

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

FALK AUDITORIUM

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE NEW U.S. ADMINISTRATION
IN GLOBAL EDUCATION

Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, November 16, 2016

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P R O C E E D I N G S

MS. LOMBARDI: Good afternoon. Thank you so much to everyone who is able to join us today and for the people across the country and around the world who are with us in spirit and watching us on the webcast. My name is Joan Lombardi. I'm a senior advisor at the Bernard van Leer Foundation, and I'm really honored today to be the moderator of this event.

We are here to talk about education, a basic human right, a core American value, and a bipartisan issue. We know that the world has made a serious commitment to education over the last few decades from Education For All to the Millennium Development Goals to the Sustainable Development Goals. Yet we all also know that although we've made progress, we have serious challenges if we are to assure that every child around the world has access to a quality education and that they're learning and developing to their full potential.

We are having this conversation today obviously during a time of transition. And those of you who have lived through transitions before know that they provide opportunities as well as a lot of uncertainty. The election here in the United States last week is ushering in a transition that will include new presidential appointments, new ways of thinking about budget priorities and policy, and agency reviews. We are really very focused on this panel on the overriding question, which is what are the recommendations to the new administration about supporting global education?

Before I introduce the panel, let me tell you a little bit about the format. We'll have about 45 minutes of panel discussion, then I'll open it up for Q&A from the audience. We do have #GlobalEdu for those of you around the world. You can ask questions through that hashtag.

So it really gives me great pleasure to introduce the panel. Starting at the far end we're here with Alice Albright, the CEO of the Global Partnership for

Education; John Gillies, the director of Global Learning for FHI 360; Jennifer Rigg, the executive director of the Global Campaign for Education; Dan Stoner, the associate vice president for education and children protection at Save the Children; and then Rebecca Winthrop, who, as all of you know, is the senior fellow and director of the Center for Universal Education here at Brookings.

And with that, I'm going to start actually with Rebecca and ask her to kind of ground us first in the facts about the challenges of education around the world.

MS. WINTHROP: Sure, happy to, Joan, and thank you again, and thanks to all of you for coming. I think it's a really important moment to think collectively about what we want to see the U.S. Government do on this topic moving forward. And I think there's probably just a couple things I would say.

One is that there is a big, big education need globally. The latest figures are that by 2030, if we don't do anything different from what we're doing now in education in countries around the world, half of the entire youth generation, so that's over 800 million kids, will not have the basic secondary level skills they need -- so basic, very basic high school level skills that they need -- to be successful in their personal lives and in the world of work. And it's actually a pretty astounding statistic. Half of the youth generation in 2030, in about 15 years, is not going to be prepared for being constructive citizens, but also for having jobs and helping us all move forward.

Now, who are those kids? Where do they live? What communities are they in? They're predominantly in the poorer countries of the world, across the developing world, and low-income countries and middle-income countries. They're also predominantly kids who are from families who live in poverty. So the sort of bottom quintile, the poorest 20 percent of families, those are the majority of where these kids are from, but not only. It's right across the socioeconomic spectrum.

If you break down that number you can see sort of across the development spectrum of a child where the big pitfalls are, again, starting really early with

early childhood development and early childhood education. And, of course, it's not just a matter for education ministries, it's also a matter for families. There's about 250 million kids who are not developing to their full potential in the first five years of life.

And then when you get into the schooling ages, you have a big chunk of kids who are out of school, about 263 million kids, primary/secondary school, are just not in school at all. And then when you get kids who do make it into school some are doing great and have good quality schools, but it's not -- there's a huge number who are not. They are in school, they're going to school every day, but they don't have the type of education that's allowing them to succeed. They might not have good trained teachers, they might not have textbooks or good facilities, they might not have the best curricula. So there's almost 470 million kids across primary/secondary education who are in school, but really not learning to the level that they should be.

And so that's sort of the scope of the problem. It's really serious. It affects us all.

And the other thing I would note is it's probably not a good recipe, all of us as a global community, to have really poorly educated kids in the areas of the world that are the most unstable, that are at risk of conflict or in the middle of conflict, that have political violence. That's not a good recipe.

MS. LOMBARDI: Well, building on that, Alice, if I can turn to you, as the CEO of the Global Partnership I know you have to make the case for education often. What is the case for U.S. investments in education?

MS. ALBRIGHT: Thank you. Thank you for the question. Thanks always to Brookings for inviting everybody here and it's obviously a very timely moment to have this conversation.

First I suggest that we sort of step back and regroup a little bit and talk about the overall international development agenda with the new administration and why, for a variety of reasons, it is absolutely in the U.S. national interest to begin to think about

all the issues that we all know about, and there are a long list of reasons why that's the case. And I think that's an important grounding before we even get into the topic of education.

Rebecca, I think you've just gone through, you know, the latest statistics. For many of us in the education world and the development world they're troubling. And I think if you think about the impact of those statistics, they do yield a number of global risks for the United States, but also for other countries. If we don't educate kids, we are going to look at greater circumstances of extremism. If we don't educate kids, we are going to have a more difficult time contending with climate change, contending with health epidemics and pandemics. So there are a number of reasons that are very clearly in the U.S. national interest to think about the 263 million kids that aren't at school.

We are looking forward to working with the new administration. We need to meet with them. I think there's been some very good, cogent cases made lately about why the education challenge is so pressing for the United States and others. I would commend the transition to reading, for example, the new report that was issued over the summer by the Education Commission. I think it sets out a very pressing case.

The world and its thinking about education is beginning to pivot. It is by many measures no longer just a charity. The way that we think about education at GPE is very much a partnership. It's not just a word that's in our title, it's not just rhetoric. It's very much the way that we work. And if you look at the commitment of domestic governments to funding their own education, those numbers are slowly but surely going up in many, many countries. So this is not just a handout. It's very much an investment that the countries are thinking about.

The other thing I'd point out to many of us now is that this is a bipartisan-supported issue. It is not just one party or the other party. There's been a broad consensus on the Hill around supporting education.

So I think there's some good things to build with. I think we have to

remind people why it's important. There are models that are working, and start talking about why it matters so much now, more than ever, to really invest in education.

MS. LOMBARDI: Dan, Save the Children's been working on the ground for years, both domestically and internationally. What have we learned? What progress have we made? And what are the implications of that for the next administration?

MR. STONER: Thanks, Joan. Well, I think that we're talking about all the kids who are out of school and the difference challenges. One of the things that's really heartening is that the international community has recognized that we didn't do everything perfectly in the past. And you look at the Millennium Development Goals really focus on getting kids into school. And as Rebecca was saying, getting into kids into school is not enough. Are they actually learning? So the Sustainable Development Goals now include learning, so we're trying to get kids to actually learn while they're in school. So this coming together of a consensus that these are the challenges and the problems that we have has really been a great boost in terms of in the right direction.

At Save the Children we have both domestic and international programs, and we've really seen results with kids. So we and lots of other organizations in close collaboration with USAID and others are working to gather evidence of what works. So it's not just we think a kid's going to school is enough. We're actually gathering evidence and ensuring that there is learning going on and that we're reaching the most disadvantaged kids and we're reaching all those kids who have been left out.

It was easy to get lots of kids into school. Now it's a lot more of a challenge because those who are still left out are refugees, they're girls in some countries, they're children with disabilities, all sorts of different challenges that keep them from going in.

We have lots of great examples of where programming has actually led to policy dialogue and change with countries. So our roles as NGOs isn't just to implement programs, but it's also, in Mozambique, for instance, an early childhood

development program that we instituted was evaluated by the World Bank; a report "The Promise of Preschool." That was then presented to the government of Mozambique and now the government of Mozambique is rolling out community-based preschools in five states across the country. So you really can make a big change, but the challenge is great and it's not the time to shirk away from it.

So I guess in terms of messages for the new administration, the first one, and Alice was talking about this, we know that well-educated, inclusive societies are more prosperous, more stable, more democratic. So it's definitely in the U.S. foreign policy interest to have stable, democratic countries around the world.

And education is a great return on investment. There's all sorts of evidence about especially if you start early, invest in the early years in education, you're going to get more financial return for your money than just about any other investment.

MS. LOMBARDI: And so if you had to name one outstanding aspect of our progress in the last few years, what would it be?

MR. STONER: A focus on learning, I think, as opposed to just going to school. You know, we all have this idea and we all think about it. You think about it for your kids. Oh, if they go to school, they must be learning. But it's not just enough -- that wasn't the case for a long time. So really focus on are we learning? And it's not just the school that does it, but we need a whole community around the school. We need parents engaged in order to bring about that learning.

MS. LOMBARDI: So focus on results, a message for the new administration.

John, when you and I were talking, you mentioned to me that we really need to take a broad perspective on development in general, and Alice mentioned that, also. What are the implications of that for education and for the new administration?

MR. GILLIES: Well, I appreciate Alice bringing that in because I do have a couple of points I would like to make. And thank you very much, Brookings, for

facilitating this panel. It's great.

So I want to talk very quickly about both U.S. leadership in the global community and the role of education in foreign aid. So for my personal point of view, five days before I was born Harry Truman presented the national budget for 1952 to the Congress. He sent it to Congress. The two events are not, in fact, related, but just to be clear. (Laughter)

That budget was extraordinary. It represented a 78 percent increase in the size of the budget, of the U.S. budget, almost all of which was oriented to international engagement. Now, a lot of that -- this is after Marshal Plan -- a lot of that was military aid, but a very substantial portion was a statement about the United States is moving into a position of global leadership and development. Ten percent of that budget was organized and focused on non-military engagement with the world to build a more stable and prosperous world.

Now, the geopolitical context at the time drove a lot of that, but nonetheless, it was a statement about the United States' role in the world. Now, that was pretty much of a high water mark for most of my life. The portion of our budget going into international engagement is 1 percent or less, so it's a very small portion of it. But nonetheless, it was a significant statement to say this is who we are.

That commitment has remained a constant in the 65 years since then. Republican and Democratic administrations alike have seen our role and supported it in that same way. And I think that's an important part of the continuity of how we engage.

Now, the part of education in all of that is interesting because in conversations with almost anyone, we all recognize you can't build anything without an education populace. None of the goals, whether they're MDGs or SDGs or any of the others, can be achieved without a fundamentally, substantively educated populace.

So why do we even need to have this conversation about funding in education? Why isn't it just a natural thing to say, of course, we're throwing all the money

into education? And we're not because, generally speaking, education is a challenging argument to make and, in part, because there's two kinds of problems that we try to deal with: there's today's problems and there's tomorrow's problems. And education deals somewhat with today's problems, but a lot with tomorrow's problems.

As it turns out, it takes children a long time to grow up and go out and get a job and contribute to society. But in doing that, in addressing the long-term problems, it's the only way in which we actually make progress.

And I do think while it's useful to and important for us to acknowledge the challenges we have today, the impact of even the level of investment we've had in education and support we've had in working with countries to develop their education systems has resulted in a set of infrastructure around the world that enables us to do things now. Functional ministries of education, active community and parent groups and NGOs, universities, every country now has a stable set of education services and structures from primary through university and technical. They're not all perfect, ours aren't perfect, but there is a solid foundation upon which to work. And I think that is -- again, it's an important sense of continuity, of where we are today, and what we need to do as we move forward.

MS. LOMBARDI: Well, the continuity is important. I have to admit I was only three, so I don't remember that. (Laughter) I worked in a lot of these administrations, but I don't remember that.

I think all those points are important and I want to turn, finally, to Jennifer and just say as the executive director of the Global Campaign I understand you released something today. I want you to share your set of recommendations for the next administration.

MS. RIGG: Wonderful. Thank you so much, Joan. And really thank you to the Brookings team and to all of you for participating in this important discussion. I think it's very timely.

And so, yes, the Global Campaign for Education - U.S. is a coalition that's active in 100 countries, working collaboratively to ensure that all children and youth around the world have access to quality education. And there are two key pieces that are outside for people in the room and then we're also sharing it on Twitter for those of you that are joining by webcast that we wanted to share today.

The first is we're providing, thanks to many of you who have already signed, a call to action signed by over 70 organizations and advocates, including youth from around the country. And it really highlights the power of global education for incoming policymakers and encourages inclusion of global education in the new administration and the new Congress' priorities. Just like we've been hearing from everybody on this panel absolutely how critical this is, and we also know that there's a really strong support of Americans who really understand that this is vital, both here and globally.

We're also introducing for the discussion today recommendations for the next U.S. administration on global education. And we have this available, as well, but I'd like to highlight three immediate opportunities.

First, there is clear and bipartisan support for global education funding. Thank you so much, Alice. The first presidential budget request for Fiscal Year 2018 should continue this strong bipartisan support for global education funding, and I think there's a really important time now and opportunity to not let up the gas, if you will. That pedal actually needs to continue and get even stronger.

And secondly, it's a critical time to move quickly to appoint high-level leadership, including a USAID administrator and key international development and international education positions. One idea that we've discussed is to help build this high-level leadership and elevate the USAID Office of Education to an Education Bureau within USAID. That's a little bit insider baseball, if you will, but we've been looking across our coalition and our partnerships to learn from previous initiatives, such as the

President's Malaria Initiative. Interagency, high-level leadership is absolutely critical for continued success.

And third, we call for ensuring that the new USAID education strategy is aligned with the still relatively new Sustainable Development Goal 4, which calls for inclusive and equitable quality education and life-long learning opportunities for all. Thank you, Dan, for referencing earlier the importance of starting early. And we see this as a real opportunity moving into the next four years to make sure that U.S. global leadership on global education is strong for all the reasons mentioned, but especially because we know that it helps build that stability for our communities around the globe, as well as, very importantly, right here in the United States.

MS. LOMBARDI: Thank you, Jen, for mentioning starting early so that I didn't have to say it.

I want to turn back to Rebecca because there's been so many reports that have come out over the last few years about education, but I want you to remind us of what came out most recently from the International Commission on Global Education and what you think the implications of those recommendations are for the next administration.

MS. WINTHROP: So for those of you who don't know about this report, I would urge you to check it out. It's High-Level Commission on Financing Global Education Opportunity, and it was co-championed by four different heads of state plus the head of UNESCO. And what it was an effort to get some fresh thinking around this global education challenge and it had a lot of really smart people from all over the globe, from the business sector, from Jack Ma of Alibaba in China to sort of eminent Nobel Prize-winning economists, to civil society folks. It had all types of folks who have been engaged in education, but also it had a lot of people who care about having educated workers, citizens, et cetera, who are maybe not inside the education space.

And they got together over the course of this last year and did a huge

amount of work trying to think how do you tackle the challenge of making sure that in 15 years, by 2030, we don't end up in a scenario where you have those 800 million kids, youth, without the skills they need for successful lives and livelihoods? And they said, so what do we do about it? and they put a lot of really good thought, the best sort of thought and expertise to the challenge and they recommended four basic transformations.

And one of them is a transformation around performance, meaning there's a lot of things that countries can do within those education systems that John was talking about, where they can channel money more effectively and get more bang for their buck. They can be more efficient.

And they talked a second transformation was around innovation. They said, you know, we really need to harness technology. We need to harness new approaches. We need to look at public-private partnerships. They really focused on that for trying to do things differently with similar good outcomes in a way that you could really perhaps leapfrog forward.

The third transformation they talked about was inclusion. This idea, they talked about progressive universalism, that we really need to recognize that it might cost a bit more, which is what Dan mentioned, to reach those kids who are hardest to reach. And we should really start with that, those hardest to reach kids first, and progressively get to this idea of universal quality education for everybody.

And the last transformation they talked about is a transformation in finance. We're going to need more money and we're going to need existing money to be better spent to actually fix that problem of having 800 million young people not fully educated. And they are recommending on a big, big global picture that we need to go from globally spending \$1.2 trillion on education to spending \$3 trillion on education globally. And the vast majority of that, in fact, practically all of that, they have calculated can come from reforms within domestic budgets of developing countries themselves. And they have a whole way of -- they have lots of interesting recommendations about

how governments can do better on their own budgets.

But 3 percent of that, even if every government does that, it still won't be enough. Three percent, which is actually a very small percentage of the whole pie, the commission recommends, needs to come from international sources. And that's about government sources and private sources. So they're looking at a blend of public-private sources to help make up that 3 percent.

Within governments, which is where the U.S. Government should, I think, step up, they are saying that we need about 49 -- governments around the world, international donors, they're aiming should be giving about \$16 billion a year and they need to step it up to, ultimately, by the end of 2030, to about \$49 billion a year.

MS. LOMBARDI: So I want to come back to this question of the recommendations that are coming out of the commission and have you think while I go to Alice for a second. You know, you've got five minutes with a high-level person in the new administration. What is your message to them based on the commission report?

But first, I want to turn back to Alice and ask, we talk about financing of the GPE model. What are the implications of that model for the new administration?

MS. ALBRIGHT: Well, I would again think about reframing. You know, let's assume that we've had already a good discussion about the what and the why of why we should care about international education and why it needs to occupy an important part of the international development agenda, and now let's focus on the how. And I would focus with them on some very high-level themes, certainly about the GPE model, but they happen to fit very well with a lot of the transformations that are in the Education Commission report.

I'd first talk about reform of education systems. And I would not be afraid of using the word "reform." If you look at all the work the GPE does, it is around the question of strengthening and reforming education systems so they do a better job.

I would also come back to this concept that this is not about a charity.

The 97 percent figure or the 3 percent figure that you just mentioned, Rebecca, is indicative of that. I mean, governments themselves are already shouldering a significant share of the burden here. So I think that the ask is not an ask about expecting donor countries to get into sort of a permanent liability subsidy type of model with these governments, but realize that the ultimate goal here is to have governments providing education on their own in a way that is cost-effective, that is successful, that is free, and that is educating and providing a quality education for children all the way up through a tertiary school where they're able to become productive members of society.

I'd also talk about the private sector and talk about the important role that technology and other things can play in improving outcomes.

I'd also talk about fragile countries. It's one of the things that's -- it's 50 percent of our work right now. It's probably the fastest-growing part of GPE's work. I expect that to continue. And the more that we can do a good job to help improve conditions in these fragile countries, providing opportunities, providing hope, figuring out a way to educate refugees, those conditions are important to the U.S. national interests, and I think we have to keep coming back to that.

One of the things we talked about at a CGD event yesterday was the intersection between education and its impact on health. We talked about pandemics. We talked about Ebola. We talked about HIV/AIDS transmission. Educating girls are, in part, a way to build the operational fabric in many of the countries that are so necessary to enable us to do a better job around pandemics.

I'd also talk about results. I think that all of us need to really focus on better delivery, better results, better outcomes, and that will, I hope, resonate with this administration. It was certainly beginning to resonate beforehand, and to continue.

So I think we've got to focus on those types of things, but in particular dispel a possible myth that this is about donor countries and, in particular, the U.S. providing the lion's share of the money forever and ever. If you just simply look at that 97

percent number, it's just simply not the case. And so the role of the international money is to improve the outcome, but still there is a significant part of this that is shouldered by the countries themselves.

