 Enrolment and distribution



Figure 3.2: Primary school enrolment in % gross (World Bank, 2011)

Gross enrolment ratio is the ratio of total enrolment, regardless of age, to the population of the age group that officially corresponds to the level of education shown.

80% Of children of primary school age in 2002 were enrolled. The school life expectancy, the number of years a child attends school, from primary to tertiary education is seven years (CIA, 2011).

- An estimated 22 percent of the population has had no formal education.
- Of the total population, only 25 percent have completed lower primary, 27 percent upper primary, 13 percent junior secondary, and 11 percent senior secondary.
- Only 2 percent of Zambia’s population has completed a Bachelor’s degree or above.
- Twenty-four percent of females never had any formal education, compared to 20 percent for males.

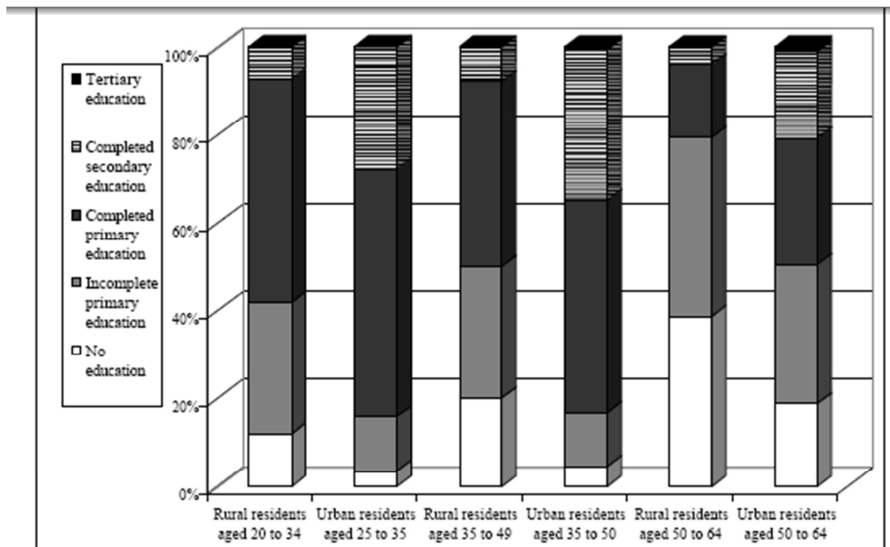
(All obtained from Siaciwena & Lubinda, 2008: 4)

Table 3.2: Distribution of learners by age and grade (Siaciwena & Lubinda, 2008: 6)

Leamers (Grade and age)	Total	%	Grade specific age	Below recommended	Above recommended	Missing
G1 (7 yrs)	35,633	44%	33%	19%	46%	2%
G2 (8 yrs)	18,184	22%	22%	11%	64%	3%
G3 (9 yrs)	12,036	15%	14%	7%	76%	3%
G4 (10 yrs)	7,760	10%	14%	8%	73%	5%
G5 (11 yrs)	4,834	6%	11%	8%	78%	3%
G6 (12yrs)	2870	4%	10%	7%	78%	5%

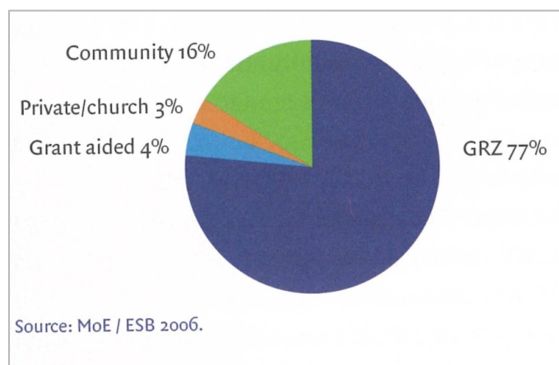
Source: 2006 IRI Statistical Report (Ministry of Education, 2006b)

This table shows that many pupils in every grade are over the recommended age. This implies that there could be learners who had left school or had no opportunity to enter school when they were of the right age.



Source: 1998 Living Conditions Monitoring Survey, own calculations

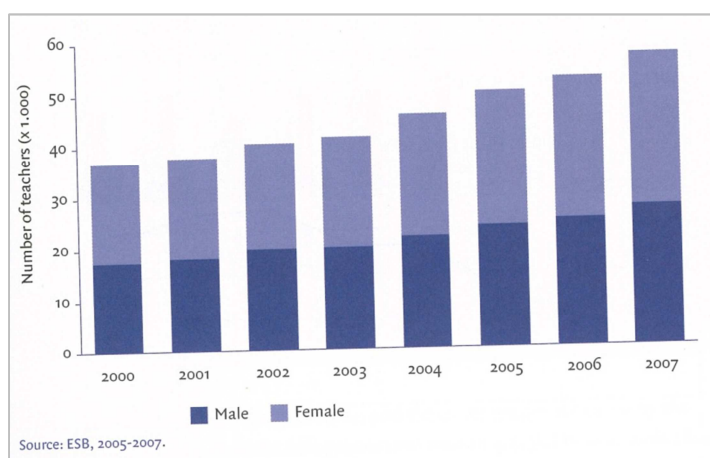
Figure 3.3: Distribution of Learners by Age and Grade 2006 (Burger et al., 2004: 11)



Source: MoE / ESB 2006.

Figure 3.4: Distribution of pupils in basic schools by school type, 2006 (IOB, 2008: 55)

3.3.3 Teachers



Source: ESB, 2005-2007.

Figure 3.5: Number of teachers in basic education (IOB, 2008: 67)

The pupil-teacher ratio shows the number of pupils assigned to one teacher.

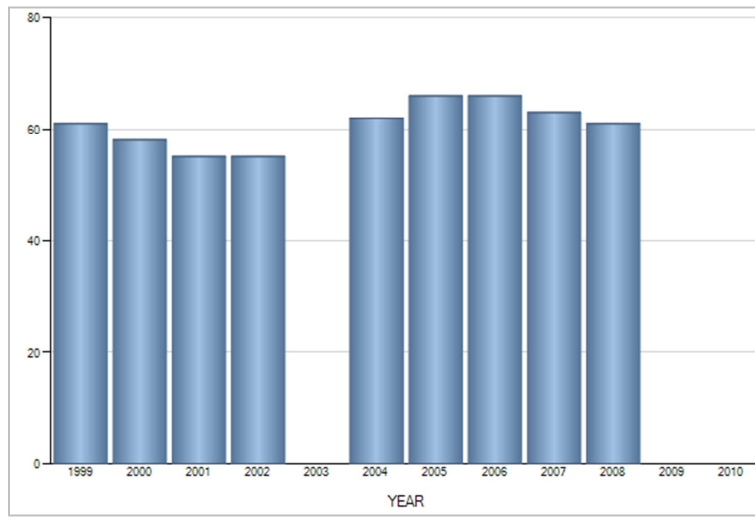


Figure 3.6: Pupil-teacher ratio in primary school (UNESCO, 2011)

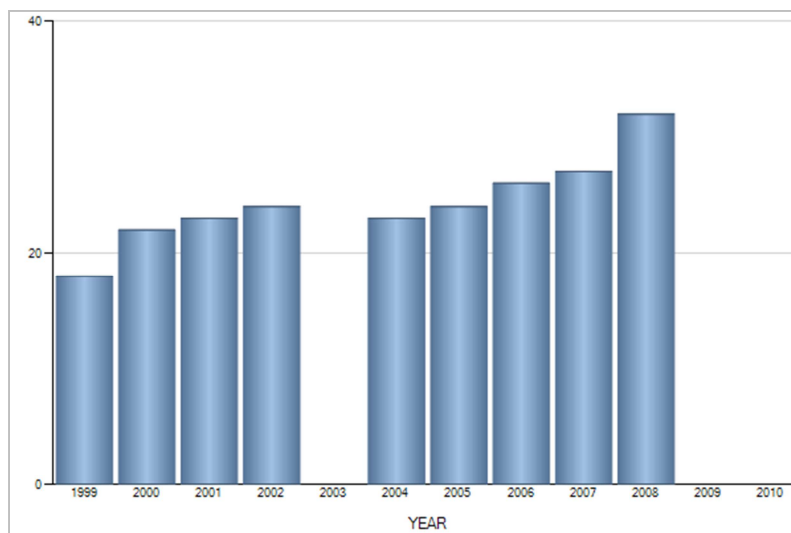


Figure 3.7: Pupil-teacher ratio in lower secondary school (UNESCO, 2011)

3.3.4 Results

The literacy rate is the percentage of people ages 15 and above who can, with understanding, read and write a short, simple statement on their everyday life.

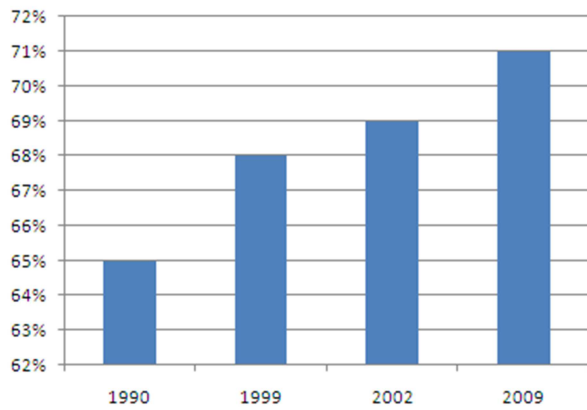


Figure 3.8: Literacy rate (World Bank, 2009)

In 2011, the literacy rate of women is estimated on 60,6%, men’s literacy rate on 81,6% (US department of state, 2010).

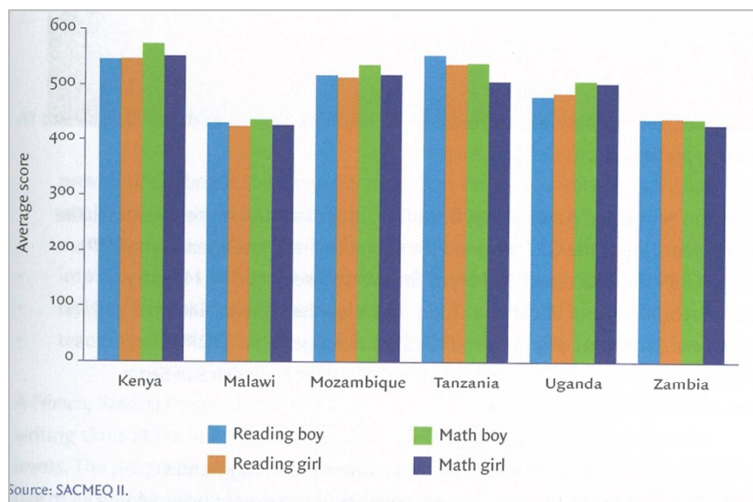


Figure 3.9: International comparison of learning achievements for reading and math in 2000 (IOB, 2008: 35)

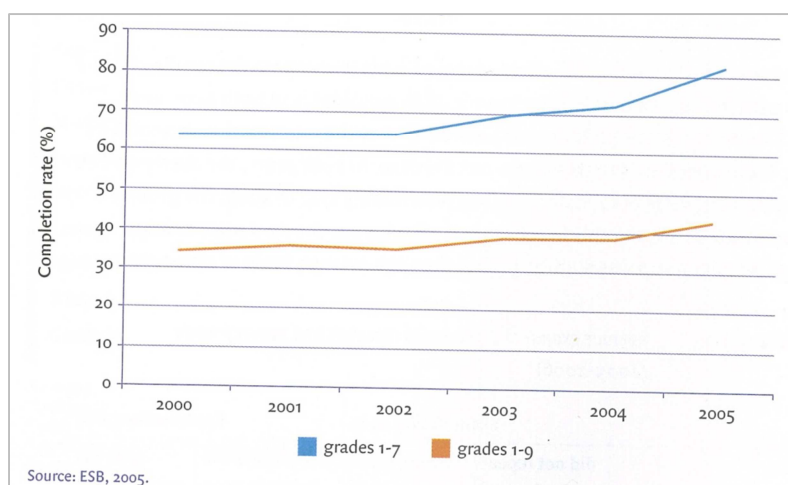


Figure 3.10: completion rates (IOB, 2008: 108)z

3.3.5 Additional figures

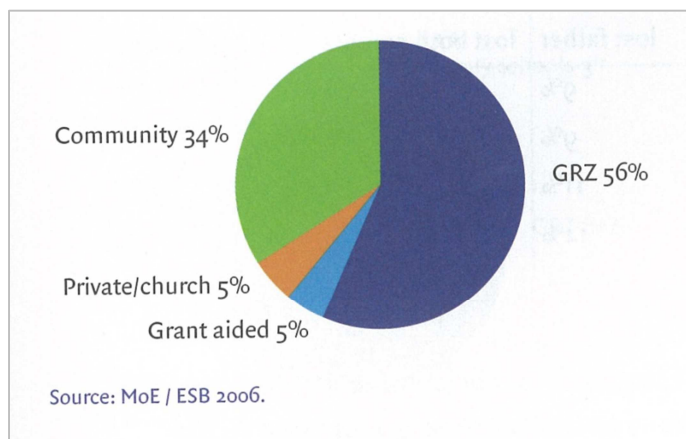


Figure 3.11 : Distribution of basic schools by type, 2006 (IOB, 2008: 55)

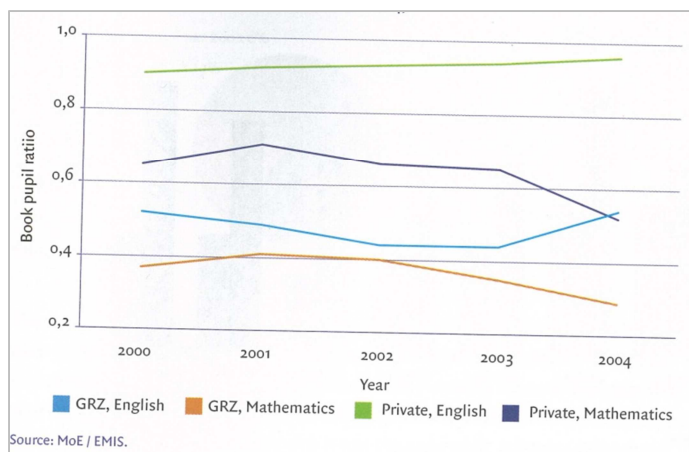


Figure 3.12: Book-pupil ratio (IOB, 2008: 77)

Chapter 4: Research design

The design of this research will be outlined in this chapter. Arguments for the choice of the used method will be given in the first paragraph. The second paragraph provides the overall structure of the research method. The exact manner for data collecting will be elaborated in the third paragraph, per sub question. In paragraph four, the data analysis will be explained. The last paragraph justifies this research in term of validity and reliability.

4.1 Method

‘A research design is a plan that specifies how you plan to carry out your research project and, particularly, how you expect to use your evidence to answer your central research question’ (Gschwend & Schimmelfennig, 2007: 1). The method chosen for this research is the case study. A case study is an intensive, profound study of a particular phenomenon, ‘undertaken to make a case understandable’ (Stake, 1995: 85). In this type of study, data collection often takes place in the field. The data are qualitative and holistic. Stake distinguishes the instrumental case study and the intrinsic case study. The object of an instrumental case study is to understand something else than the studied case, with the intention, for example, to use the results as a step towards other research. The intrinsic case study is conducted to understand the specific case. There is a profound interest in that case. The descriptive part of this research is intrinsic, because the case is very specific. In the part of the thesis that is providing explanations, results can be generalized. So that part is instrumental. Case studies can be comparative, consisting of multiple cases, or non-comparative, existing of just one case. This thesis is a single case study.

4.2 Structure of the research

This research examines the degree of participation of Teachers' Unions in the policy making process in Zambia. Zambia is chosen because of personal connections and interest in the country. A condition for the choice of the country was that it should be a country that is open for dialogue. A country with a totally authoritarian government, is not open for dialogue and there might be no participation. Zambia takes part in the Poverty Reduction and Growth Facility-Program of the IMF. This program for the poorest members of the fund, is framed by Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (Vreeland, 2007: 128). One of the core principles underlying the development of PRSPs is that they involve broad-based participation by civil society in all operational steps (Bretton Woods Project, 2003). The fact that Zambia was involved in the PRGF-program implies that participation of civil society is not an unknown phenomenon.

After composing a theoretical framework about the different degrees of participation and factors that can determine the degree of participation of Civil Society Organizations in policy making processes, the theory derived will serve as a guideline for the rest of the thesis:

First, the factors present in Zambia at the level of the government, the level of the Teachers' Unions and at the level of donors, that determine the degree of participation, are investigated and described. Second, the existing degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process, is described. The strategies to obtain the required data are meta-analyses, document analyses and interviews. In the next section, the execution of these strategies will be specified. For example: which specific documents are analyzed, or which respondents are interviewed. During the course of the research, documents and respondents are added. Swanborn warns against a too closed design (2008:28). The research is a dynamic process and certain findings might lead to other documents that need to be examined. Or one respondent introduces another relevant person. Concerning the interviews, there is less control over the data collection environment. 'For interviewing key persons, you must cater to the interviewee's schedule and availability, not your own' (Yin, 2003: 72). Hence, the attitude of the researcher should be flexible. In this study, the meta and document analysis, will be conducted by desk study. The interviews are executed during a short period in Zambia. This decreases the flexibility and therefore, contacts with possible respondents are made in advance and are kept 'warm' in the period leading up to the appointment.

Yin argues that 'for almost any chosen topic, specific time boundaries are needed to define the beginning and the end of the case' (Yin, 2003: 26). In this research the current situation will be observed, but it is inevitable to look at the developments which led to the current situation. The degree of participation is the result of certain developments, so examining occurrences in the past is necessary. 'Macro participation under the new aid approach has only been around for about ten years' (Molenaers & Renard, 2009: 259). Macro participation is participation on national level, at the highest level of government. This information determines the time boundaries for this research: The developments at the level of government, the Teachers' Union and at the level of donors, concerning participation in policy making processes, will extend to approximately ten years back. The focus is on the participation in the preparation of the Fifth and Sixth National Development Plans (2007 and 2011) and the National Implementation Frameworks in which these plans resulted.

Yin enumerates three principles that are important to any data collecting effort in doing case studies (2003: 83). This is what they are and how they will be fulfilled:

- The use of multiple sources of evidence: Triangulation will be accomplished by studying various documents which view the concept of participation, or factors that determine the degree of participation, from different angles. For example documents of the government, but also documents of authors who take a critical stand towards the government. Also answers given in interviews will be verified by asking other interviewees about the specific issue.
- A case study database: Stake calls it a 'data storage system' (1995: 55). Summaries of the studied documents and transcripts of each interview, will be recorded in the annexes. This will make the process of data gathering transparent.
- A chain of evidence: The structure of this research has the structure of the chain Yin describes: first the research question, the design, than the data collection and via the database to the final conclusions.

4.3 Data collection

4.3.1 Research questions

'Data collection is always driven by theory' (Swanborg, 2008: 108). The theory is applied on the reality, to answer the central research question. The central research question of this thesis is: "Which factors determine the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process in Zambia?" The sub questions are:

1. What is participation in the policy making process?
2. Which factors determine the degree of participation in the policy making process?
3. How is the state of affairs regarding the factors that determine the degree of participation, at the level of the government, the Teachers' Unions and at the level of donors?
4. What is the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process in Zambia?

4.3.2 Theoretical sub questions

The first two sub questions are theoretical and answered by drawing a theoretical framework in the second chapter. The strategy used to build the theoretical framework is literature review. Already existing research outcomes are combined to come up with operationalizations for the degree of participation and the factors that determine that degree of participation.

Arnstein's ladder of participation will be used to determine the degree of participation of the Teachers' Union in the policy making process. The scope of the participation, which refers to the expression of participation per stage in the policy making cycle, will be applied as well. The factors that determine the degree of participation are exposed in table number three of chapter two. All these operationalizations will be used to come to an answer of the empirical sub questions.

4.3.3 Empirical sub questions

The answers of sub questions three and four are based on empirical evidence. The empirical evidence is collected by studying documents and previous studies, and taking interviews. The scope of the documents is broad, to promote the versatility. Regarding the interviews, the respondents are selected as various as possible, in order to collect different standpoints. Thus, key persons at the level of government, at the level of the Teachers' Union and at the level of donors were approached. The interviews are semi structured. This means that there is a list of topics that needs to be discussed, but the form of the interview is a conversation. 'In case studies, interviews are likely to be fluid rather than rigid' (Rubin&Rubin, 1995, in Yin, 2003: 89). The sequence of the topics is not fixed. The respondent is able to talk with little interventions. The interviewer must be aware not to promote desirable answers or ask suggesting questions. For each interview, there is an interview manual. This manual (based on Van Thiel, 2007: 109) contains of three issues:

- An introduction: the goal of the research, the background of the research and the theory on which it is based will be explained shortly to the respondent. Further will

the course of the conversation be outlined and the respondent is asked about privacy issues and the handling of the information.

- The substantive part: The interview consists of four parts: the first part is about participation, the other three concern questions about the factors promoting or hampering participation, at the level of the government, civil society organizations and donors. Since the interviews are with representatives of the various levels, they also give their view on the factors at other levels.
- At the closure of the interview, there will be of course a word of thanks. The interviewee can react on the interview and the agreements about the handling of the information will be repeated.

The sources for the empirical data collection are outlined in table 4.1. More detailed background information of the respondents of the interviews can be found in the first annex.

Table 4.1: Sources for empirical evidence per level

Level	Operationalizations	Source for empirical evidence
Level of government	A fair democratic electoral system Separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers Freedom of association Freedom of speech Freedom of press Expertise and knowledge in organizing a participation process Communication capacities The existence of policy documents in which participation is mentioned Institutionalization of participation processes The acts of the government are in compliance with the documents about participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electoral system • International Treaties • Website of the government • Evaluations and studies on the Zambian government • Appendixes of the National Development Plans • Evaluations and studies on the National Development Plan • Policy documents • Newspaper articles • Interview with a representative of the government • Interviews with others about the government
Level of the Teachers' Unions	A solid and transparent organizational structure Accessible and frequent communication with members Transparent election procedures for leader positions Voting system in decision making Consultations with members Accountability to members Expertise Autonomy Participation performed alone performed alone and shared in a way that promotes participation Means and methods to participate direct and indirect Sufficient financial resources Geographical access	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Websites of the Teachers' Unions • Documents of the Teachers' Unions • Websites and document of other Civil Society Organizations • Studies on Civil Society Organizations in Zambia • Interviews with the Teachers' Unions and Civil Society Organizations • Interviews with other about Teachers' Unions and Civil Society Organizations

Level of donors	Donor-coordination and –alignment in the education sector Leaving ownership to the MoE Leaving ownership to the organization Enhancing participation through activities on government level Enhancing participation through activities on CSO level Monitoring activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Documents and studies of donors • Documents and studies on donors • Interviews with representatives of donors • Interviews with others about donors
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4.4 Data analysis

Having the data collected, does not automatically indicates that the research question is answered. The data is comprehensive and needs to be analyzed. ‘Data analysis is always primarily the reduction of a multitude of research results’ (Swanborg, 2008: 111). Stake argues that ‘to manage the data, code keys are needed’ (1995: 55). Data analysis occurred by having the collected data sorted in a matrix. In the matrix the evidence is listed per level and a distinction is made between factors that promote and factors that hamper the participation. This evidence can be a phrase from a document, or quotes of the interviewees. Based on the first matrix, the factors that determine the degree of Teachers’ Unions’ participation in the policy making process are described. Inferred from this description, a prediction about the degree of participation is made. Based on the second matrix, the actual degree of participation is described. The descriptions of the factors and the degree of participation are followed by an explanation, which is the conclusion of the research.

