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The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education

The longer-term impact of attacks on education on education systems, development and fragility and the implications for policy responses

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1. Introduction

There is a growing body of evidence that violent political and military attacks on education have occurred in dozens of states in the past decade and have significantly intensified in many of the worst affected countries in recent years.

The attacks are carried out against students; teachers; academics; and education personnel, including support staff, such as transport drivers, caretakers and nightwatchmen; and education officials; trade unionists; and aid workers. They include killing, injuring, abduction, kidnapping, forced recruitment as soldiers or for labour, forced disappearance, illegal detention, torture and sexual violence. They also include the damage or destruction of education buildings and facilities, including transport; occupation of education buildings and facilities for military/security purposes; and violent attacks on the education process, such as attacks on convoys carrying examination papers. They also include the prevention of repair, rehabilitation or reconstruction of attacked schools by the use or threat of use of force.

Much of the reporting of the impact of attacks on education focuses on the immediate human and material cost, such as the number of people killed or injured and the number of buildings destroyed or damaged. But there has been very little reporting of the longer-term effects on education systems in affected areas, such as the negative impact on teacher effectiveness, retention and recruitment, and on pupil attendance, concentration and attainment. There has been little or no reporting on the cumulative impact of attacks on fragility and development, for instance the effects of rebels achieving the psychological victory of destroying the most visible symbol of government control in a village, the school; prevention of the government's delivery of basic services in the form of education; removal of a key factor ensuring stability

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and investment in children's future in a village; and the undermining of the most critical intervention for achieving economic and social development.

This paper, researched by reviewing existing literature and seeking new information from field programmes and governments, will seek to establish what effects attacks on education are having on education systems over time and in the worst affected countries, and highlight some of the policy responses that can be made, with a view to encouraging a research agenda on this issue.

2. Executive summary and conclusion

Information on the longer-term impact of persistent targeted violent attacks, including the destruction of schools and the killing of students, teachers and other education personnel, on education systems is very patchy. But the information that does exist suggests it can hinder development of the education system via:

- disruption of attendance or the dropping out of students, teachers and staff; de-motivation, distraction and traumatisation of students and teachers;

- falling recruitment of staff and falling enrolment of students;

- the postponement of reconstruction, rehabilitation or repairs required as a result of attacks and the shelving of normal investment in and upgrading of facilities and provision;

- reduced capacity to manage the system, or suspension of the system.

The effects of this disruption ranges from lowering of access to education to a reduction of the quality of the learning experience and the quality of provision. There are symbolic psychological, social and ideological effects too, which also have to be addressed, since persistent destruction of educational facilities can affect parents' trust in the role of schools in providing protection for children, undermine the sense of investment in the future that binds a community, and send damaging signals about the value society puts on either education for all or education for a particular gender or ethnic group.

Persistent attacks threaten the capacity of the state to provide education services; undermine social and economic development, for which education is a key enabling provision; and can threaten the stability of particular villages, regions or even as in the case of Sierra Leone, whole states. Some believe attacks on schools have become a tactic of war precisely for this reason.

Addressing the longer-term impacts requires a variety of approaches including building the capacity of the education ministry to rebuild education and pay teachers on time; urgent reconstruction and rehabilitation; rapid interim teacher training and long-term development of

initial teacher training; mobilisation of community support for education; joint approaches with security, economic and education ministries to ensure stability of the education system and its relevance to job opportunities; improved transparency and accountability; and better monitoring of the longer-term impacts in order to improve responses to them.

However, in many areas where there are persistent attacks these responses cannot be made precisely because schools and the education system are still being attacked, for instance if continuing attacks deter contractors from rebuilding schools or teachers from returning to work. For this reason, action to deter or avert attacks and remove the motives for them must be addressed as a matter of priority. This may require negotiations and compromises over the content of curriculum to increase sensitivity to local language, culture, and religion; ending unequal provision of education, particularly for youths; building trust through transparency and mobilisation of community support; negotiated codes of behaviour by armed groups and security forces in relation to students, teachers and schools; and punishment of perpetrators of attacks.

The longer-term impact of such attacks on education systems and the effectiveness of policy responses is an area that merits investment in effective monitoring and deeper, wider research.

3. Location of attacks on education and worst-affected countries

The second global study on political and military violence against education, UNESCO's *Education under Attack 2010*, contained a 71-page annex listing data and reported incidents in each affected country in the period January 2007 to July 2009. The 31 listed states included eight in Latin America and the Caribbean (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico and Venezuela); ten in Sub-Saharan Africa (Burundi, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, Kenya, Niger, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan and Zimbabwe); one in Europe (Georgia); three in the Middle East and North Africa (Israel/the Palestinian Autonomous Territories, Iran, Iraq), five in South Asia (Afghanistan, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka) and four in East Asia/Pacific (Indonesia, Myanmar, Philippines and Thailand).