MS. LOMBARDI: So leveraging, using that money for leveraging.

MS. ALBRIGHT: Leveraging, that's exactly right.

MS. LOMBARDI: Rebecca, is that one of the recommendations you would have gone to?

MS. WINTHROP: Yeah, I mean, I think if there's sort of one high-level message it would be that supporting education globally is an American value. It always has been. And that it is such a small, small percentage of money is spent on it and you get such bigger bang for your buck than what you spend on it.

I mean, if you think about what John said, you know, we're now 1 percent for sort of development aid for assistance overall and education is a tiny, small percentage of that. And yet, you get huge ripple effects if you're thinking about stability and ongoing sort of economic progress.

MS. LOMBARDI: So bring us back down to the ground, John and Dan. You both do a lot of work on the ground. You're both working in countries with diverse needs and emergencies. What are the implications for the current situation for the next administration? And Dan, I'll start with you.

MR. STONER: So there are about 65 million refugees in the world right now. There's a huge influx of refugees not only around Syria, but also around many countries that are really not set up to take them. Places like East Africa, where you've got significant populations of refugees and real trouble dealing with poverty issues in their own countries. And more than half of the refugees are children. So if you think about who are the refugees, a lot of them are women, more than half of them are children.

And so these refugees, the average refugee now is expected to spend about 17 years as a displaced person. So if you're spending 17 years as a displaced

person, John says it takes a long time to grow up, well, 17 years is a long time. So if you don't have education for refugees in all of these myriad situations that they have, and there's innovative ways, through technology we can define ways, through partnerships, through lots of different means to provide them education, you're going to have a whole generation of kids who are completely left out. And that will have an impact on the production of your society and that will have a big impact on your ability to have a stable, productive economy.

One of the big lessons that we've learned in looking at results is that you needed targeted interventions that really address the problems. And you need to tailor those for -- it's not one recipe fits all. Each child learns differently and children who are from different groups, disadvantaged in different ways, need different styles and different answers to them. So we need to really work to support the infrastructure around education, so that they can deal with the children in ways that they need to learn.

John?

MR. GILLIES: Yeah, I would add to that, I think, we have done a number of studies now on the relationship of education to conflict and stability. In fact, Save the Children and a number of organizations, we've established an initiative to try to dig more into this research. But one of the things that we have found even in the initial research is there is a clear relationship between the lack of opportunity for education, inequity of opportunity for education, and national conflict and strife. And it's a two-way relationship; it goes both ways. The more conflict and strife there is, the less equity of opportunity there is. So it is a vicious, vicious cycle.

So one of the things that is really -- I spoke of education as being long term, but one of the today issues that can be addressed is by focusing on creating greater equity of opportunity in these fragile states. It helps to eliminate or at least modify the impact and potential of societal strife.

The other thing I'd like to acknowledge, a lot of our -- when there is strife,

when there is conflict and crisis, the response is predominantly not education. It is dealing with immediate health needs and safety needs and survival needs and all the rest of these things. But as Dan said, the majority or a significant proportion of these, the people that are affected, are, in fact, children. And education is one of the few things that helps to restabilize, anchor them in a more or less normalized context and allows them -- and allow us to invest in not losing that whole generation.

As Dan said, the fact is these crises can last decades now. But even if it doesn't last decades, even if it only lasts five years, that generation, that group are lost for a generation. And it's not just them, it's their whole family because the consequences go down forever. So the value and return on investment of addressing those issues early rather than later and trying to catch up is huge. There's probably no more effective way of addressing all of the next conflicts than dealing with education because it affects every family in a most fundamental way.

MS. LOMBARDI: So I keep hearing the integration of health and education and the importance of us going forward together with these two issues as we make recommendations to the next administration. Jennifer, there's been a lot said. Before I turn to audience for their questions, what have you not heard? Like what issue has not come up?

MS. RIGG: Thank you so much. I think that there are a couple of key pieces to add for this important transition time. The first is to really thank everybody who's been working with the U.S. Government and partners because I think that now is the time to even build stronger work, to build on that amazing work that's already been happening. There are really promising things happening in this room. Many people are working on things like the Global Book Alliance. And also, just to really recognize that over many years and decades this critical work is something that the American public should be absolutely extremely proud of.

We talked a little bit about how do we reach the most vulnerable, people

who are not having access to quality education? And thank you for raising the importance of reaching people living in a crisis setting and knowing that that can truly last for an entire childhood. And education in that environment is absolutely life-saving and critical.

To strengthen USAID policies and programming for inclusive education and disability rights we've been, as advocates, really heartened to see the fantastic efforts, especially over the last year, at USAID on this front. And it's an area where the entire U.S. Government could build on promising current efforts to truly become a catalytic leader and ensure sustained support for inclusive education at local, national, regional, and global levels. We know how critical it is to make sure that everyone has access to quality education.

And then specifically on that front, I think building on Alice's earlier points on leverage, making sure that everything that we're doing is ensuring free, quality, and inclusive public education for children and youth, specifically by supporting our developing country partners to strengthen their own public education systems, which builds that sustainability that is so vital for these investments.

And then finally, I'll just mention that there's been amazing work done on overcoming barriers, particularly for girls and women. And we know how vital it is to continue that work and strengthen that work to really reach boys and girls in different ways. I've also been very heartened to see that that's been a truly multisectoral effort, as well. And so now is the time to truly double down on that. Thank you.

MS. LOMBARDI: Great. So I want to turn to you. I think we have some mics around and see what questions. A lot of thinking has gone on in the last week, a lot of new ideas and opportunities, a lot of uncertainty. What are people thinking and what questions do you have for our panelists?

You're all thinking. I have a question from our friends around the world. Education requires an investment today to solve tomorrow's challenges. How can we

leverage innovative financing to mobilize action?

So innovative financing has not come up yet, but there are all new ways of thinking about financing. Alice, what's your response to that? And what are the implications for the next administration? Because that's the key here.

MS. ALBRIGHT: It's a great question. I think if you were to compare the education world to the health world, for example, the education world is financed in a fairly conventional, plain vanilla way. It's largely, as we talked about, domestic resources with international assistance resources. And even before we had a change in administration, the education world has started to realize that with the pressures on international assistance budgets globally that we have to diversify away from that. So that process has already started.