4.5 Validity and reliability

4.5.1 Internal validity

‘A valid measure is one that measures what is supposed to be measured’ (Buttolph Johnson & Reynolds, 2005: 161). Internal validity refers to the validity of the results of the research (Van Thiel, 2007: 201). To enhance the internal validity, one has to ‘use logic models and address rival explanations’ (Yin, 2003: 34). In the previous sections is explained how the models that are derived from theory and which serve as the base for empirical data collection, are constructed. By studying a broad variety of documents and interviewing representatives of the various levels, rival explanations are addressed. During the desk study it was important to continuously check whether the data found, refers to the operationalizations. The respondents of the interviews are not only questioned about factors on the level they represent, but also on their perceptions of factors at the other levels. The open structure of the interviews gave the respondents the opportunity to bring up variables that were unintentionally omitted.

4.5.2 External validity

Since the subject of research is a single case, external validity is difficult to realize; the outcome of this research is not necessary applicable on other policy domains, or other countries. Theoretical generalization however, is possible; the results of the research can confirm or repudiate the used theory for explaining the degree of participation. This might help to investigate participation in the policy making process in other sectors, or other countries.

4.5.3 Reliability

'Reliability concerns the extent to which an experiment, test, or any measuring procedure yields the same result on repeated trials' (Buttolph Johnson & Reynolds, 2005: 159). Measurements are reliable when the 'measuring procedure yields the same results on repeated trials' (ibid., p.94). Reliability refers to 'the accuracy and consistency of measurements' (Van Thiel, 2007: 187). The reliability of this research is guaranteed by a punctual execution of the research methods. Before going into the field, everything was prepared. An overview of the studied documents is registered in a database. Findings are reported factually in a matrix. A challenge is the interpretation of the findings. Ratifying a treaty can be conceived objectively, but the significance of expressions in certain documents or in interviews must be interpreted. By adhering to operationalizations and making efforts in interpreting without judging, the reliability is secured.

Chapter 5: Factors determining the degree of participation

This chapter answers the third sub question: How is the state of affairs regarding the factors that determine the degree of participation, at the level of the government, the level of the Teachers' Unions and at the level of donors? First, factors at the level of the government are discussed. The second paragraph deals with the factors at the level of the Teachers' Unions and the third with factors at the level of donors. Each paragraph contains a section of the table from chapter two, in which the presence or absence of the determining factors is indicated. The last paragraph is an overall conclusion.

5.1 Factors at the level of the government

5.1.1 The system of government

Since independence, Zambia has been under the administration of two different political parties. From 1964 to 1991, the ruling party was the United National Independence Party (UNID). The UNID, under president Kaunda, was the only party in the country for years. In the face of domestic and international pressure, Kaunda agreed to a new constitution allowing for multiparty democracy in 1991 (Freedom House, 2007). The elections right after lifting the ban on political parties, were won by the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD). The public opinion about the elections was positive: 'Both local and international observers and monitors judged the elections to be free and fair and the result was consistent with popular expectations' (Simutanyi, 2005: 75). The quality of the 1996 and 2001 elections was rather poor. In 1996 the government undermined the electoral process; 'Candidacy laws, voter registration and media coverage were all manipulated in favour of the incumbents' (Freedom House, 2007). The same happened in 2001: Flawed voter registration, unequal and biased media coverage and improper use of state resources by the leading government. To avoid this from happening again, the Electoral Commission of Zambia (ECZ) was set up and a new electoral act was established before the 2006 elections. The act banned the use of public money for campaigning by the ruling party and forbade unbalanced coverage by the state owned media (Irin, 2006). The elections in 2006 and the unscheduled elections in 2008, due to the sudden death of the incumbent president, were called transparent (Berenger, 2006; Eisa, 2008). The ECZ has its own website since this year and promises for the upcoming elections 'an electoral process that commands public confidence for sustained democratic governance'.

5.1.2 Separation of powers

Officially, the executive, legislative and judicial powers are separated in Zambia. The unicameral National Assembly is the legislative body. Hundred fifty of the members are elected by the people by universal suffrage and eight members are selected by the president. Government's proposals and expenditures have to be approved by the National Assembly, before they can be ratified. There are five rungs of judicial power in Zambia: the Supreme Court, the High Court, the Industrial Relations Court, the Subordinate Court and the Local Courts. The judicial powers, however, 'are highly recommended by the government, but Zambia has done nothing to develop a policy on the use of judges' (Jabani, 2005). For

instance, judges support government officials in research projects of political nature. This depletes the number of judges and affects the independency of the judiciary power. 'The much talked about autonomy of the judicature remains a myth' (Alfronet, 2007). Research shows that formal justice systems exist primarily in urban areas and are not very accessible for the poor (Matibini, 2006: 24; Alfronet, 2007). Reasons why the judicial system is inaccessible for poor people, are for example language barriers, costs, intimidating court procedures and delay in court procedures. Freedom House identified 'judiciary's failure to demonstrate substantial independence in key decisions throughout the year' (Freedom House, World Survey 2011).

5.1.3 Civil and political freedoms

The government of Zambia is committed to several international treaties which include articles that refer to civic freedoms. The United Nation's Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that 'everyone has the right to form trade unions and join trade unions' (ICESCR, 1966: art.8). The United Nation's Covenant on Civil and Political Rights includes 'the right to hold opinions without interference, the right of peaceful assembly, the right to freedom of association and the right of every citizen to take part in the conduct of public affairs' (ICCPR, 1966: art. 19, 21, 22, 25). Comparable are some articles of the African Charter of Human and Peoples' Rights: Article 10, 11 and 13 say that 'every individual shall have the right to free association, every citizen has the right to assembly freely with others' and 'every citizen shall have the right to participate freely in the government of his country' (AfChHPR, 1981). All three treaties are ratified by the government of Zambia in 1984. The Zambian government also subscribes the Education For All goals. Education for All (EFA) is an international initiative first launched in 1990, in Jomtien in Thailand, to bring the benefits of education to 'every citizen in every society.' (World Bank, 2009). In order to achieve the EFA goals, 'an inclusive policy dialogue with a holistic approach initiated by the government, Civil Society Organizations working in partnership with the government and giving teachers a voice in governance, policy development and implementation', were recommendations at an international conference in Nairobi (Teachers for EFA, 2011).

5.1.4 Restrictions

Human Rights treaties that are ratified by the Zambian government do not automatically become part of Zambian law, unless they are specifically incorporated through an Act of Parliament. But 'the government fails to pass the required legislation to facilitate incorporation, which means that most of the internationally guaranteed rights cannot be enforced in Zambian courts' (Matibini, 2006: 5). There are problems with the Zambian constitution anyway: Since 1996 there are unresolved constitutional issues. Effort from the government in power failed in adopting a good new constitution. This lack of meaningful constitutional development results in 'manipulation of the law to suit political exigencies of the ruling party' (Matibini, 2006: 4). There have been three Constitutional Reform Commissions (CRCs) in fifteen year, which formally seek to invite civil society participation. 'Yet, in reality the CRC does nothing to facilitate such participation' (Manion & Mundy, 2006: 23).

There is evidence that the right to freedom of press and speech is not operative in Zambia. Freedom House labels Zambia as a partly free country. Partly free countries are

characterized by some restrictions on political rights and civil liberties. 'The status of Zambia declined due to political violence against the opposition and civil society groups' (Freedom House, 2011). The government controls two widely circulated newspapers, and the state-owned, pro-government Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) dominates broadcast media (Freedom House, 2007). Also the independent newspapers, radio stations and television channels often speak with the voice of the government. When criticism is expressed, the medium can be closed by order of the government. A firsthand experience with the truncation of freedom of speech: 'When the church expresses concern or cautions the state on issues such as corruption, abuse of human rights, transparency, mismanagement of resources, and misapplication of priorities, it is treated with hostility' (Reformed Church in Zambia, in Manion & Mundy, 2006: 22). The Zambia National Education Coalition (ZANEC) has a rather similar experience; when they talk on the radio and express concerns about a certain issue, they can expect a phone call from the government with the request for explanation². A positive development for the freedom of speech is the growing accessibility to internet in Zambia.

Despite the intentions of the government to cooperate with civil society, which are reflected in the development policies, the government can be suspicious against Civil Society Organizations according to Kalyalya (1997: 15 in Harber, 2002: 272); In African countries, 'many government leaders tend to think that civic organizations are serving the interest of their foreign donor, or associate them with opposition parties'. An expression of these feelings of suspicion, is the NGO bill. In Zambia, the NGO bill is drafted in 2009, but to date, it is not enacted. The bill obliges NGOs to register periodically. Under the NGO bill, an NGO Registration Board and a Council for NGOs will be established. These institutions will review the NGOs and accept or reject the registration. Registration of NGOs can be denied in the public interest, though this concept is not defined in the law. Most of the opinions about the bill have an anxious connotation. The bill is detrimental and a clampdown on freedom of conscience, association and expression (Vind-Andersen, 2009; F. Banda, 2011; Nsapato, 2011³). The reaction of Mr. Shikapwasha, information minister and chief government spokesperson (2009) to fears like this: 'Once it comes into law, this bill will actually enhance the growth and quality of NGOs in the country. Why are the NGOs in Zambia not wanting to be regulated, to be transparent? Are they hiding something? Let the Zambians know and see how they are operating.' For the Teachers' Unions, the NGO bill will not be applicable. Article 2 of bill states: 'the NGO bill does not apply to Trade Unions'. Unions in general are not restricted by the law. The Zambia Congress of Trade Unions, an umbrella organization for the country's 19 largest unions, 'operates democratically without governmental interference' (McGuire, Freedom House, 2010). Strikes by unions are accepted⁴.

5.1.5 Policy documents

The Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP), the first dates from 2002, can be seen as a turning point in the relationship between the government and civil society. Mpepo says about the period leading up to the PRSP: 'The PRSP has assisted in rebuilding the confidence and trust that government can at least listen. It also promoted the start of improved information exchange between the government and stakeholders (2000: 5). 'The PRSP process seems to have opened up an increased space for dialogue between representatives of the government of

² Interview with ZANEC

³ Interview with ANCEFA

⁴ Interviews with government representative, ZNUT and BETUZ

Zambia and civil society actors' (Mwingwa, 2002: 88). In the documents of Vision 2030 (2006), the Fifth National Development Plan (2007) and The Sixth National Development Plan (2011), civil society participation is mentioned. President Mwanawasa promises in Vision 2030 'to improve access to information in order to promote citizenry participation in socioeconomic development' (2006: 12). In the foreword of the Sixth National Development Plan, the president calls upon Civil Society Organizations 'to be pillars in the implementation, supervision and monitoring of progress in the various sectors' (Banda, 2011: i).

5.1.6 Capacity and willingness

The Ministry of Education has the knowledge and expertise to make good policies⁵. The management of the ministry consists of the minister and the permanent secretary. The permanent secretary has two personal secretaries and is assisted on technical issues by two technical advisors. There is an information resource centre where policy documents can be found. There is a unit for policy and research, that coordinates policy formulation, analysis and reviews of education policies. It does research for the improvement of education delivery and prepares annual reports to the ministry. Special education boards are 'meant to bring about transparency and accountability in the system, through the involvement of communities in planning and decision making' (MoE, 2011). The website of the ministry is very comprehensive, however, some pages do not contain information.

In principle, the Ministry of Education (MoE) was willing to cooperate with anyone who wanted to contribute to the overall objectives of national policy in education (Lexow, 2003: 22). The minister herself claims: 'My ministry has provided various platforms such as sector Joint Annual Reviews (JARs) for participation of individuals and communities (Siliya, Minister of Education, 2010: 4). The JAR takes place once a year, mostly in March and it takes two or three days. Stakeholders in the field of education review the previous school year in terms of policies and outcomes. The minister of education even applauds the participants: 'I wish to commend cooperating partners, civil society, the church and other stakeholders for their contribution to the education sector' (ibid., p.25). Both ZANEC and the Teachers' Unions admit that the structures and platforms are there and that the Ministry of Education sometimes gives space to Civil Society Organizations⁶. ZANEC contributes to the preparation of the JAR. Another platform that exists within the Ministry of Education is the Sector Advisory Group (SAG). The SAG is the sector working group. Meetings are attended by government representatives, donors, civil society and the Teachers' Unions. There is an annual plan of the Ministry of Education, on which comments can be given.

Though in general the Ministry of Education seems to have the capacity and willingness to foster participation, some weaknesses in these areas have been observed. Sometimes the meetings are badly prepared, the documents are sent out too late, or the documents are too technical⁷. If the documents arrive too late, or are only shared during the meetings, it is difficult for the participants to make a statement in advance, or to make a statement based on consultations within the organization. Problems can also exist in terms of 'government acceptance of civil society participation in policy processes' (Manion & Mundy, 2006: 36). The organization of the government is centralized and documents always have to pass the highest officer. 'Even entirely local concerns have to be brought to the attention of

⁵ Interviews with ZNUT and BETUZ

⁶ Interviews with ZANEC, ZNUT and BETUZ

⁷ Interviews with both representatives of the donors, ANCEFA and ZANEC

provincial or national level' (Maitra, 2009: 5). Depending on the person in the office, it can be difficult to obtain information⁸. When the government is secretive and withholding sensitive information, it is difficult for participants to work. One of the activities of ZANEC is to track the money in the Ministry of Education. ZANEC should be able to share the findings with its members, but the ministry forbids them to do so.

5.1.7 Conclusion

In table 5.1 the findings of this paragraph are summarized and marked with a plus or minus symbol. The plus symbol indicates the presence of the particular factor. The minus symbol means that the factor is absent and thus hampers the degree of participation.

Table 5.1: Factors at the level of the government

Level of democracy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fair democratic electoral system → With the establishment of the ECZ elections seem to become better organized and transparent (+) • Separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers → Formally yes, but in practice the judicial system is not independent (-) • Freedom of association • Freedom of speech • Freedom of press <p style="margin-left: 150px;">} → Formally yes, but with restrictions (+/-)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Restrictions on these freedoms → Various restrictions: no constitution, right to freedom of speech is not guaranteed, NGO bill (-)
Capacity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expertise and knowledge in organizing a participation process → Knowledge and expertise are present at the Ministry of education (+) • Communication capacities → There are means to communicate, in the form of a comprehensive website and a resource centre (+)
Willingness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The existence of policy documents in which participation is mentioned → In the development policies and at the level of the MoE, participation of Civil Society Organizations is mentioned (+) • Institutionalization of participation processes; platforms and forums become part of the system → Various platforms (+) • The acts of the government are in compliance with the documents about participation → The ministry is closed and sometimes unwilling to share information, the participation process is not smooth (-)

The level of democracy in Zambia is insufficient. The absence of a fixed constitution and the restrictions on freedom of speech are very concerning. Participants in the policy making process should be able to speak freely, otherwise there can be no equal partnership between the stakeholders. The NGO bill does not apply to unions, but it can affect ZANEC and in ZANEC the Teachers' Unions are embodied. Transparency of NGOs is a fair objective of the bill, but the decision to accept or reject the registration of an NGO seems very arbitrary. The certainty of independent judges when it might come to a lawsuit is lacking, since the judiciary power is not independent and the accessibility to the judicial system is poor.

There is capacity of the government to promote participation. The Ministry of Education seems professionally organized.

⁸ Interviews with both representatives of the donors and ZANEC

The government, and the Ministry of Education in particular, have established forums to which Civil Society Organizations are invited. ZANEC is even mandated to have a preparing role in the JAR, which could be interpreted as willingness on the part of the Ministry of Education to enhance the degree of participation. The fact that information is withheld or provided late, can be an indication for incapacity and unwillingness. Though, it became clear that some officers were deliberate reluctant to share information. This obvious evidence of unwillingness is certainly a hampering factor in the participation of Teachers' Unions in the policy making process.

5.2 Factors at the level of the Teachers' Unions

5.2.1 The Teachers' Unions

The two main Teachers' Unions in Zambia are the Zambia National Union of Teachers (ZNUT) and the Basic Education Teachers' Union of Zambia (BETUZ). Another existing union is the Secondary Education Teachers' Union of Zambia (SETUZ). This union is not seen as a leading one in Zambia, it only has around 6,000 members and is not a member of the Zambia National Education Coalition (ZANEC). Teachers of private schools and community based schools are not among the members of ZNUT, BETUZ or SETUZ.

ZNUT was founded in 1953, but the name has changed several times through time. The name ZNUT was established in 1962. ZNUT has over 38,000 members nowadays. The union crosses all sectors concerning education: early childhood education, primary, secondary and tertiary education. BETUZ was formed in 1997 and registered in 1999 under the name 'Primary Education Teachers' Union of Zambia'; PETUZ. The name changed to BETUZ in 2004, in line with the government's policy of transforming all primary schools into basic schools. The number of members grew from 300 in 1997 to 22,000 in 2009 and around 24,000 members today. There are circa 11,000 teachers who don't belong to any union.

Both Teachers' Unions have set out principle objectives of their organization on their websites. Their willingness to participate in policy issues can be derived from some of these principles. For the BETUZ, these objectives are: 'To promote, oppose as the case may be, any laws and administrative procedures that affect the interest of the members in particular and education in general' and 'To seek and maintain itself as a Union of teachers under the basic sector, to be recognised by the Ministry of Education authorities and to this end to negotiate on behalf of all primary and basic appointed teachers in the country by advancing their individual and collective interest in entering into collective agreements'. For ZNUT, the objectives that refer to policy participation are: 'To encourage intelligent discussions of all questions bearing upon the educational interests of the country; To study the educational program policy and administration and to deepen professional interest in these by calling meetings and conferences at all levels' and 'to promote coordination between teachers and the education authorities and agencies'.

5.2.2 The organizational structure

The organizational structure of the two organizations is similar. There are seventy two districts in Zambia. Each district is divided into zones. There are around ten schools in each zone, mostly basic schools. Within these schools, a committee of five persons is elected. The ten committees of the different schools in one zone, together form the so called core branch. From the core branch, the district executive committee is elected. Per district there are eight representatives who attend the provincial meetings. The representatives from all the districts, elect the provincial executive committee. The General Secretary appoints one of the members of this committee to run the provincial office full time. At the provincial level, the headquarters board is elected. The national executive committee of ZNUT consists of the president, vice president, general secretary, deputy general secretary for administration and organisation, the deputy general secretary for finance and business administration and four trustees. BETUZ is led by the president who is supported by the deputy president, general secretary, as chief executive officer, a deputy general secretary for administration and organisation, a deputy general secretary for finance, one senior trustee and three national trustees. The boards are elected for four years. Only the General Secretary and the deputies are working fulltime at the headquarter, the other board members are teachers, mainly headmasters. The board makes the decisions for the union. The general secretary is instructed by the president how to implement the decisions and writes reports about the progress. Both unions have a supportive staff and both organizations have a lawyer, who assists them amongst other issues in the study of policy documents.

Communication with the members occurs through the district offices, through faxes and emails. On the websites of the unions is much information, like press releases, news, events etcetera. Members can register and log in. The consulting procedure goes from national leaders, to provincial leaders, to district leaders. Sometimes the board takes the initiative to visit schools to consult the teachers.

5.2.3 Capacity concerning participation

ZNUT receives support from Norad, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation. 'Norad supports the ZNUT in strengthening the organization, through training and counselling of leaders at various levels of the organization' (Claussen et al., 2008: 54). ZNUT comes up with a certain program and Norad gives financial support. ZNUT writes a report about the outcomes of the program for Norad. Another funded program of ZNUT is EFAIDS. This program combines the goals of Education For All with the fight against HIV/AIDS. Partners in this program are Education International, the World Health Organization and other donors, for example the Netherlands. BETUZ does not receive funds. There is no financial support from the government. The resources come from the members. Each members contributes a mandatory two percent of his or her salary to the union. This is the same in ZNUT. What does happen in relation with the government, is that leaders of the Teachers' Unions are recruited for positions within the ministry⁹.

Activities regarding the policy making process are studying the policy documents and determining the unions' position. Sometimes lobby activities are practiced. In case the

⁹ Interview with the representative of the government

Teachers' Unions experience a dead end in negotiations with the government, they strike in order to force dialogue¹⁰.

'CSOs often lack the capacity and skills necessary to take part in policy discussions' (Manion & Mundy, 2006: 2). Lack of capacity is also a point of criticism at the level of the Teachers' Unions¹¹. The focus lies too often on salaries and statements are not made in a strategic way. Also the cooperation and coordination on national level between the two unions should be improved¹².

5.2.4 Participation performed shared: ZANEC

The Zambian National Education Coalition was established in 2001. ZANEC is an umbrella organization able to represent the Civil Society Organizations in the field of education, and coordinate their approach to the policy table (Woods et. al, 2003: 33). The number of member organizations that form ZANEC is close to sixty. The members are NGOs, civil society groups, community based organizations and faith groups. Both the ZNUT and BETUZ are members of ZANEC. SETUZ has shown interest but is not yet a member. ZANEC 's mission is to promote access and participation, equity and quality education for all through advocacy, research and capacity building.

Through the organization Civil Society for Poverty Reduction (CSPR), ZANEC was involved in the PRSP. The CSPR was initially formed to ensure that civil society in diverse background and diverse locations effectively and meaningfully participated in the design, formulation and implementation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. It exists for more than ten years and consists of 140 organizations now. ZANEC was asked by the CSPR for the education part of the PRSP.

ZANEC receives support from the African Network Campaign on Education For All (ANCEFA), financially and in the form of training. ANCEFA supports coalitions in the education sector. It started with nineteen networks, in nineteen countries. Now there are thirty five networks, thus thirty five countries, participating. The ANCEFA emerged from the World education forum held in Dakar 2000. The vision of ANCEFA is 'a united, strong, dynamic, motivated and effective African civil society committed to the promotion of free universal education'. In order to achieve that, ANCEFA organizes workshops at regional level. ZANEC participated in training workshops for the Southern African region, about understanding micro economics, budgeting, coalition building on country level, what the projects are that can be advocated. In short: capacity building. Through ANCEFA, ZANEC receive funds from the Fast Track Initiative (FTI). The FTI was launched in 2002 to help low income countries to achieve free universal basic education. ZANEC uses the amount of money that comes from the FTI for discussion programs on television and radio or to hold meetings in which programs are created¹³.

Within ZANEC there are thematic committees, based on the Education for All goals. Around each EFA goal there is a thematic committee in which members take place. The Teachers' Unions take place in the committee for universal primary education.

¹⁰ Interviews with ZNUT and BETUZ

¹¹ Interviews with the representative of the government, both representatives of the donors, and ANCEFA

¹² Interviews with ANCEFA and the second representative of the donors

¹³ Interview with ZANEC

According to the executive director of ZANEC, there are several means to put pressure on the government: When issues did not receive sufficient attention during a meeting, ZANEC discusses them in the media. Or to speed up the process, communications with ministry's officials are forwarded to the minister of education. And the upcoming elections are also seen as a strategic opportunity to put pressure on the ministry.

5.2.5 The cooperation between ZNUT, BETUZ and ZANEC

In the organization of ZANEC, there is one representative of ZNUT and one representative of BETUZ. ZANEC provides documents to the Teachers' Unions and supports the unions in making submissions, proposals¹⁴. The fact that ZANEC is composed of so many different Civil Society Organizations, implies that it is difficult to speak with one voice. Before making a statement that is on behalf of ZANEC, all the members should be consulted. This means that compromises have to be made, which is a questionable exchange for their independence for some (Woods et al., 2003: 33, Nsapato, 2011¹⁵). According to the representative of ZANEC, most of the time ZANEC and the Teachers' Unions have the same opinion, but in some instances there were disagreements¹⁶. Such conflicting positions arise when the Teachers' Unions support the interests of teachers, for example when teachers create opportunities for themselves to make some extra money. While ZANEC tries to protect the quality of education and asserts that the quality of regular education decreases when teachers provide tutoring after school. However, both Teachers' Unions show appreciation for ZANEC¹⁷. Regarding the cooperation between ZANEC and the Teachers' Union, and other members as well, coordination can be improved¹⁸.

5.2.6 Conclusion

Table 5.2: Factors at the level of the Teachers' Unions

Organizational capacities in terms of institutionalization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A solid and transparent organizational structure → the organizational structure is clear and can also be found on the websites of the unions (+) • Accessible and frequent communication with members → the communication is accessible online, or through the district offices, teachers have to obtain information themselves (+)
Organizational capacities in terms of legitimacy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transparent election procedures for leader positions → The procedure is transparent, but at school and branch level, the members have no share in the election of the national executive committee (+/-) • A voting system in decision making → Decisions are made only at national level, lower levels or individual members cannot make decisions (-) • Consultations with members → Formally provincial and district committees are consulted and even visits to schools are undertaken to

¹⁴ Interviews with ZANEC and BETUZ

¹⁵ Interview with ANCEFA

¹⁶ Interview with ZANEC

¹⁷ Interviews with ZNUT and BETUZ

¹⁸ Interviews with ANCEFA and the second representative of the donors

	<p>consult members. In practice, when the documents of the MoE (through ZANEC) are received, there is no time for consultation (+/-)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accountability to members → In communications with members of the TUs, decisions are announced, but there are no consequences, the only thing a member can do when he or she disagrees with a decision, is terminate the membership. (-)
Capacities concerning the participation process	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Expertise → The unions lack capacity to participate (-). One of ZANEC's objective is to participate in policy processes and the organization receives support to build capacity (+) • Autonomy (no responsibilities to the government or donors) → ZNUT, BETUZ and ZANEC are free from government interference; donors are not imposing their own ideas on them (+) • Means and methods to participate direct and indirect → There is direct participation and indirect participation, through strikes, or media attention (+) • Sufficient financial resources → There are financial resources. ZNUT receives external support. Both unions receive a contribution from their members. ZANEC receives financial support (+) • Geographical access → Like the MoE, BETUZ, ZNUT and ZANEC have their headquarters in Lusaka. Like the MoE, BETUZ and ZNUT have provincial and district offices (+) • Participation performed alone and shared in a way that promotes participation → ZANEC has the capacity to participate in policy making processes and takes a prominent place in some forums. The TUs can benefit from that (+). Since ZANEC has many members, the opinion of ZANEC and the TUs is not always the same. The TUs voice might not be reflected when performing shared participation (-). The coordination between ZANEC and the Teachers' Unions can be improved (-).

The Teachers' Unions seems professionally organized. They have a clear organizational structure and various means to communicate with their members. The findings about the organizational capacities in terms of legitimacy are less positive. The organizations appear to be very centralized; the national board makes the decisions and there is hardly any consultation with lower ranks.

ZANEC is equipped to participate in the policy making process and receives support, financially and in capacity building. As individual organizations, the Teachers' Unions do not receive this support. Their capacity to participate in the policy making process is less developed. The fact that their topics of interest are mainly on teachers' issues instead of education issues, does not promote their participation.

Because of the participation in the PRSP process, civil society is better organized on national issues and is now being taken more serious by the government' (Mpempo, 2000: 5). Also civil society participation in education governance has been increasing (Manion & Mundy, 2006: 3). 'These civil society actors have increased their cooperation and organised themselves around a coalition on poverty reduction' (Mwinga, 2002: 88). The overall tendency is that civil society becomes more organized and better equipped to participate in the policy making process. This coalition forming and networking, is a promoting factor for the degree of participation. The downside is, however, that the voice of the Teachers' Unions can

be dominated by the preferences of other organizations. Doing concessions when being part of a coalition is inevitable. But to speak with a single voice of the coalition depends on coordination and organization. Between ZANEC and the Teachers' Unions, the coordination can be improved. Participation in policy making processes performed alone and performed shared can promote and hamper the Teachers' Unions' participation.

5.3 Factors at the level of donors

5.3.1 SAP and JASZ

In the nineteen eighties, donors brought the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) to Zambia. The Structural Adjustment Program prescribed structural conditions to fundamentally adjust the economy (Vreeland, 2007: 31). Though, 'SAP did not bring to the country the expected benefits in terms of sustained growth and human development' (Seshamani, 2002: 1). In the recognition that the development agenda must not be prepared solely by technocrats from within the government and from the IMF and the World Bank, but also through a wider consultation with stakeholders in the country, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers were introduced. That was in September 1999. So the IMF and the World Bank were the initiators of the PRSP process, in which formalized dialogue between the government and civil society sprouted. The dialogue still exists in the different platforms that have been established, like the SAG.

At a certain moment, there were about fourteen donors active in the education sector. Every donor brought in its own mission. The Joint Assessment Strategy Zambia (JASZ) originates from the idea that there must be more harmonization between donors. The government was separated into sectors and each sector had lead donors who coordinated the other donors in the particular sector. The Netherlands and Ireland became the lead donors in the education sector. All the proposals and documents of the donors signified transaction costs for the Ministry of Education. Thanks to the donor harmonization, the relation Ministry of Education – donor became less laborious, and platforms, like the Joint Annual Review, were established. The donors want Civil Society Organizations to take part in these platforms¹⁹.

5.3.2 The focus of assistance

The government of Zambia receives budget support. Through the government this budget support should find its way to, amongst other sectors, the education sector. Examples of donors of budget support are Norway, Finland and the European Union. These donors are not there on a day to day basis and are not involved in the process of allocating the money. Besides the general budget support there is a basket fund arrangement. In this basket there are four partners: Ireland, Denmark, the United States and the Netherlands. This fund goes directly to the education sector. Other donors provide project assistance. These are JICA (from Japan), UNICEF, the African Development Bank, ILO (education is linked with child labour) and USAID.

While the expenditures for education are increasing; 2.5 % of the GDP in the 1990's, 18 % in 2006 (IOB, 2008) and 18.6% of the GDP in 2011 (Zambian Watchdog, 2010), budget support

¹⁹ Interviews with both representatives of the donors

is declining. Total donor support for the education sector was 14.4% of the GDP in 2010, compared to 7.7% in 2011 (Joel, 2010). In the education sector, the external contributions for education expenditures in 2006 was 21% (IOB, 2008), now 12% of the budget for education is supported²⁰. These expenditures are only the contributions to the Ministry of Education budget and are approximately 70% of the total expenditures on education (IOB, 2008). 12% Of the budget is still a substantial amount, which makes that donors have leverage in the education policy. As long as donors provide budget support, they will have leverage, because the budget support is based on donors' development policies and the purpose of these policies must be achieved²¹. It is important in the government – donor relation that the receiving country and the donor country find common values²². When they find common values and priorities, a common supported policy will arise.

5.3.3 Activities

The activities of donors to promote civil society participation are mainly focused on the practicalities of participation; helping organizations to access workshops on capacity building, or providing workshops to improve capacity. 'Donors have funded strategic initiatives in support of the NGO sector. For instance by supporting NGO representatives to attend international conferences' (Van den Berg et al., 2003: 16). A specified example are the two workshops in the last four years, facilitated by FES, a German Civil Society Organization, to help unions to interact in dialogue. The FES worked together with the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions. It facilitated dialogues with unions and political parties. Another example is the program supported by the Fast Track Initiative in 2010 called 'Agenda Assessment in Education'. This program learned how to identify problems in a policy and how to advocate for policy change. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, also ANCEFA, sponsored by various donors, provides trainings for Civil Society Organization, in order to increase their capacities to participate in the policy making process. And through ANCEFA, ZANEC receives a small amount of the FTI for participation activities. Further ZNUT received aid from the Norway Teachers' Union. This agreement focuses on support for capacity building through training in leadership, advocacy etcetera (Claussen et al., 2008: 55). 'The union has benefited greatly in this partnership' (Website ZNUT, 2010).

There are concerns that the Civil Society Organizations are too dependent on foreign aid; Shikapwasha, information minister and chief government spokesperson: 'Most Zambian NGOs are funded by Western donors' (Irin, 2009). 'The heavy dependence of Civil Society Organizations on donors places serious constraints on home-grown strategies for development' (Maitra, 2009: 6). ZANEC agrees that donors sponsor only to the extent to where the agenda of the donor and ZANEC are common²³.

Monitoring of the policies and the participation process by donors is important²⁴. But just as the government, donors are secretive. When the IMF and the World Bank visit Zambia for a review, their agenda is kept secret. They don't look at Civil Society Organizations and the Civil Society Organizations cannot react to them²⁵.

²⁰ Interview with the second representative of the donors

²¹ Idem

²² Interviews with the representative of the government and ZANEC

²³ Interview with ZANEC

²⁴ Interviews with ANCEFA and the representative of the government

²⁵ Interview with ANCEFA

5.3.4 Conclusion

Table 5.3: Factors at the level of donors

Relationship with the government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Donor-coordination and alignment in the education sector → the Joint Assessment Strategy is still followed, in the education sector the relationship between the ministry and the donors is well structured (+) • Leaving ownership to the MoE → The objectives of the donors' development policies must be achieved (-)
Relationship with the CSOs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Leaving ownership to the organization → the support of donors reaches the extent of their own preferences and priorities (-)
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing participation through activities on government level → Donors in the MoE try to stimulate participation of CSOs (+) • Enhancing participation through activities on CSO level → Various activities to strengthen CSOs in participation processes are undertaken (+) • Monitoring activities → Not taking the view of the CSOs in account (-)

Donors do a lot to promote the participation of Teachers' Unions in education policy making. The result of the harmonization of donors was a more structured dialogue between donors and the Ministry of Education. This makes the participation of Teachers' Unions in the policy process easier, since platforms for these dialogues are established. When donors provide assistance to Civil Society Organizations, ownership of the organizations is at stake. On the other hand, donors facilitate various capacity building activities, which will strengthen the organizations' capacity to advocate and negotiate. They can practice these competences in negotiations with donors.

5.4 Conclusions

In table 5.4, the promoting and hampering factors per level are cumulated, in order to provide a quick overview of the results.

Table 5.4: Overview of the number of promoting and hampering factors per level

Level of government	Level of democracy: + + - - - Capacity: + + Willingness: + + -
Level of the Teachers' Unions	Organizational institutionalization: + + Legitimacy: + + - - - - - Capacity to participate: + + + + + - - -
Level of donors	Relation with government: + - Relation with Teachers' Unions/ZANEC: - Activities: + + -

As was already mentioned in the second chapter: the government is the first in line to meet conditions, before participation of civil society can take place. The most determining factors, are indeed at the level of the government. There is capacity to have Civil Society Organizations participate in the policy making process. Willingness is expressed in treaties, documents and statements. But the reality shows the Zambian government is centralized, secretive and not practicing what it has promised. For the greater part, this seems to be reluctance, rather than a lack of capacities. The primary foundations for participation are not complied yet. The low level of democracy, especially the restrictions on freedom of speech, are a major hampering factor on the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process.

In an evaluation on effective partnership in basic education, the authors illustrate the situation at the level of the Teachers' Unions: 'Some NGOs have poor strategic planning and lack meaningful communication with the Ministry of Education and this may contribute to their feelings of under involvement. But perhaps these NGOs need to reconsider their aims, strategies and representative structures so that they can bring value to the policy table' (Woods et al., 2003: 33). Teachers' Unions should maximize their powers, they should utilize the space they have. Teachers' Unions are embedded in the history of the country, they are not restricted. They have more power than other NGOs and CSOs and should exploit that fact. They are themselves a big hampering factor on their participation in the policy making process.

Factors on the level of donors are mainly promoting participation. Donors offer provisions in the form of funds and workshops to enhance the skills for participation.

Based on the factors in this chapter, it is predictable that the degree of participation of Teachers' Unions in education policy making is not high. The two levels which consist of the most influencing factors, the government and the Teachers' Unions, reveal the highest number of hampering factors. There are symptoms of participation: At the level of the government there are documents, platforms and some willingness. At the level of the Teachers' Unions there is willingness and a firm organizational structure. Because of these factors, the degree of participation will not remain on the rungs of non participation. Probably the degree of participation will lag in the middle of Arnstein's ladder, inclining to both tokenism and the lowest rung of participant's power.

Chapter 6: The degree of participation of Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process

The previous chapter provides a description of the factors at the level of the government, the level of the Teachers' Unions and at the level of donors that determine the degree of participation. In this chapter that degree of participation will be described. The first paragraph describes development and education policies in Zambia and the general contribution of Civil Society Organizations. The next paragraphs describe, in succession, the type of participation, the scope of participation and the degree of participation. The findings are summarized in a table. The last paragraph is the conclusion.

6.1 The role of Teachers' Unions and other CSOs in policy making

When the actual rise of civil society participation in education policy began is not exactly determined. Lexow (2003: 17) states that the spaces for participation in the Zambian education sector have been opening up since the 1980. Mwinga (2002: 88) asserts that most of the organizations have been active since 1990. A respondent of the interviews at the level of donors sees more involvement of Civil Society Organizations since the Ministry of Education Strategy Plan²⁶ (MOESP), a five year plan focussing on the entire education sector, established in 2003. The civil society involvement in the eighties of the previous century concerned of participation primarily within the non-formal education sector and in the running of community schools throughout the country. It was more micro- than macro level participation. When the Sector Wide Approach (SWAp) was introduced by the World Bank, the first successful result was the Basic Education Sub Sector Investment Program (BESSIP). The SWAp is an international development approach that brings together governments, donors and other stakeholders. Unlike micro participation, the SWAp is concerned with the education policy on national level, on macro level. The predecessor of the BESSIP, the Education Sector Investment Plan (ESIP) was another attempt to move towards a broad sector plan with stakeholders involved. But this plan was too instrumental. It were mostly the big international Civil Society Organizations that were involved in the policy process of the BESSIP, like Save the Children and Care International (Manion & Mundy, 2006: 13). Lexow (2003: 22) states that despite the increased involvement of Civil Society Organizations on SWAp, 'the involvement was marginal and Civil Society Organization's contributions were not generally recognized as important'.

After some years of absence, the National Development Plan was reintroduced. The Transitional National Development Plan (TNDP) was a document for poverty reduction. The ESIP and BESSIP were focused on the education sector only, but the TNDP was directed to all sectors. The starting year of the TNDP has been kept at 2002 in order to allow full coverage of the PRSP program, so the TNDP was the first Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. The CSPR organised its own 'shadow' PSPR process parallel to the official one, including a limited number of hearings in four of the poorest provinces. The motivation behind this shadow report was the presumption that the civil service would dominate over other

²⁶ Interview with the second representative of the donors

participants in the preparation process. The CSPR wanted to widen the consultative process because it felt that the government's approach to the PRSP dealt inadequately with major themes. The CSPR asked ZANEC's contribution for the education section of the shadow report. The report was launched in July 2001, entitled 'A PRSP for Zambia – A Civil Society Perspective'. According to the CSPR, the official PRSP overlapped considerably with its own recommendation, a view shared by the Minister of Finance. (Bwalya et al., 2004: 21).

In 2003, following the MOESP, the National Implementation Framework part one (NIF I), was developed. The NIF was developed as a practical tool for the implementation of the MOESP. As could be read in the previous chapter, the Vision 2030, the Fifth National Development Plan (FNDP) and the Sixth National Development Plan (SNDP) had intentions to have civil society participate in the policy processes. The Vision 2030 is a long term development plan, the FNDP and the SNDP are plans with a scope of five years. All three contain a section on education. ZNUT, BETUZ and ZANEC have participated in all these policies²⁷. On the website of the ZNUT can be read: 'The union participates at all national committees called by government in order to protect the welfare and wellbeing of its members as citizens and employees in the public service'.

6.2 The type of participation

ZNUT and BETUZ are members of ZANEC and both have a representative on board of ZANEC. This partnership between the Teachers' Unions and ZANEC implies that there is participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process in two ways: performed alone and performed shared. The Teachers' Unions have their own contacts with the Ministry of Education, but also through ZANEC they sit at the policy making table. The participation through ZANEC is an example of indirect participation according the definition of Vroom and Jago: ZANEC has direct interest in the policy that is constructed, but since the organization is composed of almost sixty different members - members that defend the interests of teachers, girls, disabled children, certain ethnic groups, etcetera - the preferences of the Teachers' Unions are expressed indirect and might not be expressed as they would do it themselves. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that the coordination between ZANEC and its members can be improved. and documents for a meeting are not available on time. So how is it ensured that the representative of ZANEC who takes place at the policy making table speaks with the voice of the Teachers' Unions? It is not. Unless the representative of ZANEC is the Teachers' Union's representative and the union does participate direct.

Indirect participation in the meaning of Richardson (see chapter 2) is practiced as well; influencing the policy through other means than face to face interaction. Teachers' Unions and ZANEC use the media to express their opinion about a particular education issue, which is for example proposed by the Ministry of Education²⁸. It occurs that the government adapts the plan, or even abolishes the plan, when on the radio or in newspapers criticism is expressed about the particular issue. This happened when the Ministry of Education proposed to sell schools which were no longer productive. ZANEC discussed it in the media and in the end the ministry said they would not go ahead with this plan²⁹. Teachers' Unions can

²⁷ Interviews with ZNUT, BETUZ and ZANEC

²⁸ Interviews with ZNUT, BETUZ, ZANEC and the second representative of the donor

²⁹ Interview with ZANEC

indirectly practice influence, or force direct participation by strikes. Strikes are a useful tactic, in case of a break down or dead end³⁰. The opportunities to participate indirectly, gives power to the unions and ZANEC.

The relationship between the Teachers' Unions and the government and ZANEC and the government seems formal. There are fixed platforms to participate and spontaneous visits are not encouraged. The government invites the Civil Society Organizations and not the other way around³¹. The Teachers' Unions have their institutionalized annual negotiations about salaries. If there are administrative issues that are considered necessary to discuss, the government calls the union for an appointment. The Teachers' Unions approaching the government only happens when there is an unsolved problem on district or provincial level. This concerns specific cases of teachers and not policy issues. The Teachers' Unions participate direct or through ZANEC in the Sector Advisory Group (SAG) , the Joint Annual Review (JAR) and the Joint Assessment Strategy Zambia (JASZ). The meetings of the SAG are twice a year. The Ministry of Education presides the meeting and other Ministries are present. Teachers' Unions are part of a task group for universal primary education within SAG. The JASZ is a forum for education stakeholders, who come together once a month and the JAR is the yearly review of the programs that have been running during the school year. The Teachers' Unions are not attending the JASZ directly³², only indirectly through ZANEC.

In table 6.1 are the findings of this sub paragraph summarized.

Table 6.1: Findings for the type of participation

Type of participation	Direct → in platforms and forums the unions and ZANEC have face to face interaction with the Ministry of Education Indirect → by means of strikes and by drawing media attention to negotiation issues Formal → periodically meetings in platforms and forums Informal → no
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6.3 The scope of participation

Ideally, participation should take place through the whole policy cycle³³. In a 2006 study about the participation of civil society in educational systems in the context of Sector Wide Approaches, the authors state that 'CSO participation seems to be confined to the policy development stage' (Manion & Mundy, 2006: 2). This is contradicting to what the Ministry of Education explains about the National Implementation Framework: 'After indicative macroeconomic framework and budget ceilings are presented to the cabinet for discussion and approval, the framework and budget are then presented in form of a green paper to the civil

³⁰ Interview with ZNUT and the representative of the government

³¹ Interviews with ZNUT, BETUZ, ANCEFA and ZANEC

³² Interviews ZNUT, BETUZ and the second representative of the donors

³³ Interviews with ANCEFA and the representative of the government

society for comments' (MoE in NIF, 2007: 84). The respondents of the Teachers' Unions agree that they do not take part in the policy development, the policy formulation phase. Only after the decision making stage, they come in³⁴. 'It is a serious weakness in any planning that Teachers' Unions are not part of the planning stage, in which dialogue is needed between all stakeholders before new policies are implemented' (Van der Schaaf, 2009). The situation is different for ZANEC. ZANEC takes part in the policy making process from the moment of agenda setting³⁵.

In the Fifth and the Sixth National Development Plans, the incumbent presidents emphasize the role of civil society in the implementation phase: 'The overall coordination of the implementation of the FNDP will rest with [amongst others] civil society' (Mwanawasa, FNDP, 2006: 366). 'I call upon Civil Society Organizations, Faith-Based organizations and the ordinary Zambian to be the pillars in the implementation' (President Banda, speech at the launch of the SNDP, 2011). A diagram in the appendixes of the Development Plans outlines the implementation strategy of the plans. To implement the Fifth and Sixth National Development Plan there are strategies on sub-district, district, provincial and national level. Each level has its own Development Coordinating Committees (DCCs). The DCCs at district and provincial level serve as a forum for government institutions, private sector, nongovernmental organizations and civil society participation in the implementation and coordination of regional programmes (Banda, SNDP, 2011: 205). Both Teachers' Unions are mainly active in the implementation stage³⁶, because their members have to implement the plan. The teachers are the executors of the policy. Though on the website of University World News, a Zambian citizen expresses his concerns about the implementation of the Sixth National Development Plan: 'Zambia has many good plans but the problem is implementation. Many news articles about Zambia refer to what is going to happen. It is rare to read about what has already been achieved' (Yabe, 2011).

The above mentioned diagram with implementation strategies in the annexes of the National Development Plans shows who receives information and who provides feedback and recommendations. In addition to directions for implementation, it provides a guideline for evaluation and monitoring activities. 'Civil Society Organizations are to be the pillar in supervision and monitoring of progress in the various sectors' (Banda, SNDP, 2011). NIF II, the implementation framework for the education sector, derived from the FNDP, is evaluated during a Joint Annual Review. This is done with stakeholders, 'including civil society' (MoE, NIF, 2007: 93). Both Teachers' Unions and ZANEC participate in the JARs, but it is difficult to influence the policy at this stage, although ZANEC has the privilege to make the agenda for the JAR³⁷.

The diagrams with the government's strategies for the implementation of the National Development Plans, feedback and recommendations are appended in annex 2.

ZANEC says to participate in all stages³⁸. The summarized findings in the second table, concern the participation of the Teachers' Unions.

³⁴ Interviews with ZNUT, and BETUZ

³⁵ Interviews with ZANEC and the both representatives of the donors

³⁶ Interviews with ZNUT and BETUZ

³⁷ Interviews with ZNUT, ZANEC and the second representative of the donors

³⁸ Interview with ZANEC

Table 6.2: Findings for the scope of participation for Teachers' Unions

Scope of participation	Agenda setting → no Policy formulation → no Decision making → no Policy implementation → yes, most participation occurs in this stage Policy evaluation → yes Policy monitoring → yes
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6.4 The degree of participation

It appears that participation of the Teachers' Unions takes place in several stages of the policy making process. But what exactly is the degree of this participation? There is no evidence for manipulation or therapy. There is no 'non-participation'. In some cases the government just informs the Teachers' Unions, without opportunities for the Teachers' Unions to influence. When this is the case and the Teachers' Unions want to reach a higher rung on Arnstein's ladder, they have methods to participate indirectly.

There is quite some evidence of participation on the fourth rung of Arnstein's ladder; the Teachers' Unions, direct or through ZANEC are consulted, but whether their ideas will be seriously taken into account remains insecure. Consultation is practiced, according to this phrase in the Vision 2030 document: 'This Vision is a result of a nation-wide consultative process, involving various stakeholders who included among others civil society' (Mwanawasa, 2007: 6). But in the years before, 'there was a feeling that the Ministry of Education did not fully recognize the contributions made by Civil Society Organizations' (Lexow, 2003: 25). Also today that feeling can be identified in the Teachers' Unions and in ZANEC³⁹. In particular the Teachers' Unions are only consulted in a late stage of the policy cycle, only after the decision making they can express their opinion and they have to wait until the government invites them. The government has the power to decide whether or not to use a recommendation.

ZANEC participates at early stages of the policy cycle. But a clear statement of some other Civil Society Organizations, those involved in the civil society network and faith groups, is that they would like to participate in earlier stages of the policy cycle (Wood et al., 2003: 32; respondents of ZENUT and ANCEFA). 'They were pleased to be engaged in the BESSIP processes, but express the need to be involved in a more active way, at an earlier stage in planning' (Wood et Al., 2003: 65). There is no real partnership, when decisions have already been taken by one party and only a 'seal of approval' is required from the other party. The participation process is not smooth; 'Invitations for meetings were sent only a few days in advance, and not all documents were available beforehand' (Wohlgemuth & Saasa, 2008: 9; agreed by respondents of ZNUT, BETUZ, ZANEC and ANCEFA). In many cases the participation can be considered fake; Participation can be restricted to two representatives at the policy making table⁴⁰; only two persons of the extensive education coalition are allowed to attend a meeting. 'While civil society participation is permitted, the weight of that participation in influencing policy outcomes and decisions is limited' (Martin, 2010: 42).

⁴⁰ Interviews with ZANEC and ANCEFA

However, besides fake partnership, there is some proof that real partnership is intended and practiced. In a study from 2002 about the civil society participation in the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper it is concluded that the 'government was responsive to the interventions of the civil society' (Mwinga, 2002: 88). In the Fifth National Development Plan, the President states: 'The government will continue to consult citizens in key areas, so that their inputs are taken into account' (Mwanawasa, 2006: ii). One of the principles of the Fifth National Development Plans was the 'recognition of decentralization as an important way of enlisting the interest and participation of local stakeholders' (ibid.: p.371). From the side of the Teachers' Unions there are examples of successful negotiations⁴¹. A recent example of such a point of negotiation, are the contact hours a teacher has to have with his or her pupils. Because of the high pupil-teacher ratio in Zambia, the school day consists of two sessions: a part of the pupils attends school in the morning, the other part of the pupils comes to the afternoon session. The eight hours a day that the government wants the teachers to spend with all the pupils would mean a sixteen hour working day. The ministry acknowledged the infeasibility of the plan. Another example in which the Teachers' Union drew the longest straw, was the difficulty with pupils proceeding from grade nine to grade ten. The Ministry of Education wanted all pupils who passed the ninth grade to continue in grade ten, but the Teachers' Unions explained that only students with the highest grades should be allowed to go on to the next level, because of shortages in school buildings and teachers. At the end the government built schools and since then more teachers became available for level ten and above. A point that continues to be a topic of negotiation, is the housing of teachers. The government builds schools, but there is no housing, water and electricity for the teachers⁴².

There is no evidence for participation on a higher rung than the sixth. The seventh rung, delegated power, and the eight, control, are not manifested. ZNUT has the desire to have delegated power over the EFAIDS program, under the cloak of the government. EFAIDS is a program in which the goals of Education For All and the fight against HIV/AIDS are combined. International stakeholders, such as the World Health Organization and Education International, are involved in the program. But the donor's contribution to the program declines and the continuation of the program will be a problem. The government has its own programs on HIV/AIDS which take partly place in schools. According to the national coordinator for the program EFAIDS, ZNUTs program will be better implemented and executes, since the program is imposed by fellow teachers⁴³.

The genuine degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process is difficult to determine, since the line between real and fake partnership is vague. Some phrases and expressions imply partnership, but the relationship government - Teachers' Union seems more often to be a one way relationship, judging from the fact that the invitation to participate comes from the government. That is made clear in documents: 'The ministry identified which organizations should be on the committees' (Bwalya et al., about the PRSP, 2004: 19); 'The government will continue to invite civil society participation in appropriate forums' (Mwanawasa, FNDP, 2006: 379) - and in conversations: in the interviews with representatives of the ZNUT, BETUZ and ZANEC, their story about participation comes down to: "They call us."

The findings are summarized in table 6.3.

⁴¹ Interviews with ZNUT and BETUZ

⁴² Interview with ZNUT and the first representative of the donors

⁴³ Interview with the coordinator of EFAIDS program of ZNUT

Table 6.3: Findings for the degree of participation

Degree of participation	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Manipulation → No 2. Therapy → No 3. Informing → Yes 4. Consultation → Yes, consultation happens frequently, but without guarantee that the preferences of the TU or ZANEC are taken into account 5. Placation → Yes, participation is mentioned in various policy documents and statements, but there is no participation throughout the entire policy cycle and the TUs cannot take initiatives 6. Partnership → Yes, there are instances where the preferences of ZANEC or the TUs have been taken into account 7. Delegated power → No 8. Participants' control → No
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6.5 Conclusion

There is participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process. But it is mostly symbolic. There is no reciprocal relation between the government and the Teachers' Unions. The government has the power and the Teachers' Unions and ZANEC are obviously subordinated. The degree of participation sometimes reaches the sixth rung: partnership, but the partnership is in many cases fake. Referring to Arnstein's ladder, the state of participation of Teachers' Unions in Zambia falls under 'tokenism'.

Participation does not take place in all the stages of the policy making process. ZANEC is involved in the first stage. The involvement of the Teachers' Unions comes only after the decision making stage. The members of the Teachers' Unions are the street level executors of the policy. That is where the Teachers' Unions can influence the implementation. There are intentions and structures to involve the Teachers' Unions in the evaluation and monitoring stage. But in these stages they do not have much influence.

The fact that participation of the Teachers' Unions in the policy making process is often shared with other members of ZANEC, makes that the preferences of the Teachers' Unions are not always expressed in meetings with the Ministry of Education. Sometimes preferences of other members have priority. On the other hand are the representatives of the Teachers' Unions in ZANEC involved in more processes, since ZANEC has more structured meetings in divers forums than the Teachers' Unions.

Concluding: Except informal participation, all the types of participation are present. However, the advantages of this are negated by the finding that there is no participation throughout the whole policy making process. There are some signs of participation at the sixth rung: partnership. However, the overall picture is that the degree of participation in the policy making process remains at the lower ranks, of fake participation, fake consultation, in short: tokenism.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

In this final chapter, the answers to the research questions are given. The sub questions are answered in previous chapters, but will shortly be addressed in the first paragraph. The central research question is answered in the second paragraph. The third paragraph is a preview: What might, based on the finding, be expected regarding the degree of participation of Teachers' Unions in education policy making processes in the future? Paragraph four is a reflection on this research.

7.1 Answers to the sub questions

7.1.1 What is participation in the policy making process?

The main theory that is used to define the concept participation is the ladder of Arnstein. This ladder comprises eight degrees and makes it possible to rank participation. Besides degrees, there are different types of participation. The presence of more types of participation, means more participation. Since this research is concerned with participation in the policy making process, the stages of the policy cycle in which participation takes place, have to be taken into account when forming the picture of participation.

7.1.2 Which factors determine the degree of participation in the policy making process?

The theory of Molenaers and Renard about participation in the policy making process concentrates on the PRSP-process. The theory is partly applicable to this research. The division that the authors make, is used to answer this sub question: factors that determine the degree of participation can be found at the level of the government, the level of Civil Society Organizations - in this case the Teachers' Unions - and at the level of donors. Per level there are factors that promote or hamper the degree of participation. These factors are derived from visions of different authors.

7.1.3 How is the state of affairs regarding the factors that determine the degree of participation, at the different levels?

The factors that are set up as factors that promote or hamper participation are investigated. There was evidence for the presence or absence of each factor. Looking at the concluding table at the end of chapter five, the factors that promote participation are in the majority. But the weight of these factors is not reflected in this table. Certainly the most determining factor is the poor level of democracy. This factor is the most determining, because it is at the level of the government. And the government has to set the conditions for participation.

7.1.4 What is the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process in Zambia?

The degree of participation is not ambiguous. At the different stages in the policy making process, there are different degrees of participation. Despite the clear description of Arnstein per rung, it is difficult to say when the participation is real or fake. The prediction that was made in the fifth chapter appears to hold true; the average degree of participation is in the middle of non participation and participants' power.

7.2 Answer to the central research question

The central research question of this thesis is: 'Which factors determine the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process in Zambia?' As mentioned, there is not one particular degree of participation that is applicable for the whole policy making process. In the different stages of the policy cycle the degree of participation differs. The most successful in participation are the Teachers' Unions during the implementation stage. The teachers are the implementers of education policy and when they see that a policy cannot work, it comes back to the Teachers' Unions and they have, depending on the opportunities given by the ministry, the possibility to negotiate with the ministry. It did occur that policies were adapted on behalf of the teachers. That is power, that is real participation. In the monitoring and the evaluation stage, the Teachers' Unions are invited. They attend the Joint Annual Reviews, but the influence that is practised at these stages is minimal. It is not sure that recommendations are taken into account. Besides that, it is a one way relation from the government to the unions. The unions cannot take initiatives, they have to wait until the ministry calls. What they do have is a great means of pressure, that is even accepted by the government; strikes can force dialogue. But on the other hand strikes are not the panacea. Continuous strikes will definitely harm the quality of education. The Teachers' Unions are members of ZANEC. ZANEC attends workshops for capacity building and it receives funds through ANCEFA. These circumstances provide positive perspectives for ZANEC; ZANEC can be a strong coalition party at the policy table. Due to the fact that the Teachers' Unions is just one member amongst many, their influence in the policy making process through ZANEC is minimal. But ZANEC is active at early stages of the policy making process. If the government would allow more representatives, the influence of the Teachers' Unions through ZANEC might increase. But if the Teachers' Unions remain putting the emphasis on salaries and working conditions only, the quality of education will not benefit. ZANEC does more regarding the quality of education, since the organizations' purpose is to achieve the Education For All objectives; quality education for all. However, quality education starts with motivated teachers. Therefore both the Teachers' Unions and ZANEC should be participants of the education policy making process.

The factors at the level of the government are definitely hampering the degree of participation most. Restrictions on freedom of speech, a closed, centralized government, are not the ideal conditions for a flourishing participation process. Also recruiting leading persons of Teachers' Unions into the government, is a form of silencing somebody. Another burden of proof of hampering factors lies at the level of the Teachers' Unions. They are so embedded in the history of the country, they have years of experience, they are not hindered by restricting law, yet, they don't exploit this status.

7.3 Looking ahead

Civil society participation is upcoming. When exactly the elevation began is not that important. What is important, are the developments within civil society. Coalitions and networks have been established and are professionalized. Restrictions on the freedom of speech remains a concern, but the NGO Bill does not have to be a concern. Transparency of the Civil Society Organization is important. Both Teachers' Unions have a website with news. That can enhance their transparency and legitimacy. The NGO registration-council and -board should be transparent as well. A solid constitution to which the government complies, is necessary. The ECZ, which keeps an eye on the process of elections is a positive step ahead towards democracy. Maybe the upcoming elections will change the situation. Maybe a new wind will blow through Zambia in the form of a new leading political party after twenty years of MMD government. And if not, the MMD presidents have called for civil society participation in their National Development Plan. Now participation has been put in motion, the degree can only become better.

7.4 Reflections on the research

Empirical findings are not likely to perfectly fit the theory. In this research, the theory of Arnstein seemed very applicable, but because participation occurs in different stages of the policy making process, there is not one degree that applies to the entire participation process. It is possible to provide a more general description of the degree of participation: The participation of Teachers' Unions in the education policy making process in Zambia falls under 'tokenism'. Determining the degree of participation and detecting the various types of participation in other sectors, or in other countries, makes it possible to make a comparison with the degree of participation in education policy making in Zambia.

The operationalizations for the factors that determine the degree of participation, are not as clear as the theory for describing the degree of participation. Not one single theory is used, but visions of different authors are combined to come to a list of factors that can promote or hamper the degree of participation. It may be that certain theories are unintentionally omitted and that certain factors that can influence the degree of participation are not taken into account here. Only when the same list of factors is used, it will be possible to compare Zambia with other countries.

The interviews in this research were very valuable. The respondents provided firsthand experiences. The quality of this research could have been improved by interviewing more persons. For example persons currently working at the Ministry of Education, or committee members of the Teachers' Unions at district and provincial level. If the investigator would have the opportunity to participate in the policy making process as an observer, from the position of the three different levels, that would be the ultimate way to determine which factors determine the degree of participation of the Teachers' Unions in the policy making process.

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Annex 1: Background information on the respondents

1.1 Government

The leading party in the current government is the Movement for Multiparty Democracy, lead by president Rupiah Banda. The MMD is a centre-left political party, that is in power for twenty years. The strongest opposition parties are the Patriotic Front and the United National Development Party. The UNID is the founding party of the country. It has gone through a transition now, because of the association with the one party state, when this party was into power under President Kenneth Kaunda. The principles and values remain the same. The UNID is a socialist party. All parties are campaigning at the moment for the upcoming elections in September.

- Mr. Njekwa Anamela was Minister of General Education of Zambia from 1987 to 1991. Now he is in the opposition; He is the vice president of the UNIP.

1.2 Teachers' Unions

The two main Teachers' Unions are ZNUT and BETUZ. Another existing union is SETUZ, the Secondary Education Teachers' Union of Zambia. This union is not seen as a leading one in Zambia. It lacks some registration, for example in ZANEC. SETUZ has around 6000 members.

Teachers of private schools and community based schools are not among the members of these unions. There are circa 11.000 teachers who don't belong to any union.

1.2.1 ZNUT

ZNUT stands for Zambian National Union for Teachers. The Union is founded in 1953, but the names has changed several times trough time. The name ZNUT was established in 1962. ZNUT has over 38.000 members nowadays. The ZNUT crosses all sectors concerning education: early childhood education, primary, secondary and tertiary education.

The principle objectives of the organization are according to ZNUT's website:

- a) To promote co-operation among teachers and to encourage intelligent discussions of all questions bearing upon the educational interests of the country; and to afford to the Zambian Government, the Ministries of Education, Science and Technology and Vocational Training and Information and Continuing Education the advice and experience of the members of the Union.
- (b) To study the educational programme policy and administration and to deepen professional interest in these by calling of meetings and conferences at all levels.
- (c) To promote a high code of professional excellence and efficiency, devotion and conduct and to make such representation to the employers as may ensure that the posts in the educational service are open to all eligible teachers regardless of sex, race, creed or origin.

- (d) To promote co-ordination between teachers and the Education authorities and agencies and to endeavour to secure the removal of difficulties, abuses out-dated regulations which are a detriment to the free progress of Education in this country.
- (e) To associate and unite all teachers in the Zambia Teaching Service and to establish Branches of the Union.
- (f) To promote friendly social intercourse among the teachers as well as between teachers and the wider community.
- (g) To promote the welfare of the children of the nation and equip the pupils to take their places in the industrial, social, economical and political life of the community.
- (h) To protect and further the teacher's professional interest collectively and individually.

One of the challenge that the union faces is the loss of teachers, because of retirement, dead, migration and resignations. Also HIV/AIDS is a great concern for the union. The disease has a big impact on the education system: loss of man and hours due to perpetual absenteeism, vulnerable children. The union provides in campaigns and program, brought together under the program EFAIDS.

- Mr. Newman Bubala is General Secretary of ZNUT.
- Mr. Frank Peter Ndubeni is the national coordinator for the program EFAIDS

1.2.2 BETUZ

The Basic Education Teachers' Union of Zambia was formed in 1997 and registered in 1999 under the name 'Primary Education Teachers' Union of Zambia'; PETUZ. The name changed to BETUZ in 2004, in line with the government's policy of transforming all primary schools into basic schools. The number of members grew from 300 in 1997 to 22.000 in 2009 and around 24.000 members nowadays.

According to the website of BETUZ, the vision, the mission statement and the objectives of the organization are as follows:

Vision:

A 'Zambia where teacher's rights, professional development and remuneration are of higher standard for the attainment of Quality Universal Basic Education for All.'

Mission statement:

A 'Zambia were teacher's rights are respected and upheld through Collective Bargaining, lobbying, advocacy, worker's education, training, information dissemination and resolution of grievances.'

Objectives:

- (a) To recruit and represent all primary and basic appointed teachers in the Country.
- (b) To promote a high code of professional excellence, efficiency, devotion and make such representation to the Government through the Ministry of Education and ensure that posts in the Ministry are open to all eligible teachers regardless of sex, race, creed and tribe.
- (c) To seek and maintain itself as a Union of teachers under the basic sector to be recognised by the Ministry of Education authorities and to this end to negotiate on behalf of all primary and Basic Appointed teachers in the country by advancing their individual and collective

interest in entering into collective agreements as the sole representative of all Primary and Basic Appointed Teachers in Zambia.

(d) To promote and further the interest of its members and to voice collectively their opinion on matters pertaining to education in Basic sector.

(e) To promote the education, cultural and social advancement of the community and its members.

(f) To foster patriotism among teachers and to promote and maintain education standards of ethical conduct, professional integrity and professional efficiency.

(g) To mobilise, invest and administer funds for the benefit of members.

(h) To promote, oppose as the case may be, any laws and administrative procedures that affect the interest of the members in particular and education in general.

- Jeffrey Simuntala is the General Secretary of BETUZ.

1.3 Donors

The government of Zambia receives budget support. Through the government this budget support should find its way to, amongst other sectors, the education sector. Examples of donors of budget support are Norway, Finland and the European Union. These donors are not there on a day to day basis. Besides the general budget support there is a basket fund arrangement. In this basket there are four partners: Ireland, Denmark, the United States and the Netherlands. This fund goes directly to the education sector. Further there are other donors, providing project assistance. These are JICA (from Japan), UNICEF, the African Development Bank, ILO (education is linked with child labour) and USAID.

The Netherlands are the supervising entity of the Fast Track Initiative funds in Zambia. The FTI was launched in 2002 to help low income countries to achieve free universal basic education.

- Mr. Vincent Snijders used to work on the embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Zambia, in the unit for education. He left Zambia two years ago.
- Mrs. Given Daka's nationality is Zambian, but she works for the Dutch department of foreign affairs at the embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Lusaka. She is program officer for education.

1.4 Other stakeholders

1.4.1 ANCEFA

The abbreviation ANCEFA stands for: African Network Campaign on Education For All. It supports coalitions in the education sector. It started with 19 networks, in 19 countries. Now there are 35 networks, thus 35 countries, participating. The ANCEFA emerged from the World education forum held in Dakar 2000. The board of ANCEFA exists of nine members. Four are selected by the sub regions. Each sub region nominates or selects one board member. The other members are appointed representatives of the academia, human rights activists,

media and Teachers' Unions. A condition for the Teachers' Union representative is that the Teachers' Union should be registered at Education International, that is the motherboard for Teachers' Unions worldwide. One of the strategies of ANCEFA is to encourage civil society networks to have a Teachers' Union as part of the coalition.

According to the website of ANCEFA, the vision and the mission statement are as follows:

Vision:

'A United, Strong, Dynamic, Motivated and Effective African Civil Society Committed to The Promotion of Free Universal Education.'

Mission statement:

'To promote, enable and Build capacity of African Civil Society to advocate and campaign for access to free quality education for all'.

ANCEFA has partnership with almost all the organizations in the field of Education For All and Education Millennium Development Goals. They organize training workshops about understanding micro economics, budgeting, training on what is coalition building on country level, what are projects that can be advocated. In short: capacity building. These training workshops take place on regional level, but the purpose is that what is learned goes down to local level. The first training was in Kenya, for the upper east countries. The next in Malawi, for countries in Southern Africa.

Followed by workshops in Gambia for West Africa and as well in Togo, for French speaking African countries. The Teachers' Unions should be represented.

- Mr. Limbani Nsapato is policy and advocacy manager of ANCEFA

1.4.2 ZANEC

The Zambian National Education Coalition is established in 2001. The Peoples' Action Forum was the mover behind the establishment. ZANEC is an umbrella organization able to represent the CSOs in the field of education, and coordinate their approach to the policy table (Woods et. al, 2003: 33). The number of member organizations that form ZANEC hit the 60 nowadays. The members are NGOs, civil society groups, community based organizations and faith groups. Both the ZNUT and BETUZ are members of ZANEC. SETUZ has shown interest but is not yet a member.

ZANEC 's mission is to promote access and participation , equity and quality Education for All through advocacy, research and capacity building.

- Mrs. Mirriam Chonya Chinyama is executive director of ZANEC

Annex 2: Implementing the development plans

Both diagrams are retrieved from the appendixes of the National Development Plans. NDCC/PDCC/DDCC are the national, provincial and district Development Coordinating Committees.

Figure 7. 1: Institutional Arrangement and Information Flows (FNDP, 2006)

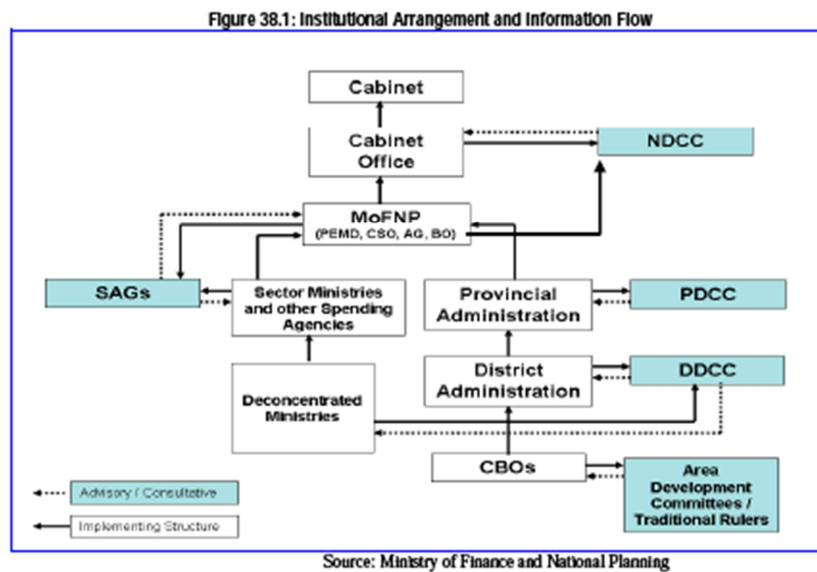


Figure 7.2: Institutional Arrangement for Information Flows (SNDP, 2011)

