

Helpdesk Report: Violence and sexual abuse in schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan Date: 05 November 2012

Query: Produce a report focusing on violence and sexual abuse in schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In particular consider the following:

1. What literature and evidence on attacks on schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan is there? In particular, what evidence is there on trends, on prevalence, and efforts at mitigation?
2. What evidence is there on the use of corporal punishment in Afghanistan and Pakistan?
3. What is the prevalence of sexual abuse in schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and how successful have attempts to mitigate it been?

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1. Overview

Data on attacks was found reported in different studies from different sources. The UN Security Council data are noted first. These are more easily comparable and give an idea of trend.

UN Security Council Reported Data

Afghanistan:

- 133 cases of attacks on schools reported Sept 2006- Sept 2007
- 348 attacks on schools reported throughout 2008
- 613 attacks on schools in 2009
- 197 incidents were verified in 2010
- 185 incidents of attack on schools and hospitals in 2011

Pakistan:

- 273 schools were destroyed in 2010, 437 were damaged
- 152 incidents of partial or complete destruction of school facilities in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.

Attacks on schools in Afghanistan

Glad et al (2009) carried out a large study on attacks on schools in Afghanistan:

- Throughout 2008 alone, 670 attacks on the Afghan education system were carried out including arson and the murder of teachers and students.
- Between January 2006 and December 2008, 1,153 attacks of different natures were reported: grenades, night letters or verbal threats to teachers, killings of students and education personnel.
- According to the Ministry of Education (MoE), 230 people died as a result of attacks on schools, students and personnel between 2006 and 2007.
- The most frequent type of attack according to the UNICEF school security database is arson, where school buildings, tents or inventory was burned. Explosions in or near schools buildings (including throwing of grenades, mines and rocket attacks) and direct attacks against students or education personnel are also common. Twenty percent of education personnel interviewed in the field assessment stated that they have been threatened.
- The study also includes information on the prevalence of attacks in different areas in the country.

Sisgaard (2009) and (2011) data on Afghanistan:

- 722 incidents affecting education (i.e. attacks on schools and other education institutions, their staff and/or pupils) were recorded between 2004 and July 2008. Of these, 230 occurred between July 2007 and June 2008.
- In the period from April 2008 to January 2009, around 138 students and teachers lost their lives and a further 172 were wounded in criminal and terror attacks. Some 651 schools were inactive, mostly due to insecurity and another 122 school buildings were destroyed or burned down.
- In 2008, the number of attacks on schools, teachers, and pupils had almost tripled to 670 – almost two attacks every day – compared with the two previous years.

UNESCO 2011:

- In Afghanistan, 613 insurgent attacks were recorded in 2009, up from 347 in 2008.

Human Rights Watch (2006) data on Afghanistan:

- Human Rights Watch collected reports of 204 attacks (including attempts) on schools, teachers, and students from January 2005 to June 21, 2006. Of these attacks, 110 occurred in the first half of 2006.

UNESCO (2010) gives details of different attacks between 2006 and 2009.

Attacks on schools Pakistan

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region:

- 491 government primary schools were temporarily closed at the time of the October 2009 school census.
- Among these schools, reasons for closure were noted for 25 schools: 17 cited violent incidents such as the burning, bombing, or shelling of the school; the remaining 8 gave explanations such as 'departure of teacher' or 'district office decision' that may or may not have been linked to violence.
- For the remaining 95 schools in Swat that were temporarily closed, it is speculated that violent conflict may have been a contributing factor.

- In Malakand, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, 273 schools were destroyed and 367 were damaged by bomb attacks in 2010, according to the provincial Minister for Education.

Balochistan province:

- Between January 2008 and October 2010, suspected militant groups targeted and killed at least 22 teachers and other education personnel in the province.
- In 2009, government schools were open for only 120 days, compared with around 220 days in the rest of Pakistan.

Northwest:

- According to statistics from the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 165 schools were destroyed in the North West Frontier Province and the Federally Administered Tribal Area in 2008, 136 of them girls' schools. More than 180 schools were destroyed and 318 were partially destroyed in 2009.
- In the Swat area in 2008 and early 2009, as the Taliban consolidated their grip on the area, they destroyed more than 170 schools, including more than 100 girls' schools.
- There were 152 incidents of partial or complete destruction of school facilities in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa in 2011.

UNESCO (2010) gives details of different attacks between 2006 and 2009.

Mitigation

Examples in Afghanistan:

- Boundary walls for physical protection
- A School Defence Committee
- Community-based classes in local homes or mosques
- Involving local religious leaders in community education councils, school management committees and selection of school council members
- Community protection committees
- Armed and unarmed guards
- Broadcasting education through television and radio
- Conflict-sensitive curriculum reform

The CARE International study (Glad et al. 2009) reports:

The number of prevented attacks has been low according to field research; only 4% of respondents indicated that attacks had been prevented in the past. This, however, does not lessen the value of the success stories of communities. The stories that respondents tell can be divided in two main categories: some relate to the prevention of attacks or repeated attacks; while others focus on damage control when an attack occurs. In the first category, stories are related of local shuras having negotiated with the attackers both to prevent attacks and in the aftermath of an attack, obtaining positive results and promises of no future attacks. In the second category, respondents highlight episodes in which school guards of whole communities have engaged in fire-fights with attackers and put out fires that attackers had initiated. There is little information related to complete prevention, where there have been no attacks or threats. This is related to the difficulty in establishing what would have happened in the absence of certain protection variables. However, there is little doubt that communities see awareness raising of the positive effects of education as a key factor to preventing attacks, along with negotiations with hostile elements, without distinguishing whether attacks are imminent or not.

Examples in Pakistan:

- Several strategies aim to protect female teachers from attacks en route to school, such as travel stipends for safe public transportation, the appointment of local teachers to minimise time spent commuting, and teacher housing.

- Escorts and guards for students
- Conflict-sensitive curriculum reform
- The elementary and secondary curriculum was reviewed and revised in 2006 in an attempt to depoliticise the curriculum and incorporate elements of human rights and peace education by the Ministry of Education and UNESCO.
- In 2011, a campaign was launched to encourage parents to send students back to school and to rehabilitate school buildings

Corporal punishment in schools

Corporal punishment has become a seemingly accepted disciplinary method of school discipline in Afghanistan. Half of all interviewed teachers believe that they have a right to beat children. Although laws now prohibit corporal punishment in school (implemented in 2008), it is still a daily reality for many school students. A vast majority of teachers believe that physical punishment is an essential and unavoidable practice to maintain discipline in the school.

Student to student violence and bullying was not mentioned by any PTAs or Student Councils as an issue that needed to be addressed, but appears to be a key concern of students themselves.

More than four out of five children were vulnerable to physical abuse from parents, elders and teachers, with boys more likely than girls to suffer physical abuse.

A study in Pakistan found very high levels of physical punishment, with children punished in 100% of observed classes in boys' schools and 20% in girls' schools. Humiliating punishment including verbal abuse was also very common, and children were often authorised to beat other children. Like Afghanistan, over 50% of Pakistani teachers interviewed believed they had the right to beat students, and the vast majority of teachers believed that physical punishment was essential and unavoidable

Sexual abuse in schools

There is a paucity of data on this topic. Research is limited, as asking questions about perspectives on sexual abuse, gender, or women, may inhibit responses, raise suspicions and even create anger. Research of this nature requires a high degree of trust. Even then, respondents sometimes did not feel comfortable discussing issues like sexual violence or harassment.

However, reports on the situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan indicate that violence against women and girls, including rape, domestic violence, and forced marriage, remains a serious problem. Available information indicates that rape is a "widespread phenomenon" that affects women and children throughout Afghanistan. Harassment, kidnapping, elopement and cases of sexual assault appear to have a dramatic effect on school attendance. The vulnerability of girls to sexual attacks and abduction may explain the lower educational attainment of girls observed during violent conflict.

Over and above the ordeal itself, the stigmatization and social taboos associated with rape result in many girls being abandoned by their families, and women by their husbands. Victims are punished twice over: they become social outcasts, while their violators go free. Many of the victims are schoolgirls. The debilitating effects of sexual violence on individuals, communities and families inevitably spill over into education systems. Robbing children of a secure home environment and traumatizing the communities that they live in profoundly impairs prospects for learning. Other consequences have more direct effects on education. Girls subjected to rape often experience grave physical injury – with long-term consequences for school attendance. The psychological effects, including depression, trauma, shame and withdrawal, have devastating consequences for learning. Many girls drop out of school after

rape because of unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV and AIDS, as well as other forms of ill health, trauma, displacement or stigma.

Fear of physical attacks and sexual violence is likely to hinder the ability of children, particularly although not exclusively girls, to enrol in schools. In Afghanistan, there have been several reported instances of boys who were raped by male teachers and subjected to sexual harassment by older boys. Data gathered by the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) from 2003 to 2010 suggested that boys may even be at a higher risk of sexual abuse than girls.

Fear and terror of sexual attacks may result in households attempting to protect vulnerable members by keeping them at home or sending away to relatives and friends in more secure locations. Fear is central in household decisions on whether to send children to school.

2. Key paper

UNESCO. 2011, *The Hidden Crisis: Armed Conflict and Education. Regional Overview: South and West Asia, Regional Overview: South and West Asia.*

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0020/002070/207054E.pdf>

Children and schools are on the front line of armed conflicts, with classrooms, teachers and pupils seen as legitimate targets. In Afghanistan, insurgent groups have routinely targeted schools. In 2009, at least 613 such incidents were recorded, up from 347 in 2008. Damage to schools and security fears have resulted in the closure of more than 70% of schools in Helmand and more than 80% in Zabul – provinces with some of the world's lowest levels of attendance. Insurgent groups in Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas have targeted girls' primary and secondary schools. In one attack, 95 girls were injured as they left school. Motives for attacking education infrastructure vary. Schools may be seen as embodying state authority and therefore as a legitimate target, especially when insurgent groups oppose the type of education promoted by governments, as in Afghanistan. The use of schools by armed forces can lead to their being targeted by anti-state groups and abandoned by communities. This has been recently documented in India, where Naxalite insurgents have systematically attacked schools to damage government infrastructure and instil fear in communities in Chhattisgarh state.

Over the past 15 years, the United Nations has established a monitoring and reporting mechanism (MRM) that identifies grave human rights violations against children in six key areas. Several UN Security Council resolutions have been passed aimed at strengthening protection against rape and other sexual violence in conflict-affected countries. Yet human rights provisions and Security Council resolutions offer limited protection where they are most needed, in the lives of the children and civilians on the front line. Weak coordination among UN agencies and under-resourcing contribute to the problem. Within the MRM system, reporting of attacks against schools is limited, with many incidents going unreported. Problems of under-reporting are even more evident in the area of rape and other sexual violence.

There is evidence that monitoring and the identification of groups and individuals can help protect children. Pakistan is among several countries covered in the 2010 report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict that have not ratified the protocol.

Working through the UN system, governments should strengthen the systems that monitor human rights violations affecting education, support national plans aimed at stopping those violations, and impose sanctions on egregious and repeat offenders. An International Commission on Rape and Sexual Violence should be created, with the International Criminal Court directly involved in assessing the case for prosecution of state and non-state actors. UNESCO should take the lead in monitoring and reporting on attacks on education systems.

Several organisations have responded to Afghanistan's insecure environment by scaling up support for community-based schools. Because they are located in villages, and children have shorter distances to travel, there are fewer security threats. This partially explains their success in increasing enrolment, particularly for girls. Local leaders are well placed to assess the security risks associated with receiving support from NGOs. Their involvement also provides a form of protection against attack.

3. UN Security Council Reports

UN General Assembly Security Council, 2009. *Children and armed conflict, Report of the Secretary-General*

<http://reliefweb.int/report/afghanistan/children-and-armed-conflict-report-secretary-general-a63785-s2009158>

Afghanistan (2008)

Since the last 2007 annual report, there had been an escalation of incidents affecting the education sector, including attacks on schools, students and teachers. From September 2007 to September 2008, 321 cases were recorded, compared to 133 cases reported over the same period the previous year. As of September 2008, the Ministry of Education reported that 99 schools had been attacked, burned or destroyed by anti-government elements, including the Taliban, and 600 schools were closed since the start of the year, with 80 percent of the closures being in the southern provinces of Helmand, Kandahar, Zabul and Urozgan. Students, teachers and other education personnel had been threatened or killed. During the reporting period, approximately 20 children were killed and 27 seriously injured, mainly in the central and south-eastern regions. These incidents were perpetrated by anti-government elements, including the Taliban. A particularly disturbing incident occurred on 12 November 2008, when Taliban militants attacked a group of girls en route to school by throwing acid on their faces. They were reportedly paid 100,000 Pakistani rupees for each girl they were able to burn. Schools had also been unintentionally damaged in artillery exchanges with anti-government elements and international military forces.

Pakistan

No reported school attacks.

UN Security Council: 2011 *Report of the Secretary-General on children and armed conflict in Afghanistan*

<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/country,,UNSC,,AFG,,4d6238044,0.html>

This report focuses on grave violations committed against children, with an emphasis on recruitment and use of children, killing and maiming of children, and attacks on schools. It identifies parties to the conflict, both State and non-State actors, who are responsible for such violations. In particular, the report highlights how children have been used by anti-government elements, including for suicide bombing or for planting explosives, or recruited by the Afghan National Security Forces, despite the official government policy. It also sheds light on the detention of children for alleged association with armed groups by Afghan authorities, as well as international forces present in Afghanistan. In addition, there continue to be serious concerns about the increasing number of attacks on schools and on students that jeopardize the right of Afghan children to safely access education. The report also shows that children continue to be killed or maimed in suicide attacks or during engagements by Afghan and international forces. Finally, the report underlines the need for greater attention to the issue of sexual violence committed by armed parties to the conflict against boys and girls.