And there are beginning to be a number of very interesting ideas that are emerging that begin to key off of some of the existing flows that happened, but make more of them. The Education Commission report that we've talked about mentions a couple. One in particular is around blending in a much more creative way grant financing with concessional debt. And that's something where I think there's both a macro conversation going on -- or going to start going on between the World Bank and others, but people are also, including us, looking at some more specific opportunities.

The other thing that's really captured our attention at GPE is the whole disaster risk finance world. A number of other parts of the development world have already realized that risk and contending with risk, risk management, is, in many ways, at the heart of some of the challenges that some of the developing countries face. We at GPE have already recognized that and are starting to work with some experts in the insurance world to figure out if there is some applicability of those types of finance models to our work.

So the work is starting. We need to think in a very creative way and realize that there are lots of other sources of money that are out there. We just have to

figure out how we connect them between our work, between what the countries want to do and we have to remember that the countries very much need to be in the driver's seat. It's not particularly good enough to have a small amount of money show up to do one particular thing, but realize that the education systems are still not delivering the way that they need to.

So the agenda has started. I think that the pivoting away from a degree of reliance on international assistance budgets is good. I think it will appeal to the new administration. It's beginning to appeal to other governments and other countries that are going through a similar kind of maybe philosophical shift. And it's something that I think will have even more resonance in the next few years.

MS. LOMBARDI: Go ahead in the -- Tamara.

SPEAKER: So if I were to put myself in the shoes of a decision-maker in the new administration -- a thought -- I guess I would want to know and particular probe on this 3 percent of the education spending coming from international funders, donors. The first is what do you do? What can you do with 3 percent? That's just so little. So I would want to know what are the high impact interventions?

And also I think it's an opportunity for us to touch upon it's not 3 percent for all countries. There are some countries that are more reliant on international assistance than others. So unpacking that I think would be helpful. Where are the opportunities to make a difference?

Then I guess thinking about this administration, I would want to know the burden not just between the countries and the donors, but within that 3 percent, what is -- how much is the U.S. carrying? Am I carrying everybody else or what is my role in that 3 percent?

And then I would want to know do I continue with existing policies? So where have programs and policies been successful and where do I need to make a change? So what is the report card on U.S. policies towards global education?

MS. LOMBARDI: So, Tamara, excellent questions. You just outlined, I hope, the questions that will be coming up during this transition process. So excellent questions. Who would like to -- Alice.

MS. ALBRIGHT: I'm happy to start with that, but I'm sure others will have a lot to amplify there.

Let me focus in on a couple of things that you asked, Tamara. One is why does the 3 percent matter? And two is what is the role of the U.S. in the 3 percent?

If you look at what the 3 percent really means, you've got to start with looking at the 97 percent. And the large majority of domestic education budgets are spent on recurring costs, teacher salaries. And so because of that, it crowds out a lot of room for other things that also need to be spent, whether or not it's improving and upgrading infrastructure, investing in teacher training, investing in things that will make the 97 percent in some ways more successful.

So the 3 percent is a different type of money than what the 97 percent gets spent on. And I think that that's -- as we think about the reform agenda, that 3 percent plays a very important role.

You're absolutely right, the 3 percent is not 3 percent in every country. And I think that the education report does a very good job of pointing out that the more lower income you look at a country, the higher that 3 percent number goes. We know that at GPE we actually play a pretty important role in the very poorest, poorest countries. So in many countries it's not 3 percent, in some countries it's quite a bit higher than that. And that's, in fact, where some of the instability issues come up.

Let's just talk about the U.S. for a second. The U.S. has significant bilateral programs. Some are terrific, some are less terrific. And we think that there is a role for the U.S. to think more multilaterally to invest alongside of their bilateral. So I would not -- if this administration is looking for ways to make a mark, I remind people regularly now that the Bush administration was quite impactful in the whole AIDS world

with PEPFAR, as well as with MCC more generally. If the U.S. is looking to make a mark, I would say that taking up the issue of leadership in education could easily be an important area and I think would continue to serve the interests of the U.S., particularly around this issue of instability.

So those are just some thoughts.

MS. LOMBARDI: Great. Other people want to add to those? I think those are the perfect question with some really good talking points for everyone that maybe asked that question.

MR. STONER: Well, maybe I could say just in terms of what's successful. At Save the Children we just produced a report looking at literacy programming, so it's not the whole education sector, but literacy programming, which is of a lot of interest to us, across 25 countries. And we came out with eight principles that are important for success in literacy programming.

The first one is start early, which is to Joan's, you know, where the earlier you start with ECCD and early grades, you're going to have a bigger impact.

More and better books. Jennifer talked about the book project. Children need books, need materials to be able to read, so that's really important. And the books need to be relevant to them.

Engage parents and communities. So schools can't do it alone. We can't just outsource education in schools and say the schools are going to take care of it. Any successful school that you think about has parents and a community who are engaged, who are demanding of the school, and who are also supportive of the school and the education that goes on.

Ensure that teachers can teach reading. We've talked about teacher training, but one of the things that often doesn't happen is they don't know how to teach reading, so ensure that they know how to teach reading.

Language matters, so looking at mother tongue is really important when

you're learning.

Practice, practice, practice. Just like anything in life, if you want to be good at, you need to have practice.

Assess and track children. So don't just say we're doing good things. We know that the children are learning. Assess it, track it, make sure, and adjust your program to respond to those children who are not learning.

And then policy matters in terms of what is the environment? Are teachers being paid? Are the school systems, the curriculum good? Policy really matters in terms of learning.

So that's what we've learned in terms of delivering quality literacy programming.

MS. LOMBARDI: So, you know, I'll just push a little bit harder on this, Dan, and say because of what you've learned, you're in front of the new administration, what are the top two priorities? What should they do?

MR. STONER: So in terms of literacy programming, which is what I was talking about there, starting early and involving the community would be the two things that Save the Children and I would say.

MS. LOMBARDI: Okay. And Rebecca and then Jen.

MS. WINTHROP: I would add to Tamara's question around what is most effective, what should be a focus? I think any push on global education has to look at it with a gender lens. And it's not girls versus boys. It's making sure that girls and women are at the center of programming because if you don't have that concerted look, that gender look, it's too easy, and we've seen it around the world, for girls to sort of slip through the cracks. And somehow, at the end of the day, it's, oh, my gosh, it's 97 percent of the scholarships went to boys. How did that happen?

So it's not about girls versus boys. It's about putting girls and women at the center and really for two reasons. One because they more easily slip through the

cracks than boys, but, two, in terms of effectiveness. Because the question Tamara asked was about effectiveness.

If you educate a girl, you have such a big ripple effect, not only on her life and her kids' lives, but it really has transformational impacts to her community, lots of returns on investment in terms of health, in terms of economic growth, all sorts of things. So it really is a very smart, smart thing to do, also.

MS. LOMBARDI: Okay. Jen and then John.

MS. RIGG: Thanks so much. Thanks for all these great questions. And we're developing the verbal report card, if you will. I just want to highlight a couple of additional pieces where we've seen success and then there are truly opportunities to make a difference.

The support that U.S. leadership has been providing on building education across the development emergency continuum is critical. And I think there's even more opportunity on that front with the head of USAID having participated in this past World Humanitarian Summit last May, to help launch the Education Cannot Wait Fund for education in emergency settings.

And then building on that there are huge opportunities to make a difference building on the work that USAID is already doing. Also looking at the MCC, the Millennium Challenge Corporation, compacts that focus on education, especially infrastructure and opportunities to really make sure that that better links education, system-building, support for teachers, support for communities in a way that is sustainable, as well.

And then the amazing work that's happening at Global Partnership for Education and Education Cannot Wait I think are really vital opportunities where investment from the U.S. will, indeed, yield a great benefit and leverage from other countries and supporters.

And then finally, I would mention that the U.S. Government, I think, is

doing a lot to really engage all branches of civil society, teachers' unions, the faith community, both not just here in Washington, but around the globe. And that's a vital piece and an opportunity for the years ahead, as well.

MS. LOMBARDI: John?

MR. GILLIES: Yeah, I would I guess add to that just the aspect of the how. I mean, we talk about the what, what works, and we tend to focus on the technical. But as Alice said, 97 percent of the funding and the work is actually national. So the importance of genuine partnership with countries and genuine capacity-building so that they are taking the leadership and they do not need additional work, they are able to work independently.

And we have seen this over the years. We're not doing the same things we did 10 years ago or 15 years ago because a lot of those things accomplished genuine national capacity, which enables sustainability and then moving on to other things. So I think that aspect of genuine partnership and acknowledging the leadership of the countries is really critical.

MS. LOMBARDI: That's going to continue to be really an important point. Other questions right there. Go ahead.

MS. BERMAN: Hi, there. Sarabeth Berman from Teach for All. I know it's impossible to forecast the future and there certainly is a lot of uncertainty right now, but if you had to guess, I mean, what is your sense of whether or not these recommendations will be taken up by this new administration? And if we don't know the answer, what are some of the indicators we should be looking for to see, okay, yes, this is headed in the right direction?

MS. LOMBARDI: So?

MS. WINTHROP: I have no idea. (Laughter) I really don't know. I would hope so. And the one point I would want to make, which we haven't covered too much, but perhaps others on the panel can also bring in, is just to make the point that I really

don't think that global education, girls' education around the globe, for example, is a red issue or a blue issue. I really think it's a bipartisan concern. And we're seeing increasing bipartisan action on this in Congress. There is the Education for All Act that just passed the House, and this is quite recently. It's up for discussion in the Senate. And there's a new caucus on global education, which is bipartisan in Congress.

So we're seeing that this is an issue that people care about no matter where they sit and whatever political spectrum they come from. And I really do think it's an American value across the board. And so for me, that bodes well in the discussions that I hope the transition team and the new administration will consider, think of, you know, their discussions on this topic.

MS. LOMBARDI: Others? It's a very important question during a time where we know so little yet. Any other thoughts on that?

MS. RIGG: Yeah, I think the indicators to see that we're headed in the right direction is a great way to think about it and an opportunity for us to all unify as a community and mobilize. So, for example, we mentioned earlier some of the fiscal year-end budget and appropriations opportunities that are happening immediately and then, of course, over the coming year. I think this is an opportunity, as well, like Rebecca just said so well, to build on the bipartisan support for this issue.

We know that education is absolutely vital in all of our lives, in our children's lives, in the lives for future generations here and around the globe. And so I would also look for an indicator and, like Alice said earlier, we would welcome the chance to meet with key people as they're coming in through different transition teams and then also building into the year ahead.

And so I think the opportunities for there to be that discussion, that dialogue, planning together would be another key indicator. And then, also, working together for those opportunities coming up on the global stage over the next four years.

MS. LOMBARDI: Want to say a few other words about those

opportunities on the global stage, Jennifer?

MS. RIGG: Sure, sure, happy to. I think we're lucky that the Global Partnership for Education team is right here and there's real opportunity building on some of the work in the coming year, 2017, 2018. And the U.S. leadership there has been absolutely vital and will, I think, become even more so.

MS. LOMBARDI: Alice?

MS. ALBRIGHT: Thank you for mentioning that. We do have an important replenishment coming up for ourselves just a little bit over a year's time. And I'm sure it goes without saying that it is so important that we all join hands and do everything we can not only to support that, but also to support all of the sort of focus that needs to attend to all the recommendations coming out of the Education Commission report. So there's a lot of important moments for advocacy and support coming up.

To get back to your question about indicators, I would absolutely agree with how important it is to work with the Hill. And I think that we have begun to make real progress with the Hill, but I think that needs to continue.

The other thing, and it may be hard to sort of intuit this right now, is I don't think we should overly make assumptions about the particular ideological directions of this administration, the new one. Some people are talking about pragmatism. And if you think about all of the things that we've all been saying for the last bit of time, we've talked about how much it is in the national interest for there to be educated people in all the countries around us. And that may really create an opening to talk to the new administration.

So I think we have to take a deep breath, see where things begin to unfold. I think it's way too early to make big assumptions about the direction that it's going in. And really try to listen and learn, pay attention to who's being put into various jobs, not just only the Secretary jobs, but who's sort of a couple layers down, and really try to study it very carefully. And I think that we'll probably know more in a couple weeks'

time than we know right now. I mean, in particular with some of the appointments right now, it's in such a state of uncertainty that it's very, very hard to know the direction. But I think we'll know more and we have to meet with them and talk about these issues.

MS. LOMBARDI: I think what's common here is a clear message coming out of moving forward, of continuing the investment of making it a bipartisan issue. And that's what I hear over and over.

Other questions? Go ahead.

MS. CHEROW: Hi, Evelyn Cherow, Global Partners United. The Early Child Development Task Force of the Global Partnership on Children with Disabilities just met. And, as you know, the World Bank and UNICEF made a joint statement on early child development. And those of us who've worked in pediatric disability, I'm very happy to hear the targeting on the hardest to reach.