The worst affected countries, with sustained heavy numbers of incidents or victims included Afghanistan, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Georgia, Haiti, Israel/the Palestinian Autonomous Territories, India, Iraq, Nepal, Pakistan, Somalia, Sudan, Thailand and Zimbabwe[1]. All of these states were experiencing conflict or extreme conditions of fragility.

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[1] Myanmar has not been included in this list because there is insufficient up to date information. However, Human Rights Watch research suggested it was the worst country for child soldier recruitment in 2002, with a

The term "worst affected" in this case comprises countries where there have been more than one hundred incidents of attack, or more than one hundred killings or large-scale recruitment of child soldiers or sexual violence against students and teachers in the two-and-a-half-year reporting period covered by *Education under Attack 2010*[2]. For example there were 670 incidents of attacks on education in Afghanistan in 2008; 356 schools were damaged or destroyed in Swat district, Pakistan, in 2007-9 (up to July); 300 educational facilities were damaged or severely damaged in the three-week Israeli military operation in Gaza at the turn of 2008-9 and more than 300 school buildings were reported blown up by Maoist rebels in India in 2006-9 (up to July).[3]

In terms of death rates, the worst affected countries were Afghanistan, where 439 teachers, education employees and students were killed in 2006-9; Colombia, where 117 teachers and students were assassinated in 2006-9 (up to July), and 435 education staff received death threats in 2007-9 (up to July); and Thailand where 119 teachers were assassinated in 2004-9 (up to July) and 56 teachers, students and education personnel were killed in 2007-9.[4]

The rate of abduction of children or education staff from schools or on the way to or from schools for recruitment or use by armed groups, and the rate of sexual violence by armed groups and security forces against children and education staff at or on their way to or from schools in worst affected countries is harder to define because there are no specific per country figures relating to incidents at school or on the way to or from school.

4. Longer-term impact of attacks on education

The threat to education from attacks should be seen in the context of the wider problem of the impact of conflict in general on the degradation of education or prevention of educational development. For example, worldwide more than half of children not in primary school – 37 million out of a total of 72 million – are found in conflict countries[5], and in "failing" states it

researched estimate of 70,000 child combatants and it has not been possible to carry out follow-up research to see whether that figure has changed. Unless there has been an unreported extremely dramatic reversal in numbers, one would expect Myanmar to be included in the list of worst affected countries if the figures were updated. Ethiopia is a borderline case, where there has been a sustained attack on one type of victim, teacher trade unionists.

[2] Recruitment of child soldiers is counted as an attack on education where it takes place at or on the way to or from school, or where it prevents children accessing education (by contrast some children are recruited or volunteer because they are out of school). See Brendan O'Malley, *Education under Attack 2010*, UNESCO, p19

[3] Figures calculated from or drawn from data in the annex of *Education under Attack 2010*, UNESCO, pp 173-244

[4] ibid

[5] Save the Children, *Children in Conflict-Affected Countries Short-Changed in Education Funding*, 3 June 2008

is common for more than 50 per cent of children to be out of school in isolated rural areas where conflict can flourish[6].

Nevertheless, the longer-term impact of targeted attacks on education are material, psychological and symbolic and when attacks persist over long periods of time they contribute to educational fragility, state fragility and the obstruction of development.

The immediate impact of attacks includes the loss of life of, injury to, or abduction of students, teachers and personnel; and damage to buildings and facilities – most typically due to the burning, bombing or shelling of buildings or transport facilities, or wear and tear or battle damage caused by military use. The impact commonly extends far beyond the original target, as fear of further attacks causes whole schools to close temporarily or teachers and students temporarily to stay at home. On 18 June 2007, for instance, the Thai Prime Minister ordered all 700 schools in the three southernmost provinces to close indefinitely after a week of bombings and shootings directed at schools, teachers and security personnel guarding teachers.[7] Reporting of the immediate impact tends to focus on the loss of life and injury and the number of buildings damaged, with occasional references to the closure of schools.

By contrast, there is very little reporting of the longer-term impact of persistent attacks over a number of years on the education system in the affected area or of the use of force to block recovery from attacks on education over long periods of time. Such effects can include:

- longer-term disruption of attendance of teachers, students and staff

- the permanent drop-out of teachers, students and staff

- lowering of the quality of teachers

- persistent demotivation and distraction of teachers, students and staff by fear or trauma, reducing the quality of education provision and students' ability to learn

- falling recruitment of staff, leading to teacher shortages

- falling enrolment of students, lowering access and hindering attempts to achieve Education for All

- falling attainment of students

- longer-term damage to and prevention of repair of infrastructure, reducing access

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[6] Alec Wargo, 'The Child Protection Viewpoint', in *Even in Chaos: Education in Times of Emergency*, Ed Kevin Cahill, Fordham University Press, 2010, p37

[7] Xinhua, 'Thai southern schools ordered to be closed', June 19, 2007

- longer-term postponement of the repair of furniture, reducing the quality of learning conditions

- longer-term postponement of resupply of learning materials, reducing the quality of educational provision

- longer-term postponement of normal investment, hindering the maintenance and development of education provision

- reduced capacity to manage or deliver education

- reduced capacity to develop the education system suspension or reduction in aid support for education

- falling recruitment of teacher trade unionists, reducing their capacity to provide a teachers' viewpoint on the development of education.

Many examples of these effects have been documented in countries worst-affected by attacks on education. They can be grouped according to the effects on (i) teachers and teaching provision, (ii) students and learning, (iii) infrastructure, (iv) the management of education and (v) the symbolic effect of the curtailment of the commitment to the right to education:

(i) Teachers and teaching

Loss of teachers: Attacks on schools may lead teachers to give up their job or flee the area, or even the country. The Zimbabwe Teachers Association estimates that 20,000 teachers have left the country in the past decade, due to a mixture of deteroriating education resources and political tension including targeted attacks on teachers and the political use of schools. In 2009, 35 per cent of primary posts and 33 per cent of post-primary posts were vacant.[8] In the three southernmost provinces of Thailand where schools have been hit by arson and bomb attacks and teachers have been targeted for assassination since 2004, it was reported in January 2008 that 1,600 teachers requested transfers from the region due to security concerns.[9] At the same time applications from other regions have fallen significantly. These two factors have led to shortages of qualified teachers in four key subjects and a reduction in the quality of staff.[10] In Pakistan's Bajaur and Swat districts teachers have reported that they will not return to work when schools reopen after being attacked, in some cases as much as a year after they were targeted, as long as the risk of ongoing or renewed attacks persists.

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[8] 'Zimbabwe: Deteriorating education system and political tensions have led to severe teacher shortage', Education International, 16 April 2010

[9] Human Rights Watch, Thailand, Country summary, January 2008, p3

[10] Prasit Nukung, director, Narathiwat Educational Service Area 1, interviewed by author via email, July 2010

Military defeat of the Taliban in Swat was not enough to dispel the perceive risk because members of the Taliban continued to live the area.[11]

Distraction, de-motivation of teachers. Continuing assassinations of teachers locally and the issuing of death threats will inevitably affect teachers' concentration and frame of mind for teaching. In southern Thailand, where teachers have been shot in front of their class, teachers are reported to be constantly fearful of being picked off for assassination at or on their way to school and devote less time to teaching and developing the curriculum due to security restrictions on time at school.[12] In the most dangerous areas of southern Thailand teacher attendance has become irregular.[13] In Brazil, the continuing threat from police operations against armed drugs gangs and shootings between rival gangs in and round Rio de Janeiro's schools has caused a spike in work-related illness such as burn-out syndrome and made it very difficult to recruit teachers.[14]

Lowering of the quality of teachers. Attacks on higher education and teacher training institutions may restrict research, teaching content and pedagogical training and cause drop-out, distraction, demotivation and traumatisation of tertiary students and academics. This can in turn lead to restrictions on teacher content knowledge and teacher quality. Persistent attacks on schools and teachers can also deter students from training to be a teacher. In Thailand decreases in the number of students wishing to attend tertiary institutions in the south, have contributed to a reduction in competition for teaching posts, risking a reduction in the quality of candidates.[15] Direct attacks on teacher training colleges will affect the number and quality of newly qualified teachers produced and the number of future applications to train. In Sierra Leone, for instance, teachers and students stopped attending an internationally acclaimed teacher training college that was subjected to repeated attacks.[16]

(ii) Students and learning

Falling enrolment or attendance of students. Persistent attacks can lead to large numbers of schools being closed for a year or a number of years, or to large numbers of students being withdrawn from school by their parents. The Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission said there was a decrease in attendance of 8 per cent for boys and 10.5 per cent

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[11] IRIN, 'Pakistan: Return to broken homes, empty schools in northwest', 25 March 2010

[12] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, produced by the Office of the Education Council, under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, 2008, pp171-193; Prasit Nukung, director, Narathiwat Educational Service Area 1, interviewed by author via email, July 2010

[13] Prasit, op cit Nukung,

[14] IRIN, 'Brazil: Rio considers bullet-proofing favela schools', 26.7.2010

[15] Prasit, op cit

[16] Julia Paulson, *Conflict, Education and Trust Commissions: The case of Sierra Leone*, MSC thesis, University of Oxford, published by INEE, p42

for girls in 2007-2008, which it said was "arguably linked to increasing insecurity and in particular to threats and attacks against schools and families who send their children there".[17] By the end of 2009, more than 400,000 children nationally were being prevented from attending school due to attacks on education. Up to 200,000 students were prevented from going to school because their school was destroyed or due to widespread fears engendered by threats issued to parents, children and teachers. An additional 200,000 school-age children were prevented from being enrolled in school due to the closures resulting from attacks.[18]

In Sierra Leone, by the end of the conflict many children had missed two to three years' schooling and in one year an entire academic year was reportedly lost.[19] Six years on, nearly one in three primary-aged children still did not go to school due to a combination of destroyed infrastructure and other factors.[20]

In Pakistan's Swat district, 40 per cent of boys and 80 per cent of girls who had previously been enrolled in school had not returned to school eleven months after the Taliban lost control to the Pakistan army in an area where 393 schools had been destroyed or damaged in attacks.[21]

In India, officials estimated that more than 100,000 children have been denied access to primary education in Bastar Region[22], since 2005, where it has been reported that 440 school buildings have been bombed by Maoist rebels and the majority of teachers refuse to attend school due to the risk to their lives.[23]

One longer-term impact of sexual violence by armed groups and security forces, which may include attacks at on the way to school, is young girls becoming mothers before their time, cutting short their school career to become wives or mothers, as reported in Sierra Leone. [24]

In other cases sexual violence against school girls and teachers, and in cases of mutilation, such as or the chopping off of the limbs or physical branding of schoolchildren by armed

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[17] Insurgent Abuses Against Afghan Civilians, AIHRC, December 2008, p36;

[18] Figures supplied by Muhammad Suleman Kakar, former deputy education minister, Afghanistan

[19] Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Sierra Leone, Witness to Truth: Report of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2004, Volume Three B, p321, and Volume Three, p247

[20] World Bank, Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities, Africa Human Development Series, 2007

[21] Burki, Erum, Militants target education to terrorize, Save the Children UK, 2010, p13

[22] Bastar Region includes Dantewada District and Kaker District, Chhatisgarh state; Bijapur District, Karnataka state; and Narayanpur Distric, West Bengal

[23] Sujeet Kumar, Maoist militancy takes heavy toll on school education, Indo Asian News, 17 February 2010

[24] Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Sierra Leone, Witness to Truth: Report of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2004, Volume Three B, Chapter Four, page 318

factions in Sierra Leone, attacks have lead to stigmatisation, feelings of shame or fear of retribution and long-term withdrawal, causing victims to drop out of school.[25]

Distraction of students: Students worried or anxious about attacks on their school or others nearby may find it hard to concentrate in class, which will affect their ability to learn. Nightmares, grief, memory problems, impaired concentration, aggressiveness, loss of interest, inactivity, apathy and numbness, mistrust, psychosomatic complaints, regressiveness such as bedwetting, may last for months for some individuals but for those affected more deeply, or those who have witnessed shocking scenes, such as pupils in Thailand who have seen their teacher shot or even incinerated in front of them, the effects may be felt over the long term and many children could be expected to show new learning difficulties.[26] For example, in Gaza, schoolchildren were still suffering from trauma and anxiety more than a year after Israeli military operations in which schools were shelled and 250 students and 15 teachers were killed, according to OCHA. A science teacher in Abu Ja'far al-Mansour preparatory school reported that most children don't concentrate in lessons and forget everything explained to them in class. Khalid Salim said in exams 80 per cent of pupils fail compared to 3 per cent before the military operations.[27]

Reduced attainment of students. The cumulative effect of teacher and student distraction, lost days due to closures, teacher shortages, and failure to repair damage to schools is likely to cause falling levels of achievement when these factors persist over long periods of time. Educational authorities in southern Thailand report a significant lowering of attainment in the areas affected by attacks, leaving students in the three most affected provinces ranked bottom in the country on Thai, mathematics, science and social studies with an average score much lower than the average score of the country or of other provinces.[28] In Gaza Strip, 30 per cent of the grade 4-9 students failed their end of semester tests in Arabic and/or Mathematics in June 2010, UNRWA reported.[29]

(iii) Infrastructure

Longer-term impact on infrastructure. This is one of the more extensively reported factors affecting education systems over time. In Sierra Leone most of the educational infrastructure was destroyed in the conflict. Three years after the conflict ended 60 per cent of primary schools and 40 per cent of secondary schools still required major rehabilitation or

[25] Anne-Marie Goetz and Rob Jenkins, UNIFEM: Sexual violence as a war tactic; Security Council Resolution 1888: next steps, 29 April 2010

[26] Arancha Garcia del Soto, 'Psychosocial Issues in Education', in *Even in Chaos*, op cit, p198; A M Kos, They walk we listen, Slovene Foundation, p102

[27] IRIN, 'OPT: Gaza schoolchildren struggling to learn', IRIN, 5 February 2010

[28] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[29] Interview by email with Aidan O'Leary, deputy director, Gaza Field Office, UNRWA, 11 July 2010

reconstruction. It is not known for how many years those same schools had remained damaged during the ten-year conflict. It may be the case that a large proportion of them had remained damaged or destroyed for a long period during the conflict, as well as after it.[30]

In Gaza, educational infrastructure damaged or destroyed by targeted Israeli military attacks at the turn of 2008/2009 could not be repaired due to the military enforcement of a general economic blockade against Gaza. Insofar as this prevented building materials being supplied for the legitimate reparation of and investment in educational facilities, it constituted the use of force to block the right to a good quality education and is an attack on education. OCHA reported that at least 280 schools were damaged in the conflict, including 18 that were completely destroyed. The Ministry of Education said in February 2010 that none had been rebuilt or repaired, due to the Israeli ban on the entry into Gaza of construction materials. The blockade was also preventing the building of 105 new schools to cater for the annual rise in the number of schoolchildren, for which 25,000 tons of iron bar and 40,000 tons of cement were needed. The deputy education minister in Gaza, Yousef Ibrahim, said 15,000 children from damaged schools had been transferred to other schools for second shifts, "significantly shortening class time". Many damaged schools lacked functioning toilets, water and electricity; classrooms were overcrowded; and there were shortages of equipment and materials, such as desks, doors, chairs, textbooks and ink.[31] It was reported in April 2010 that UNRWA, which provides education for 70 per cent of the school population, had been prevented from building any schools in Gaza for three years by the blockade[32]. Only makeshift classrooms had been built and those resources had been exhausted, resulting in thousands of children being denied regular education, according to John Ging, director of UNRWA in Gaza. Although the government was able to use some construction materials smuggled through tunnels dug under the border with Egypt, UNRWA could not use them because they were imported illegally.[33] As a result, UNRWA runs two schools a day in each school building on a compressed half-day double-shift basis.[34]

(iv) Management of Education

This can include the opportunity cost of having to devote resources to repair and rehabilitation instead of normal investment in development of education; a reduced capacity to spend money on repairs because of contractors' fear of reprisals if they carry out the work; inability to carry out management tasks due to the destruction of records and information

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[30] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p68

[31] IRIN, 'OPT: Gaza schoolchildren struggling to learn', 5 February 2010

[32] This has been confirmed by the UNRWA's Gaza Field Office, email interview with Aidan O'Leary, Deputy Director of UNRWA operations, 11 July 2010

[33] DPA, 'UN: Thousands of children without school in Israeli-blockaded Gaza', 22 April 2010

[34] Email interview with Aidan O'Leary, 11 July 2010

systems; attacks on system processes such as examinations, inspection and accreditation; direct attacks on officials; and the inability to keep schools open in the face of threats of attack and parental or local opposition. It also includes the impact of attacks on the management of education programmes by aid agencies.

Shelving of normal investment in the renewal and development of education and inability to carry out repairs. Repairs to damage from attacks and normal maintenance and investment in education may be put on hold either because labourers dare not risk repairing or reconstructing a school that has already been targeted out of fear of reprisals. Equally governments may not risk investing in the development of schools for fear of the money being wasted if attacks are repeated. In Thailand, for instance, normal maintenance and development work on schools and the repair of attacked schools has been restricted by contractors' refusal to risk their lives to carry it out in areas where there have been high numbers of incidents. In some cases the repair or development work itself is specifically targeted. In one incident in April 2008, for instance, five labourers were shot dead and one injured when they arrived at a school in southern Thailand to construct a new building.[35] In Gaza, normal investment in and maintenance of school facilities has been severely hindered in UNRWA schools by the militarily enforced Israeli economic blockade. One entire school for 865 students has had to be built out of 88 shipping containers, and shipping containers have been used to provide additional classroom space in 40 other schools.[36]

Reduction in the capacity to manage the education system. This can include the destruction of education records and information systems (as occurred during attacks on schools and teacher training institutions in Sierra Leone and during attacks on schools in Pakistan[37]); the mass abduction of education officials (100 officials were kidnapped in Baghdad in one incident in 2006[38]); or the targeting of the exam process (there are multiple examples in Iraq in 2007 and Algeria, where a convoy carrying examination papers was blown up in June 2009[39]). Attacks on the exam process in Iraq in 2007, for instance, led to an influx of an oversized cohort into universities creating a bottleneck for at least three years, in which the quality of learning was reduced because there were too many students for the available staff and facilities to cope with. Militias entered exam halls and killed students and vigilators in some places and in others prevented exam questions reaching the examination centres. The chaos, combined with widespread corruption, resulted in 110,000 students qualifying for 85,000 places and neighbouring countries that normally offered places to Iraqi students refusing to recognise the

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[35] AFP, 'Rebels kill five labourers in Thai South: police', 24 April 2008; *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[36] Email interview with Aidan O'Leary, 11 July 2010

[37] IRIN, 'Pakistan: Education chaos in northern conflict zone', 21 April 2010

[38] Fred Van Leeuwen, General Secretary, Education International, November 2006, letter to President Jalabani of Iraq

[39] AFP, 'Bomb Attack on School Convoy Kills 10', June 3, 2009

exam results.[40] Continued attacks in southern Thailand have made it difficult to supervise, assess and assist schools throughout the region, and prevented the external inspection and certification of schools by the Office for National Education and Quality Assessment.[41]

Failure to keep schools in operation. In Afghanistan, the government was unable to keep large numbers of schools open in a handful of southern provinces for one or more years. For instance, in 2008-9, 695 schools were inactive, of which 610 were located in five contiguous provinces. Zabul was the worst affected province with 80 per cent of schools closed, followed by Helmand (68 per cent), Kandahar (46 per cent), Uruzgan (29 per cent) and Paktika (14 per cent). The closures affected 340,000 students.[42] In addition, there is the financial cost of repairing and reconstructing schools. But this is often difficult to assess in the worst affected countries due to lack of data. Muhammad Suleman Kakar, former deputy minister of education in Afghanistan responsible for administration, finance and protection in 2008-2010, said the ministry did not have the capacity to assess the financial cost of the attacks.[43]

Closure of education aid programmes. In June, 2008, attacks on education and humanitarian aid workers employed by CARE in Somalia resulted in the American NGO suspending operations in the area, including an education programme supporting 400 primary teachers and 5,000 schoolchildren.[44]

v) The symbolic effect

The symbolic effect is psychological and social, in that it ensures the impact of attacks is felt my many people beyond the actual victims, and, cumulatively, persistent attacks can have a social impact, altering the standing of education or the government.

Psychological effects of attacks. The reactions to attacks are not restricted to students in schools that have actually been attacked, as an attack on one school leads to fears that any school in the area might be attacked, causing high levels of fear and stress. If attacks are repeated in the same area over a number of years these may rise to levels that create

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[40] Brendan O'Malley, 'Baghdad battles for better education', *South China Morning Post*, 17 January 2009

[41] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[42] These figures are drawn from the Ministry of Education security database, accessed August 2009, reproduced in Marit Glad, *Knowledge on Fire: Attacks on Education in Afghanistan, Risk and measures for successful mitigation*, CARE on behalf of the Ministry of Education and the World Bank, September 2009, p 39

[43] Telephone interview with Muhammad Suleman Kakar, June 16 2010. Kakar is former deputy education minister with responsibility for finance, administration and protection (2008-2010). He is currently managing director of Co-operation for Peace and Unity (CPAU)

[44] IRIN, 'Somali: End attacks against aid workers, agencies urge', June 24, 2008

insurmountable obstacles to learning for a large number of pupils.[45] The psychosocial impact will affect children's ability to learn, and where the threat of attacks persists may lead to them being kept home from school, even if the school remains open. Such obstacles to access to education can result in severe developmental problems. Children run the risk of never being able to return to school or completing their education, thus diminishing the potential contribution they can make to society.[46]

Similar psychosocial effects may be experienced by teachers who are overcome by grief at the loss or maiming of their colleagues and students or are distracted by threats to colleagues, making it difficult for them to support their students or perform their job to the highest standards. If they are visibly anxious, this may heighten the fears of their own students. It is difficult to see how joyful child-centred learning experiences can take place in such a context. Fear may cause staff to stay away from school for long periods, forcing their closure or preventing their re-opening after attacks. For example, in Pakistan, teachers, school managers and education officials were reported by IRC to be still reluctant to return to work in Swat in June 2010, more than a year after military operations to push the Taliban out of the area, for fear of attack. [47]

The psychological impact on parents of attacks on schools may be to change their perception of education as providing protective care for their children, which causes them to keep their children home from school. This applies to a greater degree to girls. Where schools in general are destroyed, forcing children to walk longer distances to receive an education, girls may be kept at home due to the increased risk of abduction, sexual violence or exploitation. [48]

Where sexual violence against individual girls actually occurs or children are abducted from schools for use as combatants, it will cause other girls or girls and boys to be kept home from school.[49]

Symbolic social effects. There are symbolic and ideological effects of attacks on education too, which exacerbate the physical effect. Vernor Munoz, the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, argues that the symbolic effect is the promulgation of fear, subordination to

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[45] Jessica Alexander, Neil Boothby and Mike Wessells, Education and protection of children and youth affected by armed conflict: An essential link, in *Protecting Education from Attack: A State-of-the-Art Review*, UNESCO (2010), p67

[46] AED and the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, *The Education Imperative: Supporting Education in Emergencies* (January 2003), p15

[47] Telephone interview with Mike Young, IRC, 16 June 2010; Perlez, Jane, '3 U.S. soldiers die in attack by Pakistan militants', *New York Times*, 4 February 2010

[48] The impact of conflict on women's education, employment, and health care, Governance and School Development Resource Centre, 24 April 2009

[49] Anne-Marie Goetz and Rob Jenkins, 'UNIFEM: Sexual violence as a war tactic; Security Council Resolution 1888: next steps', 29 April 2010

others, and the ideological effect is the removal of the right to education and the denial of its purpose. The destruction of large numbers of schools represents a rejection of the right to education and, in the case of attacks on girls' schools or sexual violence against schoolgirls, a rejection of the rights of women. The result can be a downgrading of women's position in society and a widespread abandonment of education by students, teachers and governments and the consequent dilapidation and collapse of educational infrastructure and dwindling of expertise on a scale that fuel loss of faith in government and set back development. In Afghanistan decades of violent military and political attacks on education have contributed to a situation today where more than half the schools have no walls, because more than a third of schools have been damaged or destroyed and only a fraction of the schools needed have been built at all. 50

5. Impact on development and fragility

The case for prioritising policy responses to attacks on education is based not just on the impact of such violence on education systems and on progress towards Education for All, but also on the impact on social and economic development and fragility.

Persistent violent attacks on education threaten the capacity of a state or its institutions to provide education services, by driving away teachers, destroying infrastructure which can take years to rebuild, and hindering the capacity to manage the education system. As Yolande Miller-Grandvaux argues, such reduced capacity to provide education services contributes to fragility by threatening the stability of the state and its education system as a whole.[51]

The World Bank argument that the single most effective intervention a country can make to increase economic development is to invest in primary education, in particular for girls, is commonly accepted. [52] By the same logic, persistent violence against primary education, particularly girls' primary education, as has occurred in parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan, may be one of the most detrimental interventions affecting economic and development.

As Graça Machel wrote: "The destruction of educational infrastructure represents one of the greatest developmental setbacks for countries affected by conflict. Years of lost schooling and vocational skills will take equivalent years to replace and their absence imposes a greater

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[50] *Afghanistan: 2010 Humanitarian Action Plan*, United Nations, published by OCHA, pp41-44

[51] Yolande Miller-Grandvaux, Education and Fragility: A New Framework, *Journal of Education for International Development 4:1*

[52] Summers, Lawrence. 1994. *Investing in All the People: Educating Women in Developing Countries*, The World Bank, EDI Seminar Paper No. 45

vulnerability on the ability of societies to recover after war."[53]

Attacks on education can have a detrimental effect on social development. For instance, the persistent attacks on schoolgirls and women teachers and the forced closure of girls' schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan will have a damaging effect on development because of the impact on literacy, since literacy is a key enabling skill that enhances women's ability to improve the health of their children for instance via diet, preventive health measures and birth spacing and encourage their enrolment in school. Such attacks will also have an effect on equal rights and social development by denying women the right to education, symbolizing the marginalization and subordination of women in society by force.

Attacks on education can be both a symptom and a cause of fragility, particularly at the village level, where the school may be the only symbol, or at least the most visible structure, representing government control or the provision of government resources in a rural area.

Fragility has been defined by DAC (the Development Assistance Committee of the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development) and aid agencies as the unwillingness or inability to provide key state services such as education for the benefit of all; the failure to maintain or expand infrastructure, the loss of the rule of law, the rise of illegitimate violence and loss of control of areas to armed groups.[54] In addition to these factors, the OECD includes conflict, extreme political instability, clientelist policies and repression or denial of resources to particular groups of the population – for instance denying girls the right to education through the use of force – as effects of fragility.[55] Brinkerhoff develops this notion further, citing the division of communities by ethnicity, religion or class, and the inability or unwillingness of those groups to compromise and co-operate with each other as a symptom of fragility.[56]

In states divided in this way, the imposition of an education system that is insensitive to the language, culture, and cultural identity of those not in the dominant group or that is fully accessible only to one group, may be a contributing factor to unequal development, to grievances stoking conflict in general, and a motive specifically for attacks on schools. This is arguably the case in the three southernmost provinces of Thailand, for example.

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[53] Graça Machel, *Impact of armed conflict on children*, UN, 1996, A/51/306, p54

[54] Ashraf Ghani, Clare Lockhart, and Michael Carnahan, An agenda for state-building in the twenty-first century, *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, Vol 30: 1 Winter 2006

[55] OECD/DAC, Service Delivery in Fragile Situations: Key concepts, findings and lessons, Discussion Paper, 2008

[56] Derrick Brinkerhoff, *Discussion paper 58D: Capacity Development in Fragile States,* European Centre for Development Policy Management, 2007

However, attacks on schools can themselves contribute to the deepening of fragility. Advocates of the provision of education in emergencies and post-conflict situations argue forcefully that re-establishing provision of education performs two functions that are vital to increasing stability: it offers some protection for children from recruitment[57], abduction, violence, and other risks such as sexual exploitation, that frees up parents to work to support their family and it provides a sense of investment in the future of the community.[58] The reverse may also be true. If schools are bombed, teachers murdered and girls attacked with acid, schools may close down or parents withdraw their children; labour time is then lost to minding the children in a dangerous situation or children are put at risk, and hope for their future is lost with the abandonment of education. If this pattern is repeated in many villages, confidence in the government's ability to uphold the law, prevent illegitimate crime and violence, or even control territory, may fall away, and the legitimacy of the government in that district may be lost, increasing the likelihood that families will decide to flee the area to find safety, further stoking instability and poverty in the region.

According to Mike Young, Asia and Caucasus regional director of International Rescue Committee, attacking schools has become a tactic of war precisely for this reason, to create a sense that government no longer controls the area, fuelling fragility. The destruction of schools by the Taliban in Pakistan provides a powerful symbol of the insurgents' ability to roam around the area with impunity and undermines people's sense of the government's ability to assure their safety. "The school itself is often the most prominent structure and expression of the government in that area," he says. Attacking it is a factor in increasing instability. In addition, a Taliban campaign of assassination of anyone seen to be helping to rebuild damaged schools and other buildings is hampering the recovery effort. "In large swathes of territory that the government says is cleared and in recovery, it is still a lot more fragile than the headlines suggest," says Young.[59]

Attacks on schools in Afghanistan may be carried out because they are easy targets, or for ideological reasons because insurgents oppose the non-traditional version of education on offer, but one of their significant effects is to undermine the very presence of government authority at a subnational level, particularly at district level. Attacks on schools, according to Muhammad Suleman Kakar, former deputy education minister (2008-2010), are a tactic to

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[57] This assertion should be reassessed in the light of the findings of *Education under Attack 2010*, which shows that at least in some conflict situations schools are targeted for attack to abduct groups of children for recruitment, or children are abducted for recruitment or ransom on their way to or from school.

[58] Graça Machel, *Impact of armed conflict on children*, UN, 1996, A/51/306, p54; UNICEF, *Protection of Children and Adolescents in Complex Emergency*, Oslo-Hadeland 09-11 November 1998, Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies, INEE Minimum Standards Handbook (2004)

[59] Telephone interview with Mike Young, IRC, 16 June 2010

weaken government and demonstrate the strength and power of the armed opposition, to break people's trust in the government's ability to guard their security.[60]

As Arancha Garcia del Soto has argued, attacking education can destroy the future hopes of the enemy and those who support it, and can therefore be an effective weapon of war[61]. Further, such armed groups who attack schools frequently use the buildings as bases and in many reported cases seize pupils from them, sometimes by the truckload, to fuel their ranks and aid their war effort. For them, attacks on schools have become a tactic to seize resources to help fuel and win the war.[62]

Unfortunately, government forces often use similar tactics. A lot of schools in Pakistan are attacked because they are the biggest space in a village or hamlet that can be used as a base, according to Mike Young. For this reason the Taliban and the army have taken over a lot of schools and a year after the military intervention in Swat and surrounding districts the army hadn't moved out of those it had used as a base, he alleged. The educational establishