



## Enablers of Hubs & Coalitions for Education Reform - Lessons from India & Brazil

RISE Annual Conference

Kat Pattillo

*September 22, 2023*

## Looking For Innovation In Education? Go To Kenya.

Some of the world's leading work on education is happening in Nairobi. What makes a city an innovation hub?



The Human Capital Index (HCI), 2018

Kenya ranked **1st** out of **43 African countries** for education/health outcomes (tied with Algeria, not counting Seychelles & Mauritius islands).

Read more [here](#).

# PLACE & TIME



## ATHENS

500-300 BC  
Socrates / Agora  
Plato's Academy  
Aristotle's Lyceum  
>> democracy



## LONDON

1700's  
Coffeehouses  
>> enlightenment



## PARIS

1940's  
Cafes, artists, writers  
>> existentialism / art



## SILICON VALLEY

1970's/80's  
Homebrew Computer Club  
Stanford  
>> PC / internet

- I. Why do certain places at certain times become hubs for education reforms and innovation?
  
- II. When coalitions for education reform do emerge, what forms can they take?

- MPhil thesis at University of Oxford in Comparative Politics (2020-2022)
- **Shadow cases analysis**
  - Survey of 106 countries to identify 20 hubs
  - Consultations with 5 experts
  - My experience of 10 years interviewing/training/advising leaders in the sector (South Africa, Kenya, etc)
  - Desk research
- **2 qualitative case studies**
  - 23 semi-structured interviews
  - 2 weeks in São Paulo + Delhi virtual
  - Process tracing
  - Document analysis
- Builds on literature in: political sociology, social movement theory, collective action, innovation diffusion

*\* Turning into book on how to transform ed systems (3 months in Brazil, 1.5 months in India)*

# Where is more education activity happening?

## 106 Countries Survey

- Latin America:
  - Mexico to Chile
- Africa:
  - North & Sub-Saharan
- South Asia:
  - Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka
- Southeast Asia:
  - Brunei, Myanmar, Cambodia, Timor-Leste, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam

Looking for high density in 3 areas:

*Innovations (nonprofits/companies)*

*Political Will & Government Reforms*

*Coalitions*

# Most places in the Global South are not hubs.

Type of Case	Place <i>Structure</i>	People <i>Agency</i>	Coalition <i>Process</i>	Political Will <i>Process</i>
<b>5. Rare Coalitions or Political Will</b>				
<i>War &amp; Conflict</i>				
Kabul, Khartoum, Kinshasa	Low	Medium	Low	Low
<i>Economic Crisis</i>				
Caracas, Buenos Aires	Low	Low	Low	Low
<i>Humanitarian &amp; Political Crisis</i>				
Cairo, Port-au-Prince	Low	Medium	Low	Low
<i>Predominantly Rural</i>				
Bamako, Managua, Thimpu	Low	Low	Low	Low

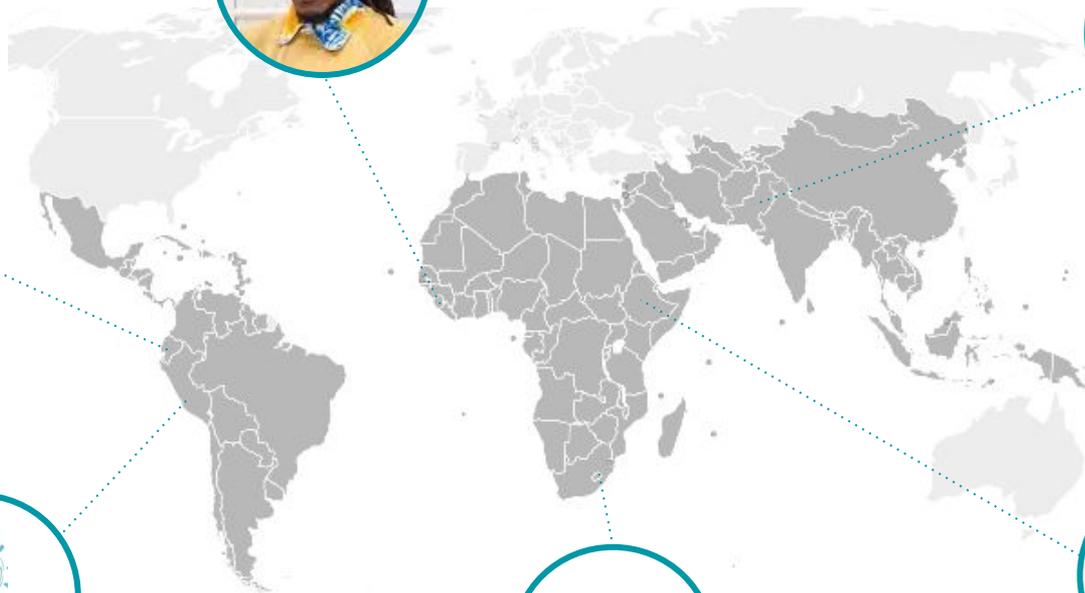
<b>KEY</b>	Low
	Medium
	High

\*These are examples (not comprehensive list of cases).

# Classified 4 categories with at least 20 hubs.

Type of Case	Place <i>Structure</i>	People <i>Agency</i>	Coalition <i>Process</i>	Political Will <i>Process</i>
<b>1. Coalitions With Political Will</b>				
	Delhi, São Paulo	High	High	High
	Nairobi, Lahore	High	High	High
	Johannesburg/Cape Town	High	High	High
<b>2. Political Will in Difficult Environments</b>				
	Addis Ababa	Medium	Low	Medium
	Freetown, Monrovia, Kigali	Medium	High	High
	Quito	Medium	Low	High
<b>3. Political Will in Easier Environments</b>				
	Lima, Santiago, Hanoi	Medium	Low	High
	Accra	Medium	High	High
	Mexico City/Puebla State, Lagos/Edo State	Medium	Low	High
<b>4. Non-state Actors in Low Political Will</b>				
	Kampala, Jakarta, Dhaka, Bogotá/Medellín	Medium	Low	Low

KEY	Low
	Medium
	High



# CASE SELECTION

*Movimento pela Base*  
São Paulo, Brazil

Aam Aadmi Party  
Delhi, India

Differences

**PHILANTHROPY-LED**  
(Lemann Foundation)  
*Coalition to Political Will*

**POLITICAL PARTY-LED**  
(Support of NGO's/funders)  
*Political Will to Coalition*

National policy rolled out across  
states/municipalities  
Mostly govt schools

State policy (union territory)  
+ after Delhi, Punjab state  
~ $\frac{1}{3}$  private schools

Movement with 65+ members

State-led reform group

Similarities

Based in megacities - 5th largest  
World's largest countries - 7th

2nd largest  
1st

Democracies with rising populist/far-right politicians

- New political party with political will for education --> **created opportunity**
- Launched in 2012
- Won Delhi Municipal Assembly in 2015
- Model schools, School Management Committees, an entrepreneurship curriculum, skills-based placement, infrastructure, teacher training, and more
- **~1.84 million students**
- (For more on the rollout of one of the policies, read the [RISE book by Yamini Aiyar and others.](#))



SIMPLE  
EDUCATION  
FOUNDATION



CENTRAL SQUARE  
FOUNDATION



# The New York Times

INTERNATIONAL EDITION | THURSDAY, AUGUST 18, 2022

## Leave God out of the culture wars

Tish Harrison Warren

### OPINION

Two Sundays ago, my church had a baptism service. Baptisms at our church are a mixture of solemnity and unbridled joy, often full of laughter and tears of joy. Those who were being baptized, in the case of infants, their parents, took vows to pass their trust in God's grace and love and in His promises that draw us from the darkness, evil and "all ungodly things that dwell in the heart of the flesh. After the baptisms, the kids in our service ran forward, giggling, trying to get sprayed with the baptismal water. At one point, Ryan, along with the congregation as he called in to "re-

member" their baptisms.

On that Sunday, Ryan invited anyone else who wanted to get baptized to let him know. To my surprise, after the service ended and we were all mingling, two men people approached Ryan and asked if they could also get baptized. So after a short conversation with them, he led them for the congregation to register and, then, the two others joined our ranks through baptism. People cheered and applauded as they emerged from the water. I felt that service full of grace, joy, and the beauty of God and human lives.

I have thought of that anecdotal Sunday a lot the past couple of weeks because there is a perplexing difference between the way we celebrated God that morning, and the way I typically hear God discussed and used in our broader cultural discourse.

The God of the baptismal service is one of joy, kindness and peace. The God I often hear about in American politics, in the news and on Twitter is one of cultural division and lack of grace.