You brought up the important issue of the interface between the health care ministries as well as workforce with the education and early child development workforce, which is critical for early identification of children birth to five. Can you speak more to how you intend to accelerate interaction between the ministries that are typically siloed and the lack of a workforce in habilitation at the community level, as well as on the professional training level?

You alluded to technology which those of us who are looking to telehealth and tele-education as a solution to really improving the lack of workforce to work with the 80 to 90 percent of children with disabilities, who are not in education, especially 80 percent in developing countries. So can you expand on your comments there? We'd appreciate it.

MS. LOMBARDI: Before I turn to any of the panelists for this, I want to thank you and your entire group for your tireless work on this issue, particularly the focus on preventing disabilities and responding to them around the world. It's been critically important.

Anyone? Jennifer, you raised this issue, I think a few other people did, too. Alice, you want to take a crack at this, also?

MS. ALBRIGHT: Thank you for the question. Let me come at the intersection between health and education and talk about some of the things that we are seeing.

If you begin to dig into what's happening in some of the ministries in some of the countries, there are more points of connection between health and education than might meet the eye. Many of the programs -- many of the schools that I visited, for example, have school feeding programs. That is a form of interaction.

We are beginning to talk with a couple of the other big partnerships that are in the health space about how we might begin to co-program, particularly around some of the issues confronting girls and young women. So that's an emerging conversation.

I know that in our own work we have got a couple of programs that are particularly focused on disability. For example, we've got one in Cambodia around eyeglasses. So there are more things there than meet the eye.

I think that where we do need to go with this is a perhaps more systematic dialogue at the country level between ministries of health and ministries of education. The few times that I've mentioned it to education ministers, they're quite open to it. But I think that it's something that we need to raise more regularly on a systematic basis.

If I can, let me just say one thing pivoting back to the question beforehand because I don't know if I'll have a chance to have the floor again. I do want to thank everybody in this room for what will be a lot of activity that I'm sure everybody will join hands on to help in our replenishment. And I just wanted to thank everybody again. We're living in a difficult environment, we know that. And all of the help we can get will be most appreciated and I just want to thank everybody in advance.

MS. LOMBARDI: And we thank you for your incredible leadership on that and we'll come back to that.

You know, I'm going to add my feeling about this interagency issue as someone who served in the U.S. Government as an interagency liaison between the two departments. On the domestic side we do need to step it up on the international side, starting with our own agencies and the need for holistic planning across the U.S. Government. We started some of that in this administration across child protection, health, and education. I would hope that in the new administration we would continue some of those messages because children come with all those needs, not just one.

Jennifer?

MS. RIGG: Yes, thank you. Building on what Joan just said so well, thank you for raising that. And this is a key opportunity to make sure that for children, for families and communities we actually do build those connections across ministries, across the different workforces that you described so well. So a couple of key things that we've heard could make a big difference.

In terms of training, it's been great to hear at USAID, for example, as more inclusive education and training has been provided, there seems to be a real desire within the education space. And so that's maybe an opportunity to look at what could be done in all of those connected areas and sectors, but specifically for staff, in this case representing U.S. Government, but it's really vital everywhere in local education groups and in education sector planning, and then I think building those opportunities to make sure that that connectivity is really there.

And then, ultimately, what I'd love to see is much stronger early identification and intervention support, so that regardless of who the first point of entry might be for a family and for a child, they're able to really connect and have that connective tissue for success.

MS. LOMBARDI: Well, any final questions? Go ahead. One more

before I ask for us to make some closing remarks.

MS. WALSH: I'm Allyn Walsh from AFT. And so we were talking about how global education is becoming or is a bipartisan issue. And then also, kind of the link between societies and strife and conflict and education. So I'm wondering if you have any ideas about themes of pluralism and diversity kind of infiltrating global education and domestic education within this new administration, if you think that would be a possibility kind of connecting the idea of learning about pluralism in the classroom and kind of mending conflicts around the world.

MS. LOMBARDI: John or Dan. Go ahead, John.

MR. GILLIES: Well, I think there's a lot of the work on how education is done that actually addresses some of these issues. So last week I was down at the conference for Escuelas Nuevas in Colombia. And one of the big themes coming out of that was the extent to which the methodologies and the approach to empowering teachers and students and taking control of their future and their own education was itself a peace-building, a tolerance, a capacity-building function.

So we tend to think of the curriculum as we teach people and they learn this thing. But part of what is so powerful about education and part of what is so powerful about many of these models is that by virtue of the way that the schools work, by virtue of the way that the students learn, they develop citizenship skills, they develop conflict mitigation skills, they develop leadership skills. And I think that that is an area that we need to keep revisiting and recognizing because it is more than just the test results. It is the outcome on the kind of people that schools are producing.

And it's part of a larger conversation. It hasn't always been part of our immediate conversation in this country in the last few years, but I think it's important.

MS. LOMBARDI: And it may be time to make that conversation a broader conversation.

MR. GILLIES: Yeah.

MS. LOMBARDI: Rebecca.

MS. WINTHROP: I just had one thing that I wanted to come in on that point. I think there's another point of commonality sort of across education here in the U.S., as well as education globally, which is this idea that builds a little bit off your question, but this idea that kids everywhere really need a breadth of skills. It's something that we're doing a lot of work on here at the Center for Universal Education at Brookings with a Skills for a Changing World Project.

So it's not -- kids, they do need core academic, solid academic training, but they also need to be adaptable and flexible and they need to be able to work with other people. And that's, yes, to be good citizens, but also to hold a job in a place -- in an economy where kids who are educated today are going to have many, many different jobs over the course of their lifetime.

And that idea of breadth -- we're calling it breadth of skills, some people call it 21st century skills or, you know, there's other terms, but for us it's really breadth of skills because you do need the academic training, as well as education systems that focus on cultivating these other range of things. And that's certainly something that kids here in the United States need, as well as kids globally. And I think there's a lot of core dialogue and discussion that we could be having across the domestic and global agendas.

MS. LOMBARDI: So those social-emotional skills, those executive function skills that are so important from the earliest years on.

I would add, also, it's International Education Week, I think. And I think this notion of integrating a better global awareness in our schools domestically should be part of that picture.

Dan?

MR. STONER: Yeah. No, there's lots of places around the world where education's under attack. There are schools that have been taken over by military.

There's a lot of children who don't feel safe at school. And there's a lot of work going on about peace-building in education, but from bullying, gender-based violence, so there's lots of lessons that schools can give to children that allow them to function in life, in jobs, in other things, and also make sense of politics in their own countries, in the U.S., or other places and how you deal with the diversity of opinions and ideas. And the school, that's what school should be doing is fostering those dialogues, discussions, letting people understand different perspectives around the world.

And there's a lot of organizations, including ours, that are involved in trying to create places where children can develop socially, social-emotional intelligence, and can also learn respect in the classroom. And that's a great thing.

You know, my son coming home from the election talking about -- you know, they're talking about it in school and we've got kids with different opinions and teachers with different opinions, and how does he makes sense of it? You know, that's important dialogues and discussions that need to take place in schools all around the world.

MS. LOMBARDI: Right, so important. So before I turn it to Rebecca for a few summary remarks and Jen, our two sponsors for kind of a charge, if I went down the row here, and maybe I'll start with Alice, you know, you've got a minute to give a priority. What are the top two priorities? What should happen next?

MS. ALBRIGHT: So I think with this administration we've got to make a strong case for the education community. In addition to making a strong case, I think we've also got to make sure that we've got strong allies outside the United States. We do have opportunities out there. The Scandinavian, you know, all the -- Norway, Sweden, Denmark, they're a good place to work with. The Canadian government is also very interested in an internationalist approach. We've got a new secretary general-elect. Is it designate or elect? Designate at the U.N. You know, we also know that the education agenda has been rising internationally. There's been a lot of talk about that.

So there's a lot of bits and pieces that we can work with here in addition to what's happening here. So we just have to regroup, galvanize, and make the very strongest case that we can.

MS. LOMBARDI: Great. Thanks, Alice. John?

MR. GILLIES: Well, I think if I had one thing it would be building on what's already been done. There's a strong Education for All Act that has passed the House, that is in front of the Senate. It is bipartisan. There's a great deal of support for it across the existing political leadership on a bipartisan basis. It establishes education as a priority area for U.S. assistance and U.S. engagement in the world. And I think that is a very strong place to start.

It's not political. It is bipartisan. And it really speaks to the need for support and the need for focus in U.S. engagement.

MS. LOMBARDI: Great. Jennifer?

MS. RIGG: Funding and leadership. So I would say that this is the critical opportunity building on the commission's work to mobilize new resources especially, and make sure that the resources that are already invested get strengthened.

And then secondly, we have this amazing opportunity to build even stronger sustained political will, holding hands, being unified, and the leadership to make sure that we build beyond just the focus on global education recently, but so that it can truly become a sustainable political priority, as well.

MS. LOMBARDI: Dan?

MR. STONER: Since John is my co-chair in the Basic Education Coalition I have to agree with him. (Laughter) I mean, the Education for All Act is really exciting. We've been trying to pass this in Congress for more than a decade and it's finally gotten steam. It's gone through the House of Representatives on a voice vote. There was no opposition. It really outlines why international education is important and part of the national security of the United States and it's a really exciting opportunity.

And so, to me, in this short lame duck period of Congress, it's sort of the one bipartisan issue that passed through the House of Representatives very -- you know, without major opposition, without rancor. So that, to me, is something that we can really push to get that passed through the Senate. That's the most important thing we can do right now.

MS. LOMBARDI: And then give us your priority and then have a few minutes of summarizing.

MS. WINTHROP: I think, you know, my main message to the incoming administration would be that global education is a low-hanging fruit and can be one of your early wins for all the reasons that you heard, and that that is a great opportunity for us as a community. That would be sort of my one big, main message.

In terms of sort of closing thoughts, Joan, and then you should also, moderator's prerogative, also give us some closing thoughts.

MS. LOMBARDI: Okay, I'll take it at the end.

MS. WINTHROP: I really do think that what we need to do is work much more closely together. I think we have worked closely together for many decades as a global education community. Like any community there's going to be sort of small-scale arguments around, you know, is this approach slightly better or is that approach slightly better? Should we go a little bit left or a little bit right? Not politically left or right, I'm just talking directionally. (Laughter) Maybe not the right metaphor. (Laughter)

But those are natural sort of debates to have when people are rolling out programs on the ground. And that's totally fine and we should keep having them. But really what we need to do is, like we would do if a Democrat was coming into office, I would say it would be the same advice actually, is we need to pull together and have similar shared messages. Because we actually have quite a bit of agreement across our community about why we need to do education, where we need to focus it. What are the returns on investments? What are the most effective strategies with what work? We

really have a huge amount of agreement and we should focus on that no matter which -- you know, I would give that same advice no matter which administration was coming in.

And I think with that, you know, we have a shot of moving this forward.

MS. LOMBARDI: Great. I love that optimism. Jen, any last words to the audience about how to stay engaged?

MS. RIGG: Absolutely.

MS. LOMBARDI: Because I think that's going to be key here.

MS. RIGG: Thank you so much. So you've heard a lot about the Education for All Act. We make it easy and many of the organizations involved in this do, as well. But if you are looking for a quick, easy way that you can lend your support and tell your senators especially that you would like to see support for that bipartisan Education for All Act, we can provide places for you to take action. And also, please join the Global Campaign for Education - U.S., and sign up for Action Alerts, which only go out very infrequently when your voice will make the biggest difference. And you can access both of those at GCE, for Global Campaign for Education, -us.org. But really the fact that we're all here and involved in this is vital. And like Rebecca just said, I think it's a key opportunity for us to move forward together and invite our friends. So thank you.

MS. LOMBARDI: So join me in thanking various perspectives, unified voice. (Applause)

You know, I know everybody's been thinking and struggling and thinking about what's next and the next steps. I mean, I'll share three final thoughts.

One, it's been the guiding view of my life, which is always have high expectations. And I have high expectations for children that I used to teach and I have high expectations that we need to keep this on the agenda. This is a core American value and we need to have high expectations that we're going to continue to move it forward.

Secondly, don't get tired. You know, I've always said any effort that's

really worth something means that you have to be very persistent. And so we have to continue that persistence.

And finally, just to thank everybody for all of your incredible work, especially those people here that are working in federal agencies. You know, it's very hard if you -- as a former federal person myself, to be in the agencies and sit and wait for new directions. And I know that's difficult. We thank you for your service and we're just hopeful that the country will move forward with a spirit of tolerance and celebrating out diversity, which is, I think, our greatest strength.

So thank you. (Applause)

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Expires: November 30, 2016