The report acknowledges that progress has been made since the last reporting period, especially in terms of dialogue with the Government of Afghanistan on the protection of

children. In this context, it welcomes the commitment of the Government to signing an Action Plan against recruitment and use of children in the Afghan National Security Forces, with annexes on sexual violence against children and the killing and maiming of children in contravention of international law. Finally, the report outlines a series of recommendations to all parties to the conflict and other stakeholders in Afghanistan. The recommendations aim at ending grave violations against children and at enhancing

UN General Assembly Security Council, 2010. *Children and armed conflict, Report of the Secretary-General*

[http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/\(httpDocuments\)/94F5BB4CD1ADBE8EC12577340053DBB0/\\$file/full_report+sq.pdf](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/(httpDocuments)/94F5BB4CD1ADBE8EC12577340053DBB0/$file/full_report+sq.pdf)

Afghanistan (2009)

The burning of schools or school equipment, forced closure, use of school facilities, damage from attacks, fighting or explosions from improvised explosive devices in the vicinity of school buildings or targeted military attacks and threats against pupils and educational staff have increased since my last report. A total of 613 incidents were recorded from January to November 2009 compared to 348 incidents reported in 2008. Those incidents were largely perpetrated by groups opposing the Government, but also by conservative elements in some communities that are opposed to the education of girls. Such incidents have spread throughout the country, with a notable increase in areas around Kabul, Wardak, Logar and Khost, and in the eastern provinces of Laghman, Kunar and Nangarhar. The situation in the southern region remains of great concern, while attacks have further spread to northern provinces previously considered relatively safe, such as Takhar and Badakhshan. Reports indicate alarming figures of schools closed in certain areas, such as in Helmand (more than 70 percent) or in Zabul (more than 80 percent). During the reporting period, at least 23 pupils were killed and 342 suffered serious or minor injuries from such incidents, while 24 teachers and education personnel lost their lives and 41 were injured throughout the country.

Pakistan

No reported school attacks.

UN General Assembly Security Council, 2011. *Children and armed conflict, Report of the Secretary-General*

http://www.essex.ac.uk/armedcon/story_id/10th%20report%20CAC.pdf

Afghanistan (2010)

A total of 197 education-related incidents throughout the country were verified. Incidents affecting education included direct attacks against schools, collateral damage, killing and injury of students and education personnel, threats and intimidations, and forced school closures. These incidents were mostly perpetrated by armed groups (86 percent); 30 percent of the incidents were carried out in September 2010, the month of the Parliamentary elections, when half of the polling stations were located in schools. Of the 47 verified incidents affecting health delivery, 33 were attributed to armed groups and 14 to pro-Government forces. Incidents included the abduction of medical staff, the looting of medical supplies, improvised explosive device attacks, collateral damage and intimidation. The highest incident levels were recorded in the north-eastern, eastern and northern regions. The occupation of schools and health facilities by pro-Government forces is a concern, including five verified incidents of school occupation by the international military forces in 2010.

Pakistan

During 2010, schools continued to be a target for bomb attacks by armed groups, including the Taliban, who are opposed to secular education and girls' education. In Malakand, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, 273 schools were destroyed and 367 were damaged by bomb attacks, according to the provincial Minister for Education. An additional 70 schools

were destroyed or damaged in other affected provinces. In one particular attack in February 2010, an improvised explosive device targeted at a truck carrying Pakistani soldiers travelling to the inauguration of Koto Girls High School in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa detonated near the school, destroying it, which resulted in the deaths of three schoolgirls and the injury of 63 others. Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan reportedly claimed responsibility.

UN General Assembly Security Council, 2012. *Children and armed conflict, Report of the Secretary-General*

<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/CAC%20S%202012%20261.pdf>

Afghanistan

During the reporting period (Jan-Dec 2011), the country task forces on monitoring and reporting documented 185 incidents of attacks on schools and hospitals in the central, northern, south-eastern and eastern regions, including improvised explosive device and suicide attacks (51), burning of schools (35), intimidation of educational personnel (34), forced closures of schools (32), killing of educational personnel (25), abduction of educational personnel (7) and looting (1). Of these reported incidents, the majority was attributed to armed groups, including the Taliban, opposed to girls' education. It should be noted that in 2011, the Taliban reportedly issued a directive forbidding attacks on schools and teachers. Although this could not be confirmed by the United Nations, accounts suggested that Taliban members at the provincial level publicly denounced attacks against schools. In addition, 31 incidents of military use of schools were documented during the reporting period, of which 20 cases were attributed to armed groups and 11 cases to pro-Government forces.

Pakistan

Throughout the year (2011), schools continued to be directly targeted by armed groups in bomb and improvised explosive device attacks, resulting in 152 incidents of partial or complete destruction of school facilities in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. According to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas Department of Education, a total number of 73 schools were damaged in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas, with the remainder occurring in Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. In a double attack on 20 December 2011 in Charsadda District, a Government primary school for girls and a primary school for boys were blown up. In neighbouring Mohmand Agency, TTP claimed responsibility for the attack, reportedly to avenge military operations in the region and in opposition to secular and girls' education.

4. Attacks on Schools in Afghanistan

Glad, M., Kohistani, M., Samey A. B., Hakim, W., 2009. *Knowledge on Fire: Attacks on Education in Afghanistan: Risks and Measures for Successful Mitigation. Care International*

http://www.care.org/newsroom/articles/2009/11/Knowledge_on_Fire_Report.pdf

This study was conducted in a desire to better understand the nature of threats and attacks on education and offer recommendations for improving the ability of stakeholders to mitigate, and whenever possible, prevent, future attacks, with particular regard to the participation of communities in that process. Communities in Afghanistan are largely involved in the management and daily life of schools, as well as in their protection.

The research consisted of three main parts: a literature review of relevant secondary sources, including an analysis of the Ministry of Education and UNICEF databases on school attacks; interviews with key stakeholders within the education sector; and a field study.

When analysing the phenomenon of attacks on the education sector in Afghanistan, it is important to place the phenomenon in the context of a general spread of insecurity across the country. The large majority of field survey respondents retain that the general security situation in their areas has deteriorated. Causes of insecurity vary across the provinces, but can largely be attributed to the armed opposition and criminal activity. With regards to specific threats to the education sector, most respondents indicated that the threats emanated from armed opposition and criminal groups, although significant provincial variation was noted – a key finding for the assessment.

According to survey results, specific threats to the education sector are mainly seen to originate outside the community. Seventy five percent of respondents indicate that threats come from strangers, while only 31% say that the threat comes from known elements within the community. *“The strangers are against education in Afghanistan, particularly girls’ education”*, said a parent in Balkh. Internal threats were raised as an issue in all provinces, although they were more pronounced in Ghazni, Herat and Logar.

A certain margin of error must be permitted when considering the high response rate of those interviewees who indicated that threats to education originate from outside their home community. It is logical that some respondents would answer thus if they felt concerned about repercussions from inside the community should they respond otherwise (including those who genuinely don’t know one way or the other). To ascertain if people interviewed in groups felt social pressure to respond in a certain way when considering if threats were external or internal, the answers from the individual interviews were triangulated with the focus group average. Perhaps surprisingly, individual respondents were less inclined to answer that threats were internal than they were in a group setting. This suggests that answers were not affected by people’s fear to admit that threats are internal in front of their peers, although it doesn’t eliminate the social pressure variable altogether.

Trends and Prevalence

Throughout 2008 alone, 670 attacks on the Afghan education system were carried out, including arson and the murder of teachers and students. Between January 2006 and December 2008, 1,153 attacks of different natures were reported: grenades, ‘night letters’ or verbal threats to teachers, killings of students and education personnel. According to the Ministry of Education (MoE), 230 people died as a result of attacks on schools, students and personnel between 2006 and 2007. The most frequent type of attack according to the UNICEF school security database is arson, where school buildings, tents or inventory was burned. Explosions in or near schools buildings (including throwing of grenades, mines and rocket attacks) and direct attacks against students or education personnel are also common. Twenty percent of education personnel interviewed in the field assessment stated that they have been threatened.

Attacks on schools cannot be confined to a certain area of the country. The hardest hit provinces over the period in question are Kunar (95 attacks), Khost (91), Nangarhar (74), Helmand (72) and Kabul (72). However, the number of attacks in each province has varied throughout the period. While in 2006, the provinces that reported most attacks were Helmand, Khost, Kandahar and Ghazni; in 2007 these were Khost, Kunar, Herat and Wardak; and in 2008 Kunar, Kabul, Nangarhar and Khost. Very few provinces have seen a decrease or even a light increase in attacks throughout the period. Zabol and Ghor are the only two provinces that have seen a constant reduction between 2006 and 2008.

The nature of attacks varies from province to province. In some areas, arson is the most frequent form of attack, while in other areas, the attackers chose explosives. Grenades have been thrown in school windows and rockets fired at schools. Tents used for classes have been burnt down and children have been killed on their way home from school. Schools are more at risk at night and in the early months of the school year; although the latter trend has extended further into the school term with each passing year. A table (p23 of the report)

illustrates how education attack trends have changed throughout the period, with provinces grouped according to the degree of change they've experienced.

Community participation in school protection

Afghan schools assessed through the field study do in the vast majority of cases have mechanisms for community participation: either in the management of the school or with the specific task of providing security. Unfortunately it was beyond the ability of this study to do an in-depth analysis of the effectiveness of the different protection mechanisms currently in place. That said, prevention and protection is beyond doubt regarded by respondents as a local community responsibility. Only a relatively small percentage indicated that the responsibility lies with government and the police. In fact, in some cases the presence of the police was considered detrimental to the wellbeing of the school, as in those areas they are considered primary attack targets themselves. Across the survey area, both the Afghan National Army and the international military forces are seen as irrelevant in the protection of schools.

The roles that respondents see for the communities are numerous, and clearly defined by the nature of the attack and the perpetrators behind it. Attacks linked to the armed conflict in the country are one clear type: in these instances the community is more likely to know the attacker or be able to open up a line of communication to them. Attacks linked to criminal groups are different: communities are much less likely to know or be able to open dialogue with this group. Fear is also a factor: although there is understandable hesitation amongst many communities to try to negotiate with armed insurgents, across the board respondents felt more fearful of relating to criminal groups. The roles they suggest as appropriate to play in these two very different kinds of instances are logically varied. Hiring guards and increasing patrolling are other suggestions from the community.

Prevented and mitigated attacks

The number of prevented attacks has been low according to the field research; only 4% of respondents indicated that attacks had been prevented in the past. This, however, does not lessen the value of the success stories of communities. The stories that respondents tell can be divided in two main categories: some relate to the prevention of attacks or repeated attacks; while others focus on damage control when an attack occurs. In the first category, stories are related of local shuras having negotiated with the attackers both to prevent attacks and in the aftermath of an attack, obtaining positive results and promises of no future attacks. In the second category, respondents highlight episodes in which school guards of whole communities have engaged in fire-fights with attackers and put out fires that attackers had initiated. There is little information related to complete prevention, where there have been no attacks or threats. This is related to the difficulty in establishing what would have happened in the absence of certain protection variables. However, there is little doubt that communities see awareness raising of the positive effects of education as a key factor to preventing attacks, along with negotiations with hostile elements, without distinguishing whether attacks are imminent or not.

Risk mitigating measures

Suggested solutions that came out of the more than 1,000 interviews in the field assessment were predominantly the establishment of school security shuras and general disarmament. Faith in increased police involvement in protection of schools differed widely from province to province, with no less than 16% believing that it would actually increase the risk of attacks. Additionally, involving the community from the very start of the school establishment process could be positive, both in ensuring community acceptance of the initiative, and in garnering their commitment to being involved in its protection.

Sisgaard, M. 2009, *Education and fragility in Afghanistan. A situational analysis*. IIEP-UNESCO.

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001840/184038e.pdf>

In assessing how education has been affected by insecurity, it is necessary to understand that Afghanistan is plagued by high overall levels of lawlessness and crime. It is a society in which the violent antagonisms resulting from prolonged conflict do not necessarily stop just because one enters the classroom, or the class tent. In provinces not controlled by government forces, state-run education in public schools is often not possible, as the Taliban and other insurgent groups attack schools, school staff, and students. The methods of attack are varied and have included threatening letters and phone calls to teachers; attacks on teachers and students on their way to school; the beheading of a headmaster in his home; the placing of a landmine in a classroom, and the use of explosives and mortars to destroy whole schools.

UN figures are alarming:

- 722 incidents affecting education (i.e. attacks on schools and other education institutions, their staff and/or pupils) were recorded between 2004 and July 2008. Of these, 230 occurred between July 2007 and June 2008.
- In the period from April 2008 to January 2009, around 138 students and teachers lost their lives and a further 172 were wounded in criminal and terror attacks. Some 651 schools were inactive mostly due to insecurity and another 122 school buildings were destroyed or burned down. Some 173,443 male and female students are unable to go to school or gain an education because security concerns prevent schools being built in the first place, according to the MoE (Shalizi, 2009).
- Worst hit are girls whose schools are specifically targeted. While these represent only 14.8 percent of the total number of primary, secondary, and high schools in Afghanistan, they are affected by some 50 percent of the recorded incidents (UN Security Council, 2008, p. 11).

Schools are a visible manifestation of the presence of the state. Some elements within the Taliban want education to be limited to radical Islamic education in the madrassas (schools for Koran study) that they control. By attacking schools, they display their might, while ensuring the population stays uneducated. Attacks on schools have become explicit Taliban policy. Amnesty International has published details from a Taliban military rule book, or *Laheya*. Its 30 rules apply to every mujahid (somebody engaged in jihad).

Sigsgaard, M. (ed). 2011, *On the road to resilience. Capacity development with the Ministry of Education in Afghanistan*. UNESCO

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001915/191583e.pdf>

In 2008, the number of attacks on schools, teachers, and pupils had almost tripled to 670 – almost two attacks every day – compared with the two previous years.

One MoE strategy has been to pay civil servant support staff as night watchmen, and to support the formation of local school protection councils. Yet it has also chosen a strategy of negotiating with the Taliban and other insurgent groups through local elders. The MoE has chosen to relate to these groups and has made compromises around, for instance, allowing teachers to be called Mullahs and ensuring that schools symbolically appear as ‘true Muslim schools’; girls wear headscarves (in alignment with deep cultural norms in Afghanistan), and girls and boys are separated in classrooms. A less reported compromise measure is the MoEs permitting of local adaptations to the state curriculum, and often overlooked situations where pages are torn out of textbooks. These measures have not caused all the attacks on education to stop – in October 2009, about 27 per cent of the closed schools (220 of 800 closed ones) had re-opened, while the remaining 73 per cent remained closed.

As predicted, and despite strong opposition from UNICEF, NGOs, and human rights organisations to using Afghan schools for the presidential elections, election day on 20 August 2009 in Afghanistan saw 26 armed attacks on the 2,700 polling stations located in

schools across the country. No casualties were reported because students were off that day, according to the MoE.

Between January 2006 and December 2008, 1,153 attacks were reported: grenades, 'night letters' or verbal threats against teachers, and killings of students and education personnel. According to the MoE, 230 people died as a result of attacks on schools, students, and personnel between 2006 and 2007. In 2007-2008, around 481 schools were either closed or burned down in these provinces, and around 336,000 children have lost access to education.