The God of that Sunday vice seemed powerful and holy, yet gentle and merciful. The God in our cultural discourse seems impatient and vindictive, a mostly sociological phenomenon related to political posturing and power plays.

In the news and on social media, God usually shows up when we are fighting about something. The subject of faith seems most often discussed in conversations about "culture wars."



A sixth-grade class in New Delhi, where billions of dollars have been spent since 2015 to improve schools, some of which had no drinking water or had been invaded by snakes.

### NEW DELHI

## Overhaul of public schools in the capital of India has students clamoring to enroll

BY KARAN DIXIT FOR CNN

Prakash Prasad used to skip school for weeks, sometimes months. His classrooms with his college were hazy but in the summer. The bathrooms were filthy.

Now, he gets dressed by 7 a.m., in a blue shirt and trousers, eager to go to school, in a new building where the tables are clean. "I come to school because I know that I can become something," said Mr. Prasad, 25, who is in the 12th.



## Russia says its diamonds are ethical, not 'bloody'

Western countries move to label gems as tainted by the war in Ukraine

BY DIANNE DEARBY

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has led to global bans on trading about one-third of Russia's diamonds. For years, major gemstones are trading over a quarter of Russia's major exports. Diamonds.

Now, the United States and other countries are taking action that could effectively label Russian diamonds as "conflict diamonds," claiming that their sale in the United States and beyond has deepened in Russia's north.

"Proceeds from that production are benefiting the same state that is conducting a premeditated, unprovoked, and unprovoked war," said George Cullis, a U.S. State Department official, in a letter written in May to the chair of the Kimberley Process, an international organization created by the United Nations to prevent the flow of conflict diamonds.

The European Union, Canada and other Western nations, as well as Ukraine and several activist organizations, have joined to similar calls for a Kimberley Process discussion about the implications of the invasion of Ukraine, including whether Russian gems should be considered conflict diamonds.

The school system partnered with top experts and interventions to design new curriculums, while working with parents, students and teachers to improve day-to-day operations.

The first strong thing that Delhi has signaled is that our children are worth it, our schools are worth it and our teachers are worth it," said Padma Sarangan, a professor of education at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai.



## THIS IS PATHBREAKING!

<p><b>SWITZERLAND</b></p> <p>These Indian schools are giving lessons in happiness</p>	<p><b>GERMANY</b></p> <p>India schools will not 'happiness classes' to best news</p>	<p><b>SINGAPORE</b></p> <p>THE STRAITS TIMES</p> <p>India schools cheer new 'happiness class' in schools</p>
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<p><b>FRANCE</b></p> <p>India schools are making the 'happiness' curriculum as a success story for parents, but an experiment for the future</p>	<p><b>UAE</b></p> <p>New Delhi Students Start Taking Lessons in Happiness</p>	<p><b>US</b></p> <p>India, which has long focused on student success, now offers 'happiness' classes</p>
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### Delhi Govt Schools are showing path to the world & world is curious to know about Happiness Curriculum!



# MOVIMENTO PELA BASE - SÃO PAULO, BRAZIL

- Funder created opportunity --> **created political will**
- Started by Lemann Foundation in 2012 (LF started 2002)
- 65+ leaders from government, nonprofits, academia
- National learning standards (similar to US Common Core)
- **~40 million students**
- (For more, read the [Lemann Foundation story of MPB.](#))





# Why are some places hubs and not others?

Identified at least **13 factors** -

**Some beyond any individual's control (more structural/forces):**

Cities/Urbanization & Density

Economic Growth

Norms & Practices

Events & Chance

**BUT many within our realm of influence:**

Talent Pipelines

Seed an Ecosystem of Organizations

Data --> Political Will

Spread Activist Skills / Repertoires

Exposure to Progressive Education

Cross-Border Sharing

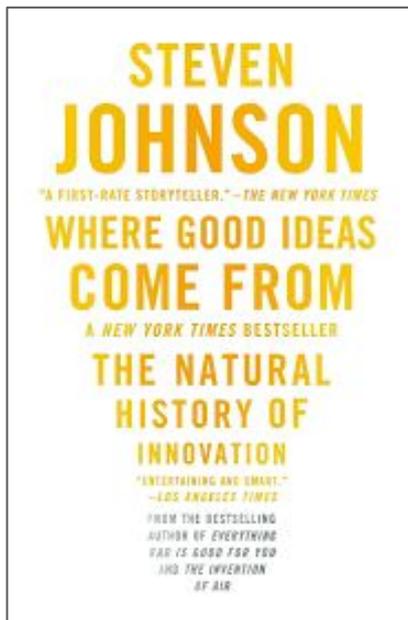
Trips --> Trust & Solidarity

Intentional Orchestrator

Co-Creation in Design

## Cities / Urbanization

--> dense networks for innovation



THE NEW YORKER

NEWS CULTURE BOOKS & FICTION SCIENCE & TECH BUSINESS HUMOR CARTOONS MAGAZINE

ANNALS OF MEDICINE | JULY 29, 2013 ISSUE

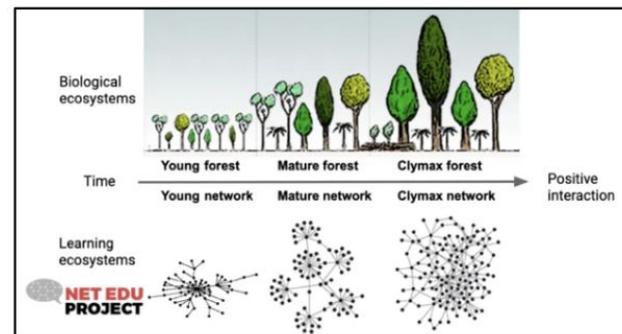
### SLOW IDEAS

*Some innovations spread fast. How do you speed the ones that don't?*

BY ATUL GAWANDE

Facebook Twitter RSS Email

**W**hy do some innovations spread so swiftly and others so slowly? Consider the very different trajectories of surgical anesthesia and antiseptics, both of which were discovered in the nineteenth century. The first public demonstration of anesthesia was in 1846. The Boston surgeon Henry Jacob Bigelow was approached by a local dentist named William Morton, who insisted that he had found a gas that



Beissinger 2022:  
urbanization/networks --> revolutions

Zhao 1998 & Van Dyke 1998:  
Density & physical spaces enable  
activist networks

Cities are hubs for trade / idea flow

## Economic Growth

--> more money for philanthropy



*"Most of my individual donors...they are all somehow connected to the 3G group."*

- Erica Butow, Ensina Brasil

## Norms / Practices

--> for collective action (*mutirão*, *seva*, *samaj*)  
& history of strong social movements ([MST](#))



Chaisty et al 2018:

Brazil democracy: coalitional presidentialism

## Events & Chance

--> elections, impeachments, appointments, arrests

(Maria Castro, Manish Sisodia)



*The New York Times*

Feb. 27, 2023

### *Top Indian Opposition Leader Arrested on Corruption Charges*

The detention follows a bitter fight between India's B.J.P. governing party and a regional competitor with national ambitions.



# Politics determines when windows open or close.



## INDIA

Rise of AAP

BJP/central government crackdown on dissidents, journalists, opposition parties

Manish Sisodia arrest (read more about his case [here](#))

High cost to criticizing central government



## BRAZIL

Dilma Rouseff impeachment

Michel Temer appointment

Bolsonaro election

Lula election

## Talent Pipelines

Lemann Fellowship, TFI Fellowship



*"Being a part of the Lemann network really helps for people starting to be entrepreneurs, because **now they have access to people like me** who are now [in] my fifth company."*

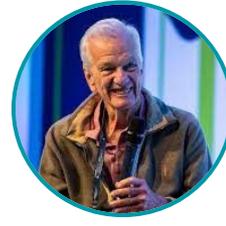
- Leticia Lyle, Camino Education

McAdam 1982:  
Leaders & organizers

# Only THREE leaders can be a catalyst.



Arvind Kejriwal



Jorge Paulo Lemann



Manish Sisodia



Denis Mizne



Atishi



Alice Ribeiro

*(But leaders are not enough...)*

## Seed an Ecosystem of Organizations



CENTRAL SQUARE  
FOUNDATION



social entrepreneurs, activists, funders



**Data --> Political Will**

ASER > Sisodia



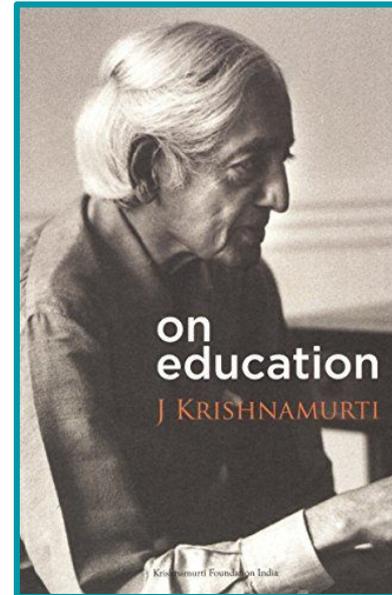
## Spread Activist Skills

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Foundation  
spread repertoires



## Exposure to Progressive Education

Atishi > [Rishi Valley School](#)



## Cross-Border Sharing

AAP > Finland, Singapore, LF > US, Australia



**The Washington Post**

## How Bill Gates pulled off the swift Common Core revolution



By [Lyndsey Layton](#)

June 7, 2014 at 7:25 p.m. EDT



## Trips --> Trust & Solidarity

LF trip to Yale, AAP trip to rural village



Tarrow 2012:

Trust --> social movements

Diani 1992:

Role of “collective identities”

## Power of Orchestrator



McAdam 1982:  
Institutions --> civil rights movement  
Infrastructure / organized campaign



Tarrow 1994:  
“Interpersonal networks”

## Co-Creation In Design

MPB state/city forums, Sisodia home dinners



# Why do coalitions emerge?

## PLACE + PEOPLE + PROCESS

Cities & Density  
Economic Growth  
Talent Pipelines  
Embedded Practices

Political Entrepreneurs  
& Activists  
Social Entrepreneurs  
Fundors

*At least two pathways:*

Strike Scenario

*Or*

Slow-Build Scenario

1. **Motivated Initiators  
Commit to Cause**

2. **Orchestrator Creates  
Container to Mobilize**

3. **Co-Design & Feedback  
to Grow Allies**

4. **Trust & Solidarity  
Through Obstacles**

5. **Luck With Preparation  
& Networks**

**Coalitions can happen fast.  
And there is a process.**

***Political Will Before Coalition***

# THE STRIKE SCENARIO

## 1. Motivated Initiators Commit to Cause

1A. Commit to start a new party

1B. Commit to education in a certain place as a priority issue

1C. Win the power and mandate to do it



*"I see **for the first time a political party making education an agenda...It's not ever been seen as a political agenda for votes.**"*

- Shaveta Sharma-Kukreja, Central Square Foundation

## 2. Orchestrator Creates Container to Mobilize

2A. Technocratic skills for execution

2B. Availability of implementation experts

2C. Support from an active funder

2D. Orchestrator for skilled facilitation of coalition process

2E. Learning from non-Delhi models

NGO's  
CMI Fellows  
Pro Bono Advisors  
CSF Project Management Unit  
Education Alliance

## 3. Co-Design & Feedback to Grow Allies

3A. Process of co-design

3B. Oversight and quality control of implementation

3C. Pressure to deliver visible results

3D. Partners willing to let politicians take the credit



*"One of the key factors behind the successful partnership has been the fact that the stakeholders from the government side are involved in the designing of the program, from day one. So it was never a store developed and delivered model. It was always co- designed and developed and co-deliver. So **there was ownership right from the beginning .**"*

- Swaha Sahoo, STIR

## 4. Trust & Solidarity Through Obstacles

4A. Incentives to use coalition approach

4B. Informal relationship-building between partners

4C. Resistance to change from the system

4D. Belief that the system could change



*“There was a lot of pushback on” many of the “agendas that Minister [Sisodia] also wanted to bring on the ground...In bureaucracy, you’ll find the **people in India look for precedents**, and in absence of precedents...there is a lot of delay.”*

- Sambhrant Srivastava, former CSF seconded to Delhi govt

## 5. Luck With Preparation & Networks

5A. Personal values

5B. Timing & choices

5C. Interactions

2020-11 Anti-corruption protests

2014 Modi elected PM

2015 Landslide AAP win

Central crackdown on opposition, journalists

2023 Sisodia arrest >> Atishi

**Or coalitions can happen gradually. And there is a process.**

***Coalition Before Political Will***

# THE SLOW-BUILD SCENARIO

## 1. Motivated Initiators Commit to Cause

1A. A highly committed funder with an advocacy mindset

1B. Activist skills

1C. Benchmarking against other countries to choose a goal

1D. Clear outcomes with adaptive funding



*"These problems cannot be solved in a four-year term."*

- Denis Mizne, Lemann Foundation



*"This is what changed when Denis came in, this idea of if we want to get to scale, we are going to do **advocacy to influence the public sector.**"*

- Camila Pareira, Lemann Foundation

Mizne: Sou da Paz  
Ribeiro: Sou da Paz & Todos

## 2. Orchestrator Creates Container to Mobilize

2A. Skills to facilitate and design a coalition process

2B. Participant selection

2C. Norms for a space of trust



*"In the beginning, we had people who would never sit together in the same table."*

- Julia Ishikawa, Lemann Foundation

2013 - 28 leaders to Yale for 3 days  
Politicians, federal agencies, states,  
NGO's, funders, academics  
2014 - Ribeiro hired  
~60 members + ~30 allies

# THE SLOW-BUILD SCENARIO

## 3. Co-Design & Feedback to Grow Allies

3A. Co-creation to increase buy-in

3B. 1-1 relationship-building

3C. Feedback loops and research production - inside Brazil

3D. Technical knowledge through feedback loops and research - outside Brazil



*"The reason why the national learning standards have been embraced by the networks of education [is] because they built it...They know why things are there. So it might not be perfect. If we would just do it like they did with the Common Core, three people in a room writing it, maybe we would get a much better technical document. But **it would be inside a drawer.**"*

- Alice Ribeiro, *Movimento pela Base*

Ribeiro 1-1's & email updates  
Group meetings - updates, train, co-create  
2 Yale trips  
30 research outputs  
27 state forums  
26 public forums  
Online feedback platform - 300,000 comments  
Opinion polls  
Online Observatory tracker of policy rollout

# THE SLOW-BUILD SCENARIO

## 4. Trust & Solidarity Through Obstacles

4A. Consensus despite diverse views

4B. Collaborating towards a shared goal

4C. Momentum to gain traction



*“Why the movement was important was to create this kind of space, where people that were very influential in the public debate had the opportunity to talk to the ones that were in charge of really writing the standards...to manifest their worries and concerns. I think that **lowered the tension in the public debate.**”*

- Camila Pereira, Lemann Foundation



*“For this policy that was so fragile at the beginning, so much resistance, **there was a chance that it was going down...** Those associations kept the work going on during this process until the new government would take charge.”*

- Julia Ishikawa, Lemann Foundation

## 5. Luck With Preparation & Networks

5A. Personal values

5B. Timing & choices

5C. Interactions

Maria Helena Guimarães de Castro:  
State Secretary São Paulo  
2nd at Ministry of Ed under Temer  
Co-wrote critical op-ed

**FOLHA DE S.PAULO**



**opinião**

CLEUZA REPULHO, MARIA ALICE SETUBAL E MARIA HELENA GUIMARÃES DE CASTRO

**Os estudantes não podem esperar**



03/05/2016 02h00

Quarenta e cinco milhões. Esse é o tamanho do sistema educacional brasileiro. São 45 milhões



# When a place has one coalition, more coalitions are likely in the future.

Brazil social movements >

**Todos pela Educação** >

MPB >

BCLN, CSN, Arcos, IF group

India social movements >

AAP in Delhi >

AAP in Punjab >

**Influencing other parties**



Education Alliance was invited to work with leaders in Tamil Nadu, and “they are certainly inviting us because they’re seeing that politically, **education can be a road to electoral success.**”

- Amitav Virmani, Education Alliance

## Cities to Nearby States

Puebla > 2.5 hours to Mexico City

Benin City > 4 hours from Lagos

Haryana > Delhi

## Twin Cities

Bogotá > 1 hour from Medellín

Johannesburg > 2 hours from Cape Town

# Politicians can make a difference - but this takes different forms.

**Catalytic Federal in Small Countries**

Sirleaf/Werner, Bio/Sengeh

**Catalytic Federal in Small Centralized**

Kagame

**State-Led in Large Decentralized**

Obaseki/Edo, Sharif/Punjab

**Mayors & State/Province Governors**

Gomes/Sobral

# QUESTIONS?

[kat@edwell.io](mailto:kat@edwell.io)

*Lessons from bright spots, tools, jobs, funding, courses:*

**LinkedIn:** Kat Pattillo

**Newsletter:** [edwell.substack.com](http://edwell.substack.com)



[Full Thesis](#)

[Executive Summary](#)