Commons Select Committee on International Development. 2012, *Written evidence submitted by Save the Children*

<http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201213/cmselect/cmintdev/403/403vw04.htm>

Only 19% of schools in Afghanistan are girls' schools, yet they suffer 40% of the attacks. UNICEF and the Ministry of Education database indicate an increase in the total number of attacks in 2008 to 670, more than double the previous year. In the three-year period from April 2006 to March 2009, 238 schools were burned down, over 650 schools were closed due to threats, and 290 students and teachers were killed.

Moreover, there have also been incidents of acid attacks on girls en route to school; poison gas attacks at several girls' schools; use of night letters to intimidate teachers; and communities and occupation of school buildings by armed groups and international military forces. Many of the attacks on education in Afghanistan since 2001 have been attributed to anti-government elements, such as the Taliban. For these groups, any school that is "owned" by the government or built by armed forces becomes a potential target for attack; teachers, students and particularly girls are regarded as legitimate targets in the conflict.

The barriers affecting girls' education outlined above serve to highlight the point that tackling girls' education requires tackling the multiple barriers equally. DFID should therefore ensure its priority focus on girls' education in Afghanistan tackles the most significant barriers that affect girls, concentrating on initiatives both inside and outside of school.

Coursen-Neff, Z. & Sheppard, B., 2011. *Schools as Battleground Protecting Students, Teachers, and Schools from Attack*. Human Rights Watch

http://www.protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/hrw_schools_battlegrounds.pdf

Afghanistan's Ministry of education reported in March 2009 that roughly 570 schools remained closed following attacks by the Taliban and other insurgent groups, with hundreds of thousands of students denied an education. According to the MoE, between March and October 2010, 20 schools were attacked using explosives or arson, and insurgent attacks killed 126 students.

Human Rights Watch, 2006. *Lessons in Terror. Attacks on Education in Afghanistan*

http://www.ineesite.org/uploads/documents/store/HRW_Lessons_in_Terror_Attacks_on_Education_in_Afghanistan_2006.pdf

Human Rights Watch collected reports of 204 attacks (including attempts) on schools, teachers, and students from January 2005 to June 21, 2006. Of these attacks, 110 occurred in the first half of 2006. The pattern of these reports indicates a sharp rise in the targeting of Afghanistan's education process in late 2005 and in 2006. While southern and south-eastern provinces generally experienced more attacks, northern provinces were not exempt. Indeed, attacks were reported in 28 of Afghanistan's 34 provinces.

O'Malley, B. 2010, *Education under attack*, UNESCO, France.

Afghanistan

- Between January 2006 and December 2008, 1,153 attacks on education targets were reported, including the damaging or destruction of schools by arson, grenades, mines and rockets; threats to teachers and officials delivered by 'night letters' or verbally; the killing of students, teachers and other education staff; and looting. The number of incidents stayed stable at 241 and 242 respectively in 2006 and 2007, but then most tripled to 670 in 2008.
- In 2006 and 2007, 230 people died from attacks on schools, students and education personnel, according to Ministry of Education (MoE) figures. In one incident, dozens of schoolchildren and five teachers were killed when they lined up to meet an MP in Baghlan Province in November 2007.
- From 1 January 2009 to 30 June 2009, 123 schools were targeted by insurgents and 51 received threats, according to the Afghan Rights Monitor, citing figures from UNICEF. At least 60 students and teachers were killed and 204 wounded in security incidents in the same period (and since then, on 9 July 2009, 13 primary pupils were killed when Taliban forces detonated a bomb between two schools in Logar Province). In July 2009, more than 400 schools, mostly in the volatile south, remained closed due to insecurity, the MoE said. UNICEF recorded 98 school incidents in the period from 1 May through 24 June 2009. At least 26 schools were attacked and partially damaged by the Taliban on election day, 20 August 2009, because they were being used as polling stations, according to the MoE. The schools were hit with rockets, missiles and improvised explosives.
- In June 2009, six incidents of explosives being found near or in schools and other locations occupied by children were reported. On 21 June 2009, an explosive was placed in a classroom and detonated on the second floor of Do Abe School building, Kahmard District, Bamyan Province. The explosion destroyed part of the second floor and damaged the structure.
- In April 2009, two schools in Nader Shah Kowt District, Khost Province, were attacked. A portion of one of the school's front walls was damaged.
- In March 2009, a school in Nader Shah Kowt District, Khost Province was attacked, causing major damage to the building.
- The MoE reported that terrorist and insurgent attacks killed 149 teachers, other school employees and students during 2008.
- By September 2008, 600 schools were reported closed, 80 percent of them in the southern provinces of Helmand, Kandahar, Zabul and Uruzgan.
- On 14 September 2008, the Taliban reportedly cut off the ears of one teacher in Zabul Province.
- On 13 August 2008, three humanitarian workers employed by the International Rescue Committee (IRC), who worked specifically on education programming, and one of their drivers were ambushed and killed by the Taliban in the Logar Province of Afghanistan. The second driver was seriously wounded.
- On 9 June 2008, gunmen killed a teacher and his daughter in Nangahar Province.
- On 14 May 2008, gunmen killed a teacher in Kunduz Province who had publicly criticised suicide bombing.
- On 7 May 2008, The Times reported that 36 attacks on schools and teachers had taken place since the start of the new term on 23 March. School buildings had been set on fire or attacked with grenades; teachers were kidnapped; and, in one case, a caretaker had had his ear and nose cut off as punishment for 'co-operating with the Government'. In another incident, on 4 April 2008, armed men set fire to the Ortablaq School in northern Kunduz Province and cut off the ears of the night watchman.
- In some schools, 'night letters' ordering teachers to leave, signed on behalf of the Taliban leader, Mullah Muhammad Omar, were left pinned to the door. In Miyan Abdul Hakim School, Kandahar city, attackers terrorised the caretaker, gathered

- together desks, floor mats and any textbooks or exercise books they could find, and set fire to them.
- In Zabul, where the local community had reached an agreement with the Taliban to leave schools alone, Taliban commanders allowed teaching but destroyed religious studies books that promoted reconciliation between Sunni and Shia.
 - By January 2008, attacks on schools and insecurity were preventing 300,000 children from attending school in the south, where 400 schools were closed.
 - In 2007, there were 228 school attacks, resulting in 75 deaths and 111 injuries, according to UNICEF.
 - On 25 October 2007, grenades were thrown into Naswan High School, Shindand District, Herat Province, damaging several classrooms. It was the fourth school to be attacked in the same district in 17 days. Two of them were girls' schools. The area was a hotspot of Taliban insurgency.
 - In October 2007, police arrested a student, Sayed Perwiz Kambakhsh, at Balkh University for downloading and distributing information about the role of women in Islamic societies. He was sentenced to death for 'insolence to the Holy Prophet' but his sentence was later commuted to 20 years on appeal.
 - On 17 June 2007, seven children died when US air planes bombed an Islamic studies school in Zarghun Shah District of Paktika Province in the southeast.
 - Fourteen schools were torched by insurgents in several provinces between April and May 2007, according to the MoE. This was followed by a lull in attacks in June and July, which may have been the result of a "school protection" campaign, encouraging communities to declare publicly their support for education.
 - In February 2007, the head-teacher of a girls' high school in Lashkargarh repeatedly received warnings by phone and night letter ordering her to leave her post.
 - There was a significant increase in suicide attacks in 2006 and 2007. According to the United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA), some of the bombers appeared to be children drawn heavily from madrasas in Pakistan.
 - A reported 120 schools were torched and ten teachers killed in 2006, and 273 schools were set on fire in 2005.
 - Schoolchildren have increasingly been targeted on their way to or from or at school. In February 2007, a 13-year-old student was reportedly shot dead on his way to Zokur High School in Lashkargarh. Four days later, gunmen fired indiscriminately outside Karte Laghan School, killing a student and a caretaker.
 - On 12 June 2007, ten girls were allowed to go home early from the Qalai Sayedan School in Logar Province, Afghanistan. But two men on a motorbike, armed with a machine gun, were waiting for them as they made their way past the school gates and down the dirt road. A burst of automatic fire hit Shukria, 13, in the back and arm. As she fell, her sister Zarmina, 12, ran to her and the gunmen rode close and opened fire again, killing Shukria and one other, and wounding four other girls.
 - On 15 June 2007, a suicide bomber blew himself up in front of students leaving a school in Tarinkot, Uruzgan Province, killing 11 of them and wounding several others.
 - On 12 November 2008, high school girls in Kandahar were attacked with battery acid.
 - On 28 December 2008, a group of primary school children were walking along a road on their way home from school, close to a checkpoint in Khost Province. They were unaware of a 4X4 vehicle slowly zigzagging its way through the barriers approaching the checkpoint they were passing. As the vehicle drew level with them it exploded. Fourteen pupils were killed. They were all aged 8 to 10.
 - On 12 May 2009, 98 students and six teachers were admitted to hospital after a mass poisoning at Qazaaq School, north of Kabul. Five victims slipped into a coma but were revived. It was the third poison gas attack on schools in the area: scores of pupils were taken ill in separate attacks on schools in Charikar, Kapisa Province, north-east of Kabul. The attack came a day after 61 schoolgirls and one teacher from a school in neighbouring Parwar Province were admitted to hospital with a sudden illness with headaches, vomiting and shivering. The third school was attacked on 26

April 2009, when five teachers and 40 pupils collapsed, overcome by fumes, after a bottle was reportedly thrown into the playground during a ceremony at Sadiqi Padshah School Charikar. After the attacks, many girls expressed fears of going to school in an area where girls' education had been strongly endorsed by local communities and which had never been under firm Taliban control.

- In the cities, where schools are better protected, the targeting of schoolchildren by suicide bombers and abduction for ransom by criminal groups on the journey to or from school were also reported to be significant problems in 2008.
- In May 2009, six girls' schools in Chahar Darreh District, in the northern province of Kunduz, were closed following receipt of letters threatening acid and gas attacks. As a result, teachers and pupils stayed at home and eventually the authorities closed the schools. The district was largely under Taliban control.

Watch List. 2010, *Setting the Right Priorities: Protecting Children Affected by Armed Conflict in Afghanistan*. Watch List. New York, USA.

<http://watchlist.org/setting-the-right-priorities-protecting-children-affected-by-armed-conflict-in-afghanistan/>

Even with the limited monitoring and reporting system currently in place, it is clear that attacks on schools by armed opposition groups are widespread. Armed opposition groups have damaged and destroyed schools, brutally killed students and their teachers and threatened anybody seen as supportive of Afghanistan's education system. Criminal gangs are responsible for some of these attacks, at times acting as proxies to armed groups. In 2009, the UN Country Task Force documented 610 incidents affecting education compared to 348 recorded incidents in 2008. The majority of attacks are related to the burning of school buildings or inventory, explosions close to or in school buildings and direct attacks against students and education personnel, according to the UNICEF school security database. Armed groups have also used "night letters" to threaten families and deter them from sending their children to government-run schools. While school attacks have occurred throughout Afghanistan, the type of attacks – whether arson, explosives or others – has varied, depending on the province and the location of the school. For example, schools built near highways close to the frontlines and international borders are more likely to face attacks. In addition, visits of international military forces to schools or their direct assistance to education programs through the PRTs is likely to increase the risk of attacks by attracting untoward attention by anti-government elements.

Although some of the threats or attacks against schools seem linked to PRT support, more statistical evidence is needed to verify whether there is indeed a correlation.

Girls face significantly higher risks of being attacked than boys. While only 19 percent of all schools in the country are designated girls' schools, attacks against girls' schools account for 40 percent of all attacks. For example, in May 2009, an armed group reportedly poisoned 90 girls between the ages of 8 and 12 years old using gas in Mahmud Raqi, the capital of Kapisa province, leading to severe nausea and in at least five cases, short-term comas. In another case, in November 2008, Taliban militants reportedly threw acid into the faces of more than a dozen girls and several of their teachers en route to school in Kandahar, leaving some severely disfigured, according to the 2008 Secretary-General's annual report on children and armed conflict. The militants were reportedly paid 100,000 Pakistani rupees for each girl they burned. To date, the perpetrators of the crime have not been convicted

There have also been incidents where teachers and students have been caught in the cross-fire as checkpoints, police posts or military camps were established in the immediate vicinity of schools. For example, on March 15, 2009, an IED exploded in front of a school and close to a military base in Kabul, injuring among others a school teacher and a 12-year-old student, and destroying some of the school's windows, according to the Ministry of Education.

Rivas, A-M. 2011, *Health and Education in Afghanistan*. Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief, Kabul.

http://www.togetherafghanistan.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/ACBAR_HealthAndEducation_email.pdf

This paper focuses on the efforts made by the Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (GoIRA), supported by the international community, to improve healthcare and education. The findings suggest that the main challenges in trying to provide health and education to Afghans are: insecurity and a lack of access to facilities, among others.

Cultural barriers are still present throughout the country. Women and girls are particularly vulnerable to security threats. Female professionals are targeted and harassed not just by Armed Opposition Groups (AOG) and criminal gangs but also religious leaders and local decision makers that oppose girls' education. Mental health problems, such as depression, are common among women facing persistent insecurity and there are no provisions or services available to help tackle this issue.

People's perceptions and beliefs about the level of insecurity in an area, whether rooted in fact or not, may act as a more debilitating factor than actual incidents of violence. There is a paralysing fear within the population that is not necessarily the result of recent attacks or insecurity but a consequence of living in conflict for many years. In addition, the negative psycho-social effects of the conflict are being seen more within communities. Focus group participants in all 9 provinces spoke of increased feelings of anxiety and fear, the poor performance of students and the presence of mental health problems due to sustained exposure to trauma, violence and instability. There is a strong linkage between the psychological impact of insecurity and the ability of communities to absorb health and education aid.

Parents expressed concern for their children's safety because of both ongoing and regular military operations and tribal conflicts. However, raids on schools or road blocks by International Military Forces (IMFs) which hamper access to schools were described as limited. Parents were more worried that children would be injured or killed from the collateral damage of military operations or tribal conflicts. Attacks on educational facilities by AOGs were cited as being more frequent than attacks on health facilities. NGOs commented that attacks were more common on government schools. Yet, it was also noted that people were not always clear on who was running the school and, in such areas, NGO schools were as vulnerable as government schools. This was confirmed by the insights given in the focus group discussions. Participants commented that, in areas where there are many and changing actors and areas where community members are not consulted, there can be confusion within the community as to who is doing what.

The kidnapping and harassment of students, particularly girls, was raised as an issue in Herat, Nangahar and Kandahar. Respondents spoke of not sending their children to school, not only due to on-going or recent attacks but out of a fear that had developed after previous attacks or threats and the trauma of living through years of conflict and violence. Once an incident occurs within the community it will interrupt the education of the students. According to people's perceptions, this happens in two ways. Parents tend to keep their children at home, sometimes even for months, after an attack or criminal incident occurs. In addition, students will become fearful and even depressed, affecting their ability to absorb information and learn.

In some areas, where the remoteness of the area or security issues prevents students from travelling alone for so many hours, children go without an education. Research indicates that 25% of participants cited distance to be a major obstacle to girls' education. In some areas, schools located more than three kilometres from the home were considered inaccessible to

female students, as some respondents considered it was not safe or not culturally appropriate for their daughters to walk such a distance.

A commonly cited reason for not sending girls to school was the absence of the boundary wall. 68% of schools do not have boundary walls and 15% require rehabilitation of their boundary walls. Schools without boundary walls leave students vulnerable to outsiders during break-times.

In Afghanistan, awareness about the dangers of early marriage is low among both men and women. In some areas families use this as a coping strategy in emergency situations to generate income. Early marriage affects the ability of girls to complete their education and maintain healthy lifestyles. It is rare that girls are allowed to continue schooling after marriage, particularly in the rural and remote areas. Married girls are often perceived as having family obligations that should leave them with little spare time for education. This is one of the main reasons for girls dropping out of school as they get older. A further complication is the MoE policy ordering schools to separate married girls from other students and to provide separate classrooms for them. The rationale behind the policy is that married girls may discuss inappropriate topics with unmarried girls. However, the policy applies only to married girls and not boys. Given the shortage of resources facing girl's schools, the lack of female teachers and already overcrowded classrooms, this policy pushes married girls out of the educational system.

Women and girls are particularly vulnerable to security threats. Following an attack, families will often send boys back to school before they allow girls to return. As a result, security incidents can have a more disruptive effect on girls' education than boys. Female professionals are vulnerable to attacks, though this seems to be more prevalent among female teachers than female healthcare workers. Female teachers are targeted and harassed not just by AOG groups and criminal gangs but also by religious leaders and local decision-makers that oppose girls' education.

5. Attacks on Schools in Pakistan

Sylla B. 2011, *The effect of violent conflict on the primary education in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan*. UNESCO

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001912/191249e.pdf>

Overall in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 491 government primary schools were temporarily closed at the time of the October 2009 school census. Of these, nearly 25% (120 closed schools) were in Swat district. Among these schools, reasons for closure were noted for 25 schools: 17 cited violent incidents such as the burning, bombing, or shelling of the school; the remaining 8 gave explanations such as such as 'departure of teacher' or 'district office decision' that may or may not have been linked to violence. For the remaining 95 schools in Swat that were temporarily closed, we can speculate that violent conflict may have been a contributing factor since the average closure rate in Swat (9%) is notably higher than that for the rest of the province (2%).

Human Rights Watch, 2010. *Their Future is at Stake - Attacks on Teachers and Schools in Pakistan's Balochistan Province*. HRW, USA.

<http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/pakistan1210.pdf>

A total of 10 teachers have left [the school] so far.... Six people from this [school] have been assassinated since 2006—most of them during the last 12 months.... My profile has all the required characteristics to be targeted: teacher, Shia, and a settler. It is better for me and my family that we leave as soon as possible.

—Teacher, location withheld, spring 2010

The most affected ethnic group currently is the Baloch because it is they who are losing teachers. It is their children whose education is affected, and it is their future that is at stake.... Of course the settlers, and Punjabis particularly, have [also] been directly affected.... It is their people being killed.

— Senior provincial government official, Quetta, spring 2010

Teachers, professors, and school administrators have found their lives increasingly under threat in Pakistan's western province of Balochistan. Between January 2008 and October 2010, suspected militant groups targeted and killed at least 22 teachers and other education personnel in the province. Militants have also threatened, bombed, or otherwise attacked schools, resulting in injuries, deaths, property damage, and curtailed education for Balochistan's children and youth. In 2009, government schools were open for only 120 days, compared with around 220 days in the rest of Pakistan.

Fearing for their safety, many teachers—particularly ethnic Punjabis and Shiite Muslims and other targeted minorities—have sought transfers, further burdening what is already the worst educational system in Pakistan. Since 2008, more than 200 teachers and professors have transferred from their schools to the relatively more secure capital Quetta, or have moved out of the province entirely. Nearly 200 others are in the process of making such transfers. New teachers are hard to find, and replacements often less qualified than predecessors. In Baloch areas of the province, schools are often under or poorly staffed, and many remaining teachers say they are so preoccupied with declining security their teaching has been adversely affected.

This report, based on interviews with teachers, government officials, journalists, NGOs, and school children, describes attacks on Balochistan's educational facilities, teaching personnel, and students as part of broader political, religious, and cultural divisions. It also considers the consequences of such attacks for education in the region, including pervasive fear, fewer school days, and hemorrhaging of qualified teachers.

Killing people of a certain ethnicity or religion who have dedicated their lives to teaching only undercuts opportunities and outcomes in a province already struggling to educate its populace and achieve greater development, making a bad situation even worse. There is no acceptable justification for targeted killings of teachers and other education personnel, or attacks on schools. Beyond the killings' simple unlawfulness, the militant groups that are responsible demonstrate disturbing willingness to make the education of the province's children a pawn of their armed agenda.

Education falls in the crosshairs of three distinct violent conflicts in Balochistan. The first is a nationalist conflict, in which militant Baloch groups such as the Baloch Liberation Army (BLA) and the Baloch Liberation United Front (BLUF) seeking separation or autonomy for Balochistan have targeted Punjabis and other minorities, particularly in the districts of Mastung, Kalat, Nushki, Gwadar, Khuzdar, and Quetta. While individuals from all professions have been the victims of such 'targeted killings', teachers and students constitute a significant proportion of victims because militant groups view schools and educational personnel, particularly ethnic Punjabis, as representatives of the Pakistani state and symbols of perceived Punjabi military oppression of the province.

Often no group claims responsibility for attacks, and few perpetrators have been apprehended and prosecuted. Those that do claim responsibility for such violence often justify it as a response to perceived lack of Baloch control over resources, underrepresentation in the national government, and retaliation for abuses by state security forces against the Baloch community. For example, the recent surge in killings can be traced to the 2006 assassination of prominent Baloch tribal leader Nawab Akbar Khan Bugti, and the murders of three prominent Baloch politicians in April 2009 by assailants believed to be linked

to the Pakistan military. Apparent militant nationalist groups have threatened school officials, demanding that they stop teaching Pakistani history, flying the Pakistani flag, and having children sing the national anthem. The BLA claimed responsibility for the shooting death of Anwar Baig, a senior teacher killed in Kalat in June 2009 because he supposedly opposed recitation of the Baloch nationalist and hoisting the nationalist flag instead of the Pakistani flag.

The second distinct conflict is a sectarian one, in which militant Sunni Muslim groups have attacked members of the Shia community, especially members of the Persian-speaking Hazara community. Such sectarian attacks appeared to increase in 2009, and occur mainly in Quetta and its neighbouring districts. The third conflict involves armed Islamist groups attacking those who act contrary to their interpretation of Islam. Armed Islamist militants have increasingly committed violence in opposition to the content and manner of local education, particularly that of girls and young women. There have also been several reported instances of demands that schools stop teaching girls and boys together, and that students and teachers adopt more local and conservative dress.

Human Rights Watch calls on armed groups in Balochistan to immediately cease all attacks against education personnel and other civilians, and schools; on the provincial government of Balochistan to bring to justice those responsible and to take measures to prevent such attacks and mitigate their impact; and on the federal government of Pakistan to support these efforts.

Amnesty International, 2010. *As if Hell Fell on Me: The Human Rights Crisis in Northwest Pakistan*

http://www.protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/amnesty_as_if_hell_fell_on_me.pdf

The Taliban targeted schools teaching the national curriculum, and in particular, the few operating schools for women and girls both in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) throughout 2008 and 2009. According to statistics from the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, 165 schools were destroyed in NWFP and FATA in 2008, 136 of them girls' schools; and more than 180 schools were destroyed and 318 were partially destroyed in 2009.

In Darra Adam Khel, a Frontier Region, a 25-year-old man told Amnesty International in late 2008 that the Taliban had warned parents not to send their girls to school and later attacked the schools: First they warned owners of private schools to end co-education. Then they told the government's girls' schools to close. When they refused, the Taliban bombed several of them and the rest of the schools were closed for fear of bombing. At the same time, parents also stopped sending their children to schools for fear of the Taliban.

In early 2008, threatening letters were left at the Girls Degree College in Jamrud, located in FATA's Bajaur Agency, demanding that girls wear veils to school. Then, in April 2008, a group of around 12 unidentified armed men came to the school at night, overpowered the watchmen, and planted explosives which they then detonated. According to Khalid Mumtaz Kundi, an official of the Khyber Agency political administration, four blasts damaged the school's wall, a classroom, and windowpanes of several rooms.

A 58-year-old man with several children from Bajaur who was interviewed in late 2008 said that a primary school for girls existed near his home but there were no teachers available due to their fear of the Taliban: The school had been closed for the last several months because there are no staff to run the school...It was open for one month when the children started going to school, but due to the fear of the Taliban all the teachers stopped coming and the school remains closed.

One of the most devastating attacks on female education came in the Swat area. There, in 2008 and early 2009, as the Taliban consolidated their grip on the area, they destroyed more than 170 schools, including more than 100 girls' schools. These attacks disrupted the education of more than 50,000 pupils, from primary to college level, according to official estimates. The Human Rights Commission of Pakistan estimated that after the imposition of the Nizam-e-Adl Regulation in April 2009, around 4,000 schools providing education to over 40,000 girls were shut down.

The number of attacks and other restrictions on female education in Swat was far greater than in FATA. But as FATA had far fewer schools than Swat, when an attack is carried out against one school or against a group of students, it has a devastating impact on education.

The concerted nature of these attacks and the threats to schools and teachers constitute a deliberate assault to the security of women and girls and on their right to education. The climate of fear generated by these attacks is undermining the right to education of thousands of children, particularly girls, and violates a number of international rights as set out in international human rights law and international humanitarian law, which provides special protection to buildings dedicated to education.

Human Rights Watch, 2011. *Schools and Armed Conflict. A Global Survey of Domestic Laws and State Practice Protecting Schools from Attack and Military Use*
<http://www.protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/crd0711webwcover.pdf>

A teenage student at a school in Balochistan, Pakistan, 2010

"I was in the classroom when I heard the explosion. It was very loud ... it scared us ... I ran to the school yard as soon as we heard the explosion. The classroom windows were shattered. Many students were already in the yard. Many of us didn't know what had happened. I saw smoke ... I heard many children screaming. I think some of them got light injuries because of falling on the pieces of glass when they were running in chaos.... Several teachers were injured. I got really scared when I realised it was a bomb explosion."

O'Malley, B. 2010, *Education under attack*, UNESCO, France.
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001868/186809e.pdf>

Pakistan

- In the Swat District in North West Frontier Province (NWFP), 172 schools were destroyed or damaged between 2007 and March 2009 as the Taliban fought and eventually took control of the area. Most were burnt down by Taliban militants; others were shelled, blasted, demolished or ransacked, leaving 108 schools fully destroyed and 64 schools partially damaged. The action deprived 23,000 girls and 17,000 boys of their education. More schools were closed due to occupation by Taliban groups or by security forces, or because female teachers were being threatened. In August 2009, by which time the army had regained control of the Swat Valley but was still fighting the Taliban in pockets of the district and surrounding area, NWFP education minister Qazi Asad claimed that 356 schools had been damaged by the Taliban.
- In Waziristan, 100 schools were reportedly burnt down in 2007 and 2008. In late June 2009, the Taliban torched a school at Manyar.
- On 27 April 2009, 12 children were killed when a bomb hidden in a football, left near the compound wall of a girls' school in Dir, west of Swat Valley, exploded.
- On 6 April 2009, two female teachers, an education aid worker and their driver were shot dead near Mansehra, NWFP, an area where Islamists had previously attacked aid groups. They all worked for Rise International, which promotes education.
- On 24 March 2009, the Government Girls' Higher Secondary School in Hathian village, Mardan, was bombed. On 23 March, a rocket hit the courtyard of FG Girls' High School in Peshawar; it was launched from nearby hills.

- On 2 March, a suicide bomber attacked a girls' school in Baluchistan, eastern Pakistan.
- In February 2009, girls' schools in Mardan District, north-east of Peshawar, were attacked.
- Between 17 January and 26 January 2009, five schools were bombed in Swat, including both the government-run boys' high school and the girls' high school in Tahirabad, a suburb of Mingora.
- Eighteen schools had been occupied by armed forces engaged in fighting militants in Swat, affecting 7,000 students.
- On 16 January 2009, a government-run girls' middle school was blown up in Qambar, a suburb of Mingora, Swat.
- In December 2008, the Taliban warned girls' schools in Swat to close or face attack. Five hundred state schools and 400 hundred private schools, which were closed for holidays, were ordered to end classes for girls by 15 January 2009. After a public outcry, the ban was later 'softened' to permit girls' education up to the end of Grade 4 only.
- On 2 August 2008, two schools were burned down in the Mingora area of Swat Valley. Police said 61 girls' schools had been burned down in the previous two months in Swat Valley.
- On 13 June 2008, militants bombed a girls' middle school at Namsir, Khall, Lower Dir, NWFP. On 12 June, a village English school for girls was bombed 200 km from Peshawar. On 10 June, a girls' high school was burnt in Wari. On 6 June, militants destroyed the government girls' middle school in Bibyawar and left a note saying it was attacked by the Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan for ignoring a warning on observing purdah.
- On 28 March 2008, a bomb attack badly damaged a girls' middle school in the Germany Qila area of Darra Adam Khel, NWFP. At least five other schools had been hit in the area in 2008, leaving parents terrified of sending their children to school.
- In February 2008, eight schools received telephoned bomb threats within three days in Lahore, causing fear and panic among parents.
- At least a dozen female education institutions and seven NGOs were bombed in NWFP in 2007.
- In December 2007, a suicide bomber drove a car packed with explosives into a school bus 45 miles north-west of Islamabad, injuring six or seven children as well as the driver and guard.
- On 29 September 2007, a teacher was gunned down on her way home from school in Mohmand Agency, NWFP. She taught at a girls' community school. Teachers in 100 schools across Mohmand Agency had been told to wear the burkha or face death.
- In September 2007, the Swat education department ordered schools to comply with an order issued by pro-Taliban groups for the wearing of the burkha to be made mandatory for all school-age girls. The Sangota Public School for Girls, Mingora, received a threatening letter warning it, too, to make wearing of the burkha compulsory, even though it is a Christian missionary school. In some parts of NWFP, primary schools were ordered to segregate classes for boys and girls.
- On 22 July 2007, some 300 people were killed when security forces stormed Islamabad's Red Mosque and adjacent school, whose scholars and students had been campaigning to enforce sharia law in the capital.
- In February 2007, in NWFP, five private schools in Mansehra District were closed after being warned to make wearing the burkha compulsory.
- In June 2006, two teachers hired by the Barani Areas Development Programme to offer vocational training to women and girls were hacked to death with their children at the government girls' high school in Khwaga Cheri village, Orakzai Agency, south-west of Peshawar. IRIN reported that the crime was apparently carried out by tribesmen to send a message to NGO workers and other teachers.

- In July 2009, Pakistan's Army claimed that up to 1,500 boys as young as 11 years old were kidnapped from schools and madrasas and trained in Swat by the Taliban to become suicide bombers. Many were used to carry out attacks on US and NATO forces in neighbouring Afghanistan.
- Of two rescued recruits interviewed by The Times, one, aged 13, said he was studying in class five when he was abducted; the other, age 15, said he had been lured from classes in a madrasa. Both were taken from Mingora, Swat Valley, to a mountain base in Chuprial, where they underwent 16 hours a day of physical exercise and psychological indoctrination. They were rescued when army operations forced the Taliban to abandon their camps. A Reuters report in July 2009 said 12 boys had been rescued from suicide training camps in NWFP. A report by Press TV the same month claimed as many as 200 boys aged 6 to 13 had been rescued.
- US and Pakistani officials said children as young as 7 were being sold by one Taliban group, led by Baitullah Mehsud, to other Taliban and armed groups for use as suicide bombers. The rate quoted was \$7,000 to \$14,000.
- In May 2008, IRIN reported that journalists taken to Spinkai, a town in South Waziristan that had recently been cleared of Taliban, saw video footage of teenage boys carrying out executions of those deemed 'enemies' by militants. Other pictures showed a classroom of boys being trained to fight. In Swat Valley, the authorities were investigating allegations that militants running madrasas in the region were recruiting and training children as soldiers. Six other students had been apprehended by police for alleged involvement in an attempted suicide attack.
- In February 2008, IRIN reported several cases of boys being either trained at or recruited from religious schools or seminaries to become suicide bombers. The Society for the Rights of the Child reported that 25 to 30 madrasa students, aged 7 to 15, had been used to carry out attacks by extremists and were being detained by security forces.
- In July 2007, a 14-year-old boy was reportedly returned to his family in Pakistan after being recruited from a madrasa in South Waziristan and trained as a suicide bomber to carry out an attack in Afghanistan. It was also reported that children between the ages of 11 and 15 were being recruited from schools in the tribal belt by pro-Taliban fighters, using propaganda and a degree of coercion, and were taken over the border to be trained in Afghanistan as suicide bombers.

UNESCO / IEP 2011, *Understanding education's role in fragility*. International Institute for Educational Planning Research Paper
<http://www.iiep.unesco.org/information-services/publications/abstracts/2011/inee-synthesis.html>

This report synthesizes four situational analyses (one of which is focused on Afghanistan) commissioned by the International Institute for Educational Planning (INEE) Working Group on Education and Fragility with the intent to provide key data needed to better understand the relationship between education and fragility in a variety of contexts.

The report found that schools have been shown to reflect and reproduce violence outside the classroom by regularly exposing children to corporal punishment and schoolbooks extolling violence. Incitement to violence also occurs through the politicization of education, which is manifested in a segregated system and in biased portrayals of 'the other' in curricula and textbooks. This is generally coupled with a pedagogic approach that fails to promote critical thinking skills, thus favouring young people's manipulation and mobilization. Education thus becomes a 'battleground' where broader ethno-national divisions are played out. By being violent, divisive, and prejudicial places, educational institutions have helped to reinforce justifications for ethnic or religious conflict, and hence contribute to insecurity.

On the positive side, schools can provide a place of physical security for students, and may play a role in countering militarization by preventing enrolled young people from being

conscripted. Schools can also contribute to countering physical insecurity through specific programmes such as mine-risk education and HIV and AIDS education. In addition, codes of conduct for teachers on physical punishment and sexual violence have shown positive potential to reduce general violence.

In Afghanistan, expanded access to education – in some cases facilitated by community involvement in school management resulting in reduced likelihood of attack – has taken more children off the streets, and provided them with a sense of routine hitherto disrupted by the conflict and the violence. Where educational provision was hampered by security threats, distance education, radio education, and the distribution of DVDs have been used to surmount those challenges, while also promoting aspects such as girls' education. School feeding programmes and HIV and AIDS programmes have also helped people live in fragile contexts characterized by food insecurity and health shocks. In addition, employment opportunities in the teaching profession and school construction and maintenance have offered ways to live within a context of economic fragility characterized by high levels of poverty and unemployment.

Decentralization of education as well as community-based educational initiatives have shown potential for strengthening civil engagement and building trust between communities, armed insurgents, and government, thereby improving governance and increasing stability. Similarly, the use of accountability measures to enhance transparency in education has also demonstrated potential for improved governance, by building trust in the government.

In Afghanistan, private schools run by tribal elders have been crucial in ensuring educational provision as they tend not to be the objects of terrorist attacks by the Taliban. This is most likely due to a desire on the part of the belligerents to maintain community support. State control of education, however, appears to play a significant role in ensuring the quality of teaching, as demonstrated by the Ministry of Education's Islamic education programme, which attempts to govern the field of religious education and prevent the indoctrination that occurs in some madrasas. This might often require some degree of negotiation and accommodation of religious values.

Education appears to have both negative and positive impacts on fragility. On the negative side, schools were found to reflect and reproduce violence outside the classroom, as well as to help contribute to insecurity, through:

- Corporal punishment;
- Schoolbooks extolling violence and promoting militarism; and
- A divided and segregated system, biased curriculum and textbooks, and rote learning, favouring the manipulation and mobilization of young people.

On the positive side, education was found to reduce violence and physical insecurity through:

- School enrolment, which has helped to ensure physical security and counter militarization by preventing armed conscription;
- Specific programmes such as mine-risk education and HIV and AIDS education; and
- Codes of conduct for teachers on physical punishment and sexual violence.

6. Mitigating attacks in Afghanistan and Pakistan

Save the Children, 2009. *Rewrite the Future Global Evaluation Afghanistan Midterm Country Report*

<http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/content/library/documents/rewrite-future-global-evaluation-afghanistan-midterm-country-report>

For many schools a surrounding wall was a priority, both for cultural and security reasons. A school wall and gate was important for making parents feel more secure about sending their daughters to school. It can also protect the students from animals. One group of students described how some dogs had got into the school compound and bitten some students the day before the evaluation visit. Three of the Parent-Teacher-(Student) Associations (PT(S)As) had managed to secure funding and labour for the construction of school walls. However, two of these schools had only managed to partially complete their school walls and the schools remained unprotected on two sides. In several of the schools visited, both project and comparison schools, there was a student on duty at the school entrance to receive school visitors and to ensure that no one entered the school without permission. In one of the comparison schools visited there was also a School Defence Committee which had been established in response to an incident involving a farmer hitting a student.

Whilst school compounds can be protected by walls and gates, protecting children on their way to and from school can be more problematic. Community-based classes, including accelerated learning classes (ALCs), provide a safer alternative as they tend to be held in local homes or mosques so are easier for children to reach. This is especially important for girls who not only risk damaging their reputations if they walk far from their homes, but also risk targeted attacks by those opposed to education for females.

Another way through which community participation was being used to make schools safer was through the involvement of religious leaders. Save the Children frequently approached local religious leaders for assistance or involvement in community education councils, school management committees and selection of PT(S)A members. Save the Children also seeks to involve religious leaders in the establishment and running of ALCs. Two of the mentors at the ALCs visited for this evaluation were local mullahs and one class was normally held in the Mosque. Involving Mullahs as mentors can help to increase female enrolment as parents are more willing to have their daughters taught by Mullahs than by other male teachers. The impact can also go beyond a single class. The fathers from one of the ALCs testified that the Mullah who was the ALC mentor regularly talked at the mosque about the importance of education and child rights, for girls and boys. As well as increasing female enrolment, such advocacy from religious leaders could help to reduce the misconception that education of girls is anti Islamic.

This, in turn, could contribute to reducing the incidents of attacks on schools.

Save the Children's work with religious leaders at the village level is also supported by national level advocacy work. They organised a workshop at which mullahs compared the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to children's rights in Islam. The workshop verified that in almost all areas, including rights to education and protection from violence, there was a very close correspondence between the rights. They have worked with religious scholars to provide resources on child rights' in Islam and display passages from the Koran that support children's right to education in their resource centres.

Burde, D. (2010). *Preventing violent attacks on education in Afghanistan: Considering the role of community-based schools*. In UNESCO, *Protecting education from attack: A state of the art review* (pp. 245–259). Paris: UNESCO.

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001867/186732e.pdf>

Claims about the benefits of community-based schools in relation to increasing children's safety and reducing attacks on education have yet to be empirically demonstrated. In addition, optimism about the ability of community-based schools to reduce the numbers of attacks on students, teachers, and education personnel and on educational infrastructure should be tempered by a note about the infrastructure required to support them and the weaknesses of these schools on other counts. Firstly, when security deteriorates to the extent that it has in many parts of Afghanistan, it is impossible for NGO or Afghan

government staff to access these regions. Programmes that require significant external support cannot survive in these conditions. Humanitarian agencies would need to design creative ways to continue to support these schools in the event that they could not access them. Starting new community-based schools in conflict ridden areas will require insightful planning.

Secondly, in the studies described here, the community-based schools primarily relied on teachers with limited training and education who were often local village mullahs. Mullahs have a complicated role in recent Afghan history. For example, the Taliban relied on local mullahs to enforce their rule during the 1990s. Many mullahs do not share the extreme views of the Taliban,

Islamic education has a rich history and mosque schools as a form of early childhood education are underappreciated among Westerners. Nonetheless, relying extensively on undereducated religious leaders as teachers of the Afghan national curriculum could bring unforeseen costs as well as benefits. And, as noted above, the large-scale use of community-based schools threatens to shift the burden of education to those least able to afford it. In a country with such high rates of poverty, this could have a negative impact on already struggling communities.

Thirdly, community-based schools currently serve only a small fraction of school-age children in Afghanistan. In addition, they provide principally early primary grades, and historically, NGOs have promoted them as a complement to the government system. PACE-A and the Afghan Ministry of Education have worked closely to integrate NGO-fostered community-based schools into the government system, discussing new forms of teacher certification and providing community-based school teachers' salaries from the government pay rolls. Effective expansion of community-based schools will require a discussion regarding their role, among other things addressing whether they are intended to serve as a stop-gap measure or a permanent fixture on the educational landscape. Educational policy and investment should be structured accordingly.

Finally, as noted, the potential of community-based schools to mitigate violence in Afghanistan appears most promising in response to criminal and ideological attacks. Criminal violence that targets children and teachers en route to school would likely be curtailed if distance were eliminated. Among ideological actors, since the Taliban pursue persuasion and domination, not annihilation, attacking a community-based school, particularly in a Pashtun region, could undermine the Taliban's social base. In Ghor Province, however, where Taliban attacks were negligible at the time of this study, communitarian rivalries were more significant factors in spurring violence that affected education. In this case, the type of school – government or community-based – becomes irrelevant if the intention is to eliminate the community and the whole population is under attack.

Nevertheless, community-based schools have characteristics that should serve to deter violence, particularly the kind of violence – i.e. disrupting access to services – that serves as a cornerstone to the Taliban strategy. Community-based education may serve to eliminate schools as a target of ideological violence because of their links to the community, use of non-traditional structures and proximity to students and teachers. Above all, removing distance as a barrier to school has a multiplier effect, reducing opportunities for attacks on students and increasing children's access to learning. Community-based schools warrant further consideration.

Global Coalition to Prevent Education from Attack, 2011. *Study on Field-based Programmatic Measures to Protect Education from Attack*
http://protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/gcpea_study_on_programmatic_measures.pdf

AFGHANISTAN

Overview of the nature, scope, and motives of attacks on education

Many of the attacks on education in Afghanistan since 2001 have been attributed to anti-government elements, such as the Taliban. The attacks are an attempt to weaken support for the government, undermine counterinsurgency and international military efforts, create instability, intimidate, oppose all perceived Western education, and stop girls' participation in schooling.

According to CARE, only 19% of schools in Afghanistan are girls' schools, yet they suffer 40% of the attacks. Other known perpetrators of attacks on education include regional warlords and criminal gangs, who commit violence as a result of local power struggles or criminal activities.

The exact number of attacks on education varies depending on the source of data, but the UNICEF and MoE databases indicate an increase in the total number of attacks in 2008 to 670, more than double the previous year. According to data compiled by the Brookings Institute from the Afghan government, US government, and NATO sources, in the three-year period from April 2006 to March 2009, 238 schools were burned down, over 650 schools were closed due to threats, and 290 students and teachers were killed. There have also been reports of acid attacks on girls en route to school; poison gas attacks at several girls' schools; burning and rocket attacks on girls', boys', and mixed schools; threatening 'night letters' directed at teachers and female students; occupation of school buildings by international military forces; and burning of books.

According to the Secretary-General's report in 2011, while the south still suffered the majority of attacks on schools, attacks have also been reported in the northern and eastern provinces, and areas around the capital. Of note is an increase in reported attacks during election periods in 2009 and 2010, when some schools were used as polling stations.

Programmatic measures to protect education from attack

Many actors are involved in protection, intervention, and response to attacks on education in Afghanistan. In its two most recent National Education Plans, the Ministry of Education (MoE) planned for a more 'holistic approach' to education that emphasises - among other things - advocacy for the right to education, utilising a community-based approach, increasing security, and integrating alternative education programmes into the formal education system. The examples below highlight currently active or recently concluded programmes run by the MoE, NGOs, and UN agencies.

Physical protection

- **Armed and unarmed guards:** Four programmes for school guards in Afghanistan are described here. In 2006, the MoE employed unarmed guards at schools that had experienced attacks, as part of the School Security Shura initiative. Another programme, the School Guards Project, was a separate, donor-funded project implemented nationwide to provide unarmed guards to protect school property and ensure the safety of students and education personnel. In another programme using unarmed guards, the Volunteer Adult Disciplinary Program sponsored by the MoE and the National Olympic Committee, volunteer students in their final years of study were trained in surveillance and search techniques. Finally, the Armed Guards programme was implemented in some areas, assigning local police to watch the schools; however, it was commonly believed that the police were a target and this put the schools at increased risk. While the Volunteer Adult Disciplinary Program is the only one of these programmes still operating, some communities may provide their own night guards for their schools.
- **Boundary walls:** The MoE has begun building boundary walls around all existing schools, with the first priority being girls' schools. So far 8,327 schools have such walls, with 1,796 more planned.

- **Residential houses:** Pending funding, the MoE is planning a pilot programme to build 50 small residential houses for teachers/caretakers, which will also help with protection on school campuses.

Community involvement in protection

A survey of community members in 2009 shows a widely held belief in Afghanistan that protection is the responsibility of the local community. Highlighted here are several different types of community organisations working on issues of child and school protection, and school management. While the names of the committees and their roles may vary slightly, the common thread is participation of respected community members to support education as an important asset to the community.

- **Community shuras and protection committees:** Communities in Afghanistan commonly have a traditional shura or council. Save the Children has partnered with local organisations and worked with the community shuras to gain support for education projects; Save the Children also trains community members on children's rights and child protection. Community-based Child Protection Committees exist at the district-level to work for the protection of children's rights with the help of outreach coordinators in each province. At the school-level, School Protection Committees have replaced the School Security Shuras set up by the Ministry of Education (MoE) in 2006 in schools that had previously experienced attacks. Child protection committees and school protection committees are supported by a MoE project, the School Safety and Security Initiative, and implemented by an NGO, Welfare Association for the Development of Afghanistan (WADAN). Committees might take such actions as posting night guards at schools or engaging in negotiation with insurgents to protect schools.
- **School Management Committees/Shuras (SMCs):** There are several types of school management committees that might also play a role in protection. SMCs are school-based committees that have a role in decision-making, safety and protection, communication, and providing contributions to provide learning space and teacher compensation. Some SMCs have been reported to negotiate for school safety, although in most cases with insurgents, not criminals. As of 2009, the MoE had established 8,000 SMCs out of 10,998 schools and planned to continue to set up and train more management committees. NGOs have also been establishing management committees for many years. Other types of school management committees are Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) and Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (PTSAs).
- **Involvement of religious leaders:** In collaboration with community shuras and protection committees, respected imams or religious mullahs sometimes use their Friday speeches to raise awareness about the importance of education in Islam.

Alternative delivery of education

- **Alternative or temporary sites:** In some communities, education was taken out of traditional buildings and children were schooled in alternative spaces, such as villagers' houses, as a protective measure. The IRC began supporting clandestine home-based schools in 1997 in response to the Taliban's active repression of schooling for girls and women; in some cases the location of girls' classes were frequently moved and the arrival of the students was staggered to avoid unwanted attention. For more information on how this strategy evolved over time, see the section on Community-based schools below.
- **Community-Based Schools (CBS):** CBSs are classroom spaces set up in the community that employ trusted community members as teachers. The International Rescue Committee (IRC) describes the origins of its CBS programme as a clandestine and community-initiated model of interim education provision outside of the formal system for children otherwise excluded from education. Over the past decade, CBS has evolved. Four NGOs (International Rescue Committee (IRC), Catholic Relief Services (CRS), CARE, and Aga Khan Development Network) that

were implementing similar programmes formed a partnership to also advocate for education policy reform. Slowly CBS started to be integrated into the MoE's formal education plans as a strategy to reach thousands of marginalised students. Community schools are considered protective because they maintain low visibility, are centrally located in a village, which minimises commuting, and have community ownership, participation, and trust. Regarding quality, evidence from a mixed methods study on community based schools in Afghanistan shows that they do in fact provide a quality education.

- **Distance education:** As of 2009, the Education Radio and TV (ERTV) section of the MoE was broadcasting education programmes for teachers, children and adult learners, such as 'School Time', 'Learn and Teach', and 'Voice of Education'. Education TV broadcasts daily for 6 hours in Kabul province and city; Education Radio broadcasts round-the-clock.

Negotiations

- **Community involvement:** There are accounts of respected tribal elders taking on roles as mediators in local conflict, intervening in one case to negotiate a ransom when a teacher was threatened and in another case to prevent an attack on a school. (See also SMCs in the section above).

Conflict sensitive curriculum reform

- **Peace education:** New textbooks that integrate components of peace education, child rights, environmentalism, life skills, and civic education are being incorporated into the classroom. The lessons promote a behaviour of social co-existence and non-violence. The change is coordinated from the Directorate of Curriculum Development, which has so far produced new textbooks from Grades 1 to 9, eventually to be continued up to Grade 12. Plans for integrating peace education into the formal school setting also include credit points in teacher training programmes for peace studies.

Advocacy

- **Rights radio programme:** Save the Children's radio programme incorporated girls' rights messages. The MoE credits the radio programme as having a much greater impact than a workshop or training.

Monitoring and Reporting

- In addition to the formal UN 1612 MRM mechanism in Afghanistan, both UNICEF and the MoE keep databases of attacks on education, although the type of information collected is not standardised and therefore the two databases do not always match.

Research

- **Research project– school protection:** Building on the Knowledge Under Fire (2009) study, CARE International is undertaking a research project to better understand how external affiliations, community-based protection mechanisms, and the use of schools as polling stations affect incidents of attacks. The research project is an exemplar of how an organisation can use existing knowledge about the context of attacks on education to frame a research question that addresses the gaps in knowledge. To carry out the project, researchers will revisit the MoE database and conduct a quantitative analysis to determine if who builds, runs, or is otherwise affiliated with a school has an effect on attacks. They will also conduct a qualitative review to understand how community involvement might protect schools. Finally, researchers will conduct a quantitative review of how elections and the location of polling stations in schools might affect attacks on education. These three questions will help provide evidence to inform policy and programming in the future. UNICEF is supporting this research.

PAKISTAN

Overview of nature, scope, and motives of attacks on education

Conflict in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) Province in the north-western part of Pakistan is mainly the result of the development of a Pakistan Taliban movement, and counter-insurgency efforts by government forces. At the end of 2008, the Taliban launched a campaign against schooling for girls. Local radio spread the Taliban doctrine, female teachers were shot at, girls were harassed, and school buildings were bombed or burned. Attacks on government schools were further motivated by negative messaging and targeting of religious schools by government and international forces. In addition, schools have been used as sites to launch offensives by both sides in the conflict, prompting pre-emptive strikes on schools in order to destroy potential enemy positions.

In 2009, Pakistani Army operations to flush out the militants in Malakand Region, KP Province caused a mass exodus of displaced persons, including 2 million children. The army used schools as outposts, putting the buildings at even greater risk of attack. In the year 2010, a reported 273 schools were destroyed and schools were damaged in Malakand and another 70 schools were either damaged or destroyed in other affected areas. In Balochistan Province, teachers and other education personnel who were seen as symbols of the government became victims of Beloch militant attacks or got caught in the crossfire of sectarian violence between Sunnis and Shiites.

Programmatic measures to protect education from attack

Physical protection

- **Protection for female teachers:** Several strategies aim to protect female teachers from attacks en route to school, such as travel stipends for safe public transportation, the appointment of local teachers to minimise time spent commuting, and teacher housing.
- **Escorts, guards, and avoiding high risk:** Some parents in areas of FATA and KP Provinces are making the trip to drop off/pick up their students, so students do not have to travel alone. Also, the school leaders are in better communication with the police, some school administrators have employed security guards, and some schools have sent children home in pairs at intervals to avoid a rush of children at once.

Alternative delivery

- **Temporary spaces:** During displacement, UNICEF and other organisations set up temporary schools, tent schools, or child-friendly spaces for IDP children in host communities and camps; they also distributed school-in-a-box kits so that students can continue to study.

Conflict sensitive curriculum reform

- **Peace education:** The National Ministry of Education and UNESCO developed a Plan of Action for Human Rights Education. The elementary and secondary curriculum was then reviewed and revised in 2006 in an attempt to depoliticise the curriculum and incorporate elements of human rights and peace education.

Advocacy

- **Welcome to School campaign:** In 2011, a campaign was launched to encourage parents to send students back to school and to rehabilitate school buildings. The Education Cluster supports the campaign, encouraging girls' enrolment through advocacy for stipends, strengthening Parent Teacher Councils (PTC) to support enrolment campaigns, addressing the needs of female teachers, and providing incentive packages for students. The campaign also organised a seminar at the Peshawar Press Club in June 2011, supported by UNICEF and the National Institute of Research and Development, to promote education. Prominent Muslims from the

community delivered speeches about the importance of education and of sending students back to school.

Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack, 2011. *Report from the Knowledge Roundtable on Programmatic Measures in Prevention, Intervention and Response to Attacks on Education*

http://www.protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/gcpea_report.pdf

Afghanistan

In Afghanistan, four different types of programmes using school guards have been implemented. Two of the programmes employed unarmed guards: the donor-funded School Guards Program and the MoE-funded Night Guards Project. A common challenge in these two programmes was a lack of communication technology. In another programme for unarmed guards, the Volunteer Adult Disciplinary Program, volunteer students in their final year of study were trained in surveillance and search techniques. In all three of these programmes, there was risk to the guards, as they had no way to defend themselves. Finally, an Armed Guards project assigned local police to guard schools. However, it was commonly believed that the police were a target and their presence put the school community at risk of attack. The School Guards and Armed Guards programmes were not continued.

In Afghanistan, Save the Children works to establish community trust, build relationships, and gain support of community leaders and shuras (councils) for education and protection programmes by working as locally as possible. Well-respected elders and religious leaders play an important role in promoting education as a fundamental Islamic value in the community. This has a positive 'bubble effect' of protecting education. The challenge remains that there are some areas where Save the Children cannot work due to insecurity.

In Afghanistan, in remote villages without education services nearby, community-based primary classes are set up in mosques, houses, or other community centres using MoE curriculum and local community members as teachers. These classes are also protective due to relative invisibility, central location, local trust, and parent involvement. A consortium of organisations (Aga Khan Foundation, CRS, IRC, and Save the Children) helps to support 50,000 students in community-based schools in 19 provinces.

Community-based schools may help reduce attacks on education for several reasons: a lack of school-specific infrastructure provides less of a target; their location in the centre of a village means that, in contrast to traditional government schools in Afghanistan, outsiders have more difficulty reaching a school to attack; a stronger sense of community ownership leads to increased community participation in protection; and the fact that students do not have to travel long distances to school reduces the risk that they will face attack.

There have been negotiations between the state and armed groups in Afghanistan, where the Ministry of Education agreed to a more religious curriculum and the hiring of mullahs as teachers in exchange for the Taliban ending attacks on schools. However, it is unclear the extent to which these negotiations have been successful and there have been some questions about negative unintended consequences in terms of girls' education.

School escorts or vehicles have been provided to protect teachers and students en route to school in Afghanistan. There is no evidence on the impact of this intervention.

Pakistan

Nature, scope and motive of attacks:

- More than 2,000 schools attacked since 2006
- Bombing of school buildings, shooting of teachers, systematic recruitment of children as suicide bombers (average age is 15 years)

- Motive: In 2007, Pakistan-based Taliban started campaign to create own government in North West Pakistan and ordered all girls' schools closed; military responded and ensuing conflict displaced millions
- Initially in the North, now also in central areas of the country.

Programmatic measures:

- Physical protection
- Alternative sites
- Community involvement
- Advocacy: Welcome to School initiative.

In Pakistan, several measures protect female teachers from attacks en route to schools, such as financial support for public transportation, appointment of local teachers to minimise commuting, and the provision of teacher housing. Teachers also receive psychosocial support and support from communities.

MacEwen, L., Choudhuri, S. and Bird, L., 2010. *Education sector planning: working to mitigate the risk of violent conflict*. UNESCO

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001907/190707e.pdf>

In 2007 the MoE in Afghanistan in anticipation of terrorist attacks on their building, moved offices, equipment and staff to other buildings until the threat was over. Although this disrupted the ongoing work of the ministry at the time of the immediate threat, this was a practical and concrete preparedness measure that was taken at the time. Subsequently the ministry has constructed a secure perimeter wall and reinforced the buildings internally so that potential car bombs are unable to reach the ministry buildings and staff.

A study of attacks on education in Afghanistan, 'Knowledge on Fire', indicates that a military presence or association with schools increases the risk of attacks and suggests that community involvement is the most important preparedness measure to ensure protection of schools and children.

Curriculum reform may also be prioritised in capacity development programmes for conflict mitigation. For example, in Afghanistan, it was essential to reform curricula and textbooks that were explicitly violent. For example, a fourth-grade mathematics text noted that "*The speed of a Kalashnikov bullet is 800 meters per second*" and then asked students, "*If a Russian is at a distance of 3,200 meters from a Mujahid, and that Mujahid aims at the Russian's head, calculate how many seconds it will take for the bullet to strike the Russian in the forehead?*". The politicisation of education in this way has to be systematically monitored and positively transformed as part of educational planning and implementation if potential conflict is to be prevented.

Kotite, P. 2012. *Education for conflict prevention and peacebuilding: Meeting the global challenges of the 21st century*. UNESCO

<http://www.iiep.unesco.org/en/information-services/publications/abstracts/2012/education-for-conflict-prevention.html>

Special attention should be given to the content of curricula and textbooks particularly in conflict prone areas or countries as risk. While the inclusion of content that promotes positive values and eliminates inflammatory content is an evident and active conflict prevention tool, curricula may contain elements that perpetuate intolerance and violence. Independent curriculum monitoring can free classrooms of biased versions of history. In Afghanistan, the recognition that the curriculum and ideology behind it were potential causes of violence was addressed by the Ministry of Education during the process of development of the National Development Sector Plan.

Harmer, A., Stoddard, A. & DiDomenico, V., 2010. *Aiding education in conflict - The role of international education providers operating in Afghanistan and Pakistan*. UNESCO. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0019/001912/191247e.pdf>

Data limitations aside, the CARE Afghanistan report (Knowledge on Fire) was able to cite a few significant overall findings, consistent with anecdotal evidence, including:

- Girls' schools were targeted at a higher rate than boys' and mixed gender schools.
- Schools identified with the government and with the PRTs were attacked more frequently than the community based education programmes.
- Schools/education programmes that were owned and driven by the local community from the outset fared considerably better than externally developed initiatives with limited community buy-in.

The numbers that can be cited in the Afghanistan context, all caveats considered, are grim. In total, the CARE report counts 230 people killed as a result of education-related attacks in Afghanistan during 2006-2008. The total number of individual security incidents in that period (ranging from simple threats to armed violence and major destruction) was estimated at 1,153 (Glad 2009, 2). The government data show an increasing trend of violence against education over time, with killings doubling from 2008 to 2009 (Glad 2009, 6). The resulting access constraints have been dramatic: *"[in 2009] 651 schools were closed in southern provinces; 141 teachers and students were killed since the beginning of the year; and 173,000 students dropped out of schools, a spokesman for the Ministry of Education said at the end of 2008. In some southern provinces as many as 81% of schools are closed."* There are still fewer hard numbers for education attacks in Pakistan, though some numbers emerge piecemeal. Between 2007 and March 2009 in the Swat District in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 172 schools were destroyed or damaged by the Taliban. Most were burnt down by Taliban militants; others were shelled, blasted, demolished or ransacked, leaving 108 schools fully destroyed and 64 schools partially damaged (UNESCO, 2010).

Schools as visible, physical target

Education represents not only project activities, but often also physical facilities - schools - that can serve as potent symbols and as concrete sites for multiple activities and uses. The visibility of schools, and their widespread grassroots presence across the country including remote rural areas, is likely a large part of the explanation for why they are relatively easy targets for violence. While anti-government elements have a number of potential targets such as police check points, district offices, clinics, etc., schools are often vacant and unguarded for a portion of the day and in the evening allowing for minimal risk to the perpetrator as well as minimal collateral damage.

Schools as political target of opportunity

The rationale frequently cited for including emergency education as part of the frontline humanitarian response to emergencies is that such programmes not only promote normalcy and stability in a chaotic situation, but can serve also to protect children. School facilities in particular, as natural community hubs, can be the entry and delivery point for other humanitarian interventions such as school feeding programmes, health services, public health and hygiene messages, and distribution of aid commodities. In doing so, they may become tangible symbols of recovery and normalcy. In places where education programming is a political flashpoint, however, the converse may also be true: a school that is built by the government or a foreign intervening force (such as the Provincial Reconstruction Teams (PRTs) in Afghanistan) or used as a base by military forces (as in Pakistan) will potentially be seen by insurgents as legitimate enemy targets. The CARE Afghanistan report that found that government and PRT initiated schools were more frequent targets of attack could not say conclusively whether this was because they were more visible and softer targets to hit or specifically because of the political imprimatur, but both must be considered as reasonable possible explanations and potential risk factors.

Education as uniquely threatening to religious, cultural and gender norms

Given the highly insecure context and numerous motivations for attacks across a number of actors it is possible to delineate trends. Not only have single sex girls' schools, and female students, been among the most frequently targeted, the perpetrators in the attacks on girls schools were found more likely to be identified as armed opposition groups (insurgents) than criminal elements, such as narco-traffickers or other organised crime groups that may seek to control territory or population through fear (Glad 2009, ANSO 2009).

It is a paradox of the region that education is the most widely expressed need and desire among local communities surveyed, yet at the same time remains one of the most targeted by insurgent violence. In insecure areas where this violence is occurring, the question arises whether education is an appropriate focus area for international humanitarian aid efforts. Leaving aside the persuasive arguments for why emergency education deserves to be included among the frontline humanitarian response activities, it is considered that unlike medicine, food or water, education assistance does not meet physical human need; nor is it a practical livelihood support. Rather, it represents a state-building measure; an investment in future society strengthening and human capacity. To those that oppose it, education in general can represent an unwelcome advance of modernity and alien culture, particularly in the case of girls' education. Moreover, schooling has long been a cultural battleground in Afghanistan, going back to the Mujahedeen insurgency under Soviet occupation when education was seen as a way to advance communist ideology and political agenda (Glad, 2009, p7). The Afghan Ministry of Education is keenly aware of the historical legacy on public perceptions, and that many Afghan communities distrust the government's role in education for that reason. It therefore seeks to increase community involvement in schooling projects and to minimise or downplay the involvement of PRTs.

7. Corporal punishment in schools

Watch List. 2010, *Setting the Right Priorities: Protecting Children Affected by Armed Conflict in Afghanistan*. Watch List. New York, USA.

<http://watchlist.org/setting-the-right-priorities-protecting-children-affected-by-armed-conflict-in-afghanistan/>

The conflict in Afghanistan has exacerbated violence levels at school, both between teachers and students and among children, according to Save the Children. Physical and humiliating punishment has become a seemingly accepted disciplinary method as school discipline or guards committees, comprised of teachers and students, are authorised to use physical punishment on students. Half of all interviewed teachers believe that they have a right to beat children (commonly with a stick).

Save the Children. 2011, *Violence free schools in Afghanistan*. Save the Children Child Protection Initiative (CPI), Stockholm

<http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/content/library/documents/case-study-violence-free-schools-afghanistan>

This case study is about Save the Children's violence free school project in Balkh province, aimed to end violence and abuse within government schools in Afghanistan. Although laws now prohibit corporal punishment in school, it is still a daily reality for many school students around the country. A vast majority of teachers continue to beat children and believe that physical punishment is an essential and unavoidable practice to maintain discipline in the school.

Save the Children, 2009. *Rewrite the Future* - Global Evaluation Afghanistan Midterm Country Report

<http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/content/library/documents/rewrite-future-global-evaluation-afghanistan-midterm-country-report>

Students have been instrumental in making their schools free from corporal punishment. When Save the Children started introducing the concept of positive discipline in schools in Faryab, some of the village *shura* members expressed concerns that if teachers stopped using physical punishments, student might stop coming to school. The Child Friendly Services Survey (CFSS) groups in 2007 identified corporal punishment as one of the main reasons for why children did not go to school. This was reported to the Parent Teacher Association and to the village *shura*. Following the presentation of the CFSS finding, the PTA requested Save the Children to provide training on Child Rights and positive alternatives to physical punishment. Teachers had received this training and during this evaluation one of the CFSS groups involved explained how there was no longer a problem with children being beaten at their school. The Student Council at a girls' project school in Balkh explained how they had identified the lack of a code of conduct and awareness of school policy as a problem at their school. They had met with teachers, the PTSA and students and worked with them to develop a code of conduct. This was now displayed in the school corridor and in the administration room. This Student Council had had training in child rights and life skills.

Beating still takes place in many schools. When student focus groups were asked to describe aspects of their most recent day at school that they did not like, students spoke about being beaten or seeing another student being beaten in 4 out of 11 project schools (one in each of the four areas where schools were evaluated) and in 2 out of 5 comparison schools (both in Faryab). At two of these schools, evidence of beating was noted during the lesson observations. Students at two of the girls' schools included in the evaluation (project schools) reported cases of beating, in one case with a piece of electric cable. In all four project schools where beating was reported, the Student Councils had received training in child rights. One of these schools even had a separate child rights committee. Teachers at these schools had also received training in child rights. Training on child rights alone does not always appear sufficient to change the practice of using corporal punishment in schools. For the training to be effective, student groups need to be empowered to transform their knowledge into action. The examples given above of carrying out a survey and participatory development of a school code of conduct are two ways through which this transformation can be enabled.

Around half of the student focus groups at project schools mentioned beating and bullying by older students as things that had happened during their previous day at school. Five of the groups (out of 11) reported student fighting. One group described how older students had broken off tree branches and used them to beat younger students. Student to student violence and bullying was not mentioned by any PTAs or Student Councils as an issue that needed to be addressed, but appears to be a key concern of students themselves.

Murtaza, A. 2011, *Pakistan: Corporal punishment a major reason for increasing school dropouts*. Asian Human Rights Commission, Hong Kong
<http://www.humanrights.asia/news/forwarded-news/AHRC-FAT-009-2011>

A short opinion piece on corporal punishment in schools in Pakistan.

Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children – website accessed 02.11.12
<http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/children/countries/pakistan.html>

In a survey carried out by the Society for the Protection of the Rights of the Child (SPARC) in 2011, 76% of parents were in favour of corporal punishment and believed it was “necessary to correct children’s behaviour”. (Reported in The Peninsula, 7 October 2011)

A study by Save the Children, UNICEF and Government of the North West Frontier Province (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in three districts of NWFP found that corporal punishment is widely used to discipline children in homes and educational institutions. A total of 155 consultations were undertaken, using participatory research techniques, with 3,582 children aged 6-14 years from government and religious schools, 86 consultations with 1,231 parents, and 86 consultations with 486 teachers. Not one child reported never having received corporal punishment. Cumulatively, the children identified 28 types of punishment used in homes and 43 in schools. The most common punishments at home were hitting with an object (shoe, brick, iron rod, knife, etc), smacking, kicking, punching, hair-pulling and ear-twisting. The most common in schools were smacking, hitting with an object, hair-pulling, ear-twisting, and awkward and humiliating physical positions. About 43% of all punishments identified were reported by children in government primary schools, about 30% in government middle schools, 10% in government high schools, and 16% in private schools. Corporal punishment at home and in schools was more frequent the younger the child. There were no significant gender differences – boys and girls were subjected to similar frequencies of punishment. Corporal punishment in homes was reported as being inflicted most frequently by immediate family members such as parents (20.22%), grandparents (24.04%) and older siblings (18.91%) and uncles and aunts (27.31%), followed by close relatives such as cousins and in-laws. Neighbours, village elders, tutors, housemaids and other relations were reported as less frequently beating children. Corporal punishment in schools was most commonly inflicted by the teacher and students assigned discipline duties in the school (49.6%), including class monitor, commander, and assembly commander. Senior students were also frequently reported to be hitting younger children (14.7%). (April 2005, *Disciplining the Child: Practices and Impacts*, Save the Children/UNICEF/Schools and Literacy Dept, Government of NWFP)

A survey by the Pakistan Paediatrics Association and UNICEF showed that more than four out of five children were vulnerable to physical abuse from parents, elders and teachers, with boys more likely than girls to suffer physical abuse. (Cited in Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (2004), *State of Human Rights 2003*).

Dicum, J. 2008, *Learning, War, and Emergencies: A Study of the Learner's Perspective*. *Comparative Education Review*, 52 (4)

http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/search/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=EJ815212&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=EJ815212

This article contributes to the understanding of children's perspectives by summarising and comparing the thematic results of oral histories of Eastern European and German survivors of World War II and Afghan survivors of the post-1979 Afghanistan armed conflict. Twenty-seven participants in this study shared their memories of learning during each of these wars prior to and immediately after migration to countries of their first asylum. The overarching goal was to generate a historical text against which deeper comparisons on the nature of learning during war and conflict can be made.

The paper offers historical context of corporal punishment in schools in the region. Afghan participants all recalled teachers using sticks, both as pointers and as tools of punishment. The reasons harsh punishment was meted out included cheating on tests, being late, talking during class, and failing to do one's homework.

Children Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children – website accessed 02.11.12

<http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/pages/progress/reports/afghanistan.html>

Surveys carried out in three government schools in Jalalabad and 20 government schools in Mazar-i-Sharif in 2008 found very high levels of physical punishment, with children punished in 100% of observed classes in boys' schools and 20% in girls' schools. Humiliating

punishment including verbal abuse was also very common, and children were often authorised to beat other children. Being beaten with a stick was identified as the most common method of “discipline” for both girls and boys. Over 50% of teachers believed they had the right to beat students, and the vast majority of teachers believed that physical punishment was essential and unavoidable. However, there was a strong desire among the vast majority of teachers to learn alternatives to physical discipline. Following legal prohibition of school corporal punishment in 2008 and a two year project which aimed to develop and implement child protection systems in the schools in question, including through the development of monitoring and reporting mechanisms and education and training of teachers and children, the prevalence of physical and humiliating punishment fell. (Abdul Ahad Samoon, A. A. et al (2011), Learning without Fear: A Violence Free School Project, Save the Children & Federal Republic of Germany Foreign Office)

In a survey by Save the Children reported in 2003, 82% of children interviewed reported that slapping, kicking and hitting with a stick are common forms of punishment. Hair and ear pulling were reported by nearly 6% of children. Over half reported being hit or severely beaten for being noisy or naughty, almost a quarter for not learning their school lessons, and nearly one in ten for disobeying adults. (Save the Children Sweden Afghanistan, 2003, Mini Survey Report on Corporal Punishment, Kabul: Save the Children cited in Jabeen, F., 2004, Corporal/physical and psychological punishment of girls and boys in South and Central Asia Region, Save the Children Sweden Denmark).

Save the Children. 2008, *Ministers commit to outlaw violence in school. Save the Children, Kabul.*

<http://sca.savethechildren.se/upload/scs/SCA/Documents/Outlawvioleceinschools.pdf>

Beating and humiliation in school are a daily reality for many children in Afghanistan. There is today no law prohibiting violence from teachers, but in recent events politicians have committed to outlaw violence in school.

In Kabul, on 23 October 2008, the deputy minister of education Mr. Sadiq Patman and H.E. Mohammed Wasil Noor Muhmand, Deputy Minister of Social Affairs announced they were committed to pass a law prohibiting violence in schools in Afghanistan.

8. Sexual abuse in schools

Jackson, A. Et al. 2011, *High Stakes: Girls' Education in Afghanistan.* Oxfam, UK et al.

<http://www.oxfam.org/sites/www.oxfam.org/files/afghanistan-girls-education-022411.pdf>

Based on field research, a review of the existing literature and interviews with those working in the field of education, this report looks at the state of girls' education in Afghanistan, what must be done to keep them in school and how to ensure they receive a quality education. A total of 630 parents, 332 teachers, 687 school-aged females and 105 key informants in 17 provinces were interviewed.

It was found that the harassment of girls on their way to and from school is a factor that often influences family attitudes. Harassment, kidnapping, elopement and cases of sexual assault appear to have a dramatic effect on school attendance. Researchers reported several instances where issues related to the notion of girls' honour led to violent conflict, abduction and even murder. When faced with such risks, it is easy to see why many families might make the decision to keep their girls out of school.

It was acknowledged that the review could be limited, as asking questions about perspectives on gender roles, or women, could inhibit responses, raise suspicions and even create anger.

Research of this nature requires a high degree of trust. Even then, respondents sometimes did not feel comfortable discussing issues like sexual violence or harassment.

O'Malley, B. 2010, *Education under attack*, UNESCO, France.
<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001868/186809e.pdf>

This report aims to enhance global understanding of the nature, scope, motives and impact of attacks on education and of the work that is being done by communities, organisations and governments to prevent and respond to such violence. It does not focus specifically on Afghanistan or Pakistan but is still relevant. In the country-specific section of the report, no attacks of a sexual nature were listed for either Pakistan or Afghanistan. Sexual violence in this report is defined to include acts carried out by armed groups or security forces against students or education personnel either at or on the way to or from, or as a result of abduction from, an education institution or during educational activities.

Further research is needed into the extent of sexual violence against students, teachers and education personnel at or en route to or from schools and other education institutions and its impact on fulfilment of children's right to education, as well as possible protection measures.

Motives for attacks (some of which are violent, some of which may be of a sexual nature) tend to fall into the following categories:

- Attacks on schools or teachers as vehicles for imposing an alien culture, philosophy, religion or ethnic identity;
- Attacks on schools, teachers and students to prevent the education of girls;
- Attacks on schools, teachers, universities and academics to prevent all or specific forms of education;
- Attacks on examination halls and convoys carrying examination papers to disrupt the functioning of the education system;
- Attacks on schools and universities as symbols of government power opposed by rebels;
- Attacks on schools, universities, education offices, students, teachers, other staff and officials to undermine confidence in government control of an area;
- Attacks on schools, teachers and students in revenge for civilian killings;
- Abduction of children and some adults by rebel, armed or security forces for use as combatants, or to provide forced labour, sexual services and/or logistical support;
- Abduction for ransom;
- Sexual violence by armed groups, soldiers or security forces as a tactic of war or due to disrespect for gender rights;
- Attacks on students, teachers, teacher trade unionists and academics for involvement in trade union activity;
- Attacks on students and academics to silence political opposition or prevent the voicing of alternative views;
- Attacks on students and academics to silence human rights campaigns or human rights-related research;
- Attacks on academics for researching sensitive topics, such as the impact of war or the marginalization of a particular group;
- Occupation of schools for security operations against rebels and armed drug gangs and attacks on them by rebels for the same reason;
- Destruction of schools by invading forces as a tactic of defeating the enemy;
- Destruction of schools as revenge for, or a deterrent against, the launching of mortar, rocket or stoning attacks from inside the school or nearby.

Human Rights Watch. 2010, *Their Future is at Stake - Attacks on Teachers and Schools in Pakistan's Balochistan Province*. HRW, USA.
<http://www.hrw.org/reports/2010/12/13/their-future-stake-0>

This report, based on interviews with teachers, government officials, journalists, nongovernmental organisations, and school children, describes attacks on Balochistan's educational facilities, teaching personnel, and students as part of broader political, religious, and cultural divisions. It also considers the consequences of such attacks for education in the region, including pervasive fear, fewer school days, and haemorrhaging of qualified teachers.

Although not specifically referring to attacks on education, the document states that the poor and marginalised, particularly women, are adversely affected by traditional forms of dispute resolution and lack of access to other redress mechanisms. Violence against women and girls, including rape, domestic violence, and forced marriage, remains a serious problem.

Glad, M. 2009, *Knowledge on Fire: Attacks on education in Afghanistan*. CARE on behalf of the World Bank and Ministry of Education.

http://www.care.org/newsroom/articles/2009/11/Knowledge_on_Fire_Report.pdf

This study was conducted to better understand the nature of threats and attacks on education in Afghanistan. The study breaks attack types down into 6 categories. Although it does not have a specific category for sexual attacks, it states that the rape of a second grade student figure among the threats (presumably under the category 'other attack').

EFA Global Monitoring Report. 2011, *The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education*. UNESCO,

<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/education/themes/leading-the-international-agenda/efareport/reports/2011-conflict/>

Developed by an independent team and published by UNESCO, the Education for All Global Monitoring Report is an authoritative reference that aims to inform, influence and sustain genuine commitment towards Education for All. The 2011 report focuses on armed conflict and education.

The foreword by Irina Bokova, Director-General of UNESCO, states: *"We need to get serious about stopping the egregious violations of human rights at the heart of the education crisis in conflict-affected countries. We cannot build peaceful societies overnight. But there is no justification for the attacks on children, the widespread and systematic rape of girls and women or the destruction of school facilities documented in this Report. It is unacceptable that, despite a succession of United Nations Security Council resolutions, sexual terror remains a weapon of war – a weapon that is inflicting untold suffering, fear and insecurity on young girls and women, and untold damage on their education. I am committed to working with my colleagues across the United Nations system to strengthen human rights protection for children caught up in conflict."*

The grave implications of sexual violence and rape for education in conflict-affected countries have not been sufficiently recognised. Sexual violence in conflict is an extreme form of collective violence. It is aimed not just at harming individuals, but also at destroying the self-esteem, security and futures of those affected, and at tearing the fabric of community life. Over and above the ordeal itself, the stigmatisation and social taboos associated with rape result in many girls being abandoned by their families, and women by their husbands. Victims are punished twice over: they become social outcasts, while their violators go free. Many of the victims are schoolgirls.

The debilitating effects of sexual violence on individuals, communities and families inevitably spill over into education systems. Robbing children of a secure home environment and traumatising the communities that they live in profoundly impairs prospects for learning. Other consequences have more direct effects on education. Girls subjected to rape often experience grave physical injury – with long-term consequences for school attendance. The

psychological effects, including depression, trauma, shame and withdrawal, have devastating consequences for learning. Many girls drop out of school after rape because of unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV and AIDS, as well as other forms of ill health, trauma, displacement or stigma.

Sexual violence also creates a wider atmosphere of insecurity that leads to a decline in the number of girls able to attend school. Parents living in conflict-affected areas may prefer to keep their daughters at home rather than let them run the risk of a journey to school. Moreover, the direct and indirect effects of widespread sexual violence continue long after conflicts end.

National governments and the international community are not acting upon their ethical responsibilities and legal obligations to protect civilians trapped in armed conflict. There is a culture of impunity surrounding egregious violations of human rights, which represents a major barrier to education. Attacks on children, teachers and schools, and recourse to widespread and systematic rape and other forms of sexual violence as a weapon of war, are among the starkest examples of such violations.

Wider patterns of violence have had far-reaching consequences for education. Reports by the UN Secretary-General continue to provide evidence that rape and other sexual violence are widely used as a war tactic in many countries, including Afghanistan. Many of the victims are young girls. For those directly affected, physical injury, psychological trauma and stigmatization are sources of profound and lasting disadvantage in education. But the use of rape as an instrument of war also has far broader consequences, with insecurity and fear keeping young girls out of school – and the breakdown of family and community life depriving children of a secure learning environment.

The United Nations monitoring and reporting mechanism (MRM) identifies grave human rights violations against children in six key areas. Several UN Security Council resolutions have been passed aimed at strengthening protection against rape and other sexual violence in conflict-affected countries. Yet it is hard to escape the conclusion that human rights provisions and Security Council resolutions offer limited protection where they are most needed: namely, in the lives of the children and civilians on the front line. Weak coordination between UN agencies and under-resourcing contribute to the problem. Within the MRM system, reporting of attacks against schools is particularly limited, with many incidents going unreported. Nowhere are these problems more evident than in the area of rape and other sexual violence.

The family breakdown that often accompanies sexual violence undermines prospects of children being brought up in a nurturing environment. Of all the grave human rights violations monitored by the Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict, rape and sexual violence is the most underreported. Cultural taboos, limited access to legal processes, unresponsive institutions and a culture of impunity are at the heart of the under-reporting problem. However, the United Nations reporting system also contributes.

In Afghanistan, widespread sexual violence against girls and boys has been reported. The poor rule of law in many areas has hindered reporting to authorities. Perpetrators are often linked to local power brokers, including government and elected officials, military commanders and members of armed groups.

Attacks on children, the destruction of schools and systematic sexual violence are not unavoidable by-products of war; they are a reflection of political choices made by combatants, and of weak enforcement of human rights provisions, including United Nations Security Council resolutions. The gap between international standards and the daily realities facing people in conflict zones remains immense. Closing that gap is vital if the world is to stop the human rights abuses holding back progress in education.

One of the key messages of the report is that national governments and the international community are failing to uphold human rights. State and non-state parties involved in armed conflict are targeting school children, teachers, civilians and schools with almost total impunity. This is especially true where rape and other forms of sexual violence are concerned. EFA stakeholders should act as a far more forceful advocate for human rights. It is recommended that working through the United Nations system, governments should strengthen the systems that monitor and report on human rights violations affecting education, support national plans aimed at stopping those violations and impose targeted sanctions on egregious and repeat offenders. An International Commission on Rape and Sexual Violence should be created, with the International Criminal Court directly involved in assessing the case for prosecution. UNESCO should take the lead in monitoring and reporting on attacks on education systems.

Justino, P. 2010, *How Does Violent Conflict Impact on Individual Educational Outcomes? The Evidence So Far*. Background paper prepared for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011. UNESCO

http://www.basiced.org/wp-content/uploads/Publication_Library/UNESCO-How_Does_Violent_Conflict_Impact_on_Individual_Educational_Outcomes-2010.pdf

Fear of physical attacks and sexual violence is likely to hinder the ability of children, particularly although not exclusively girls, to enrol in schools. In such contexts of fear and terror, households may attempt to protect vulnerable members by keeping them at home or sending away to relatives and friends in more secure locations.

Education is increasingly viewed as the “fourth pillar” of humanitarian response, alongside nourishment, shelter and health services. Education can help to reduce children’s exposure to threats including sexual exploitation, physical attack and recruitment into armed groups.

The vulnerability of girls to sexual attacks and abduction may explain the lower educational attainment of girls observed during violent conflict. Fear is central in household decisions on whether to send children to school as children are particularly vulnerable to harassment, abductions and sexual attacks. This mechanism operates in areas where attending school may imply long walks often across military barriers, and further attention should be paid to the security of children in security sector reforms being implemented in conflict affected countries.

GCPEA. 2011 *Study on Field-based Programmatic Measures to Protect Education from Attack*. GCPEA, USA.

http://protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/gcpea_study_on_programmatic_measures.pdf

This study attempts to create a knowledge base of programmatic measures to protect education from attack. Although sexual attacks are included in the definition of attacks on education, in the country-specific section of the report, no sexual attacks were listed for either Pakistan or Afghanistan.

UN General Assembly Security Council. 2012, *Children and armed conflict*. Agenda item 65 (a)

<http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/CAC%20S%202012%20261.pdf>

The report covers the period from January to December 2011. Reports of sexual violence against girls and boys by armed elements continue to be a problem. Four incidents involving Afghan National Police elements were reported, including two verified cases. In one case of an attempted rape of a 9-year-old girl, the Afghan National Police officer was sentenced to six

years' imprisonment by the regional military prosecutor. Reports also continued to be received of sexual abuse of boys by elements of armed groups.

Watch List. 2010, *Setting the Right Priorities: Protecting Children Affected by Armed Conflict in Afghanistan*. Watch List. New York, USA.

<http://watchlist.org/setting-the-right-priorities-protecting-children-affected-by-armed-conflict-in-afghanistan/>

In Afghanistan, there have been several reported instances of boys who were raped by male teachers and subjected to sexual harassment by older boys.

In Afghan society, sexual acts committed outside marriage are widely believed to “dishonour” families and communities. In order to “save” their honour, some families have reportedly rejected or even killed the child or woman who was raped. The social pressure put on the survivor and the family to hide the incident has also resulted in a number of forced abortions

As a result of the silence surrounding the issue, there are few publicly reported cases and no comprehensive data available on rape and Gender Based Violence in Afghanistan. However, available information indicates that rape is a “widespread phenomenon” that affects women and children throughout the country. The UN Special Representative on Children and Armed Conflict and others have repeatedly brought attention to the sexual abuse of boys, a practice which Afghans refer to as bacha bazi or “boy play”. Data gathered by the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) from 2003 to 2010 suggested that boys may even be at a higher risk of sexual abuse than girls.

9. Other useful resources

Comparative Education Review Vol. 52, No. 4, November 2008; Special Issue on Education in Conflict and Post-conflict Societies

<http://www.press.uchicago.edu/ucp/journals/journal/cer.html>

UNESCO 2012; Conflict and Education: a list of resources

http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Documentation/Special-Search/2012Conflictdoc.pdf

Selected press releases:

UN News Centre. 2012, Security Council demands end to grave abuses committed against children in conflict

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=42933>

“The Security Council today demanded that parties to armed conflict which commit grave abuses against children, including those who recruit and use children, kill and maim, commit sexual violence or attack schools and hospitals, immediately halt such practices and take special measures to protect children”.

UNICEF Press release, 2012: UNICEF condemns attack on schoolgirl in Pakistan

<http://www.unicef.org.uk/Latest/News/unicef-condemns-attack-on-schoolgirl-in-pakistan/>

“UNICEF calls on all parties to respect all children’s rights, including education in a safe and protective environment. With 20 million children already out of school in Pakistan, it is critical that quality education reaches all children, particularly the most vulnerable and disadvantaged.”

UNICEF Press release, 2011: UNICEF condemns today's attack on children in school bus in Pakistan

http://www.unicef.org/media/media_59780.html

"Such an attack strikes at the most fundamental values of families in Pakistan and everywhere to have a safe and protective environment for their children. It is a violation of children's right to education and their right to develop to their full potential,"

UNICEF Press release, 2009: UNICEF condemns attacks on schools in Pakistan

http://www.unicef.org/media/media_47436.html

"Since 2007, more than 170 government and private schools, particularly girls' schools, have been blown up or burned down in the Federally Administered Tribal Area and the North West Frontier Province, reportedly by illegal armed groups. More schools have also closed due to occupation by illegal armed groups or security forces, or due to their female teachers being threatened."

UNICEF Press release, 2008: UNICEF condemns attacks on schools in Afghanistan

http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/afghanistan_46387.html

Although a few years old now, this press release states that in 2008 there were 256 violent school incidents, resulting in some 58 deaths and 46 injuries. In 2007, arsonists were to blame for a total of 236 school incidents.

10. Additional information

This query response was prepared by **Stephen Thompson** s.thompson@ids.ac.uk & **Laura Bolton** l.bolton@ids.ac.uk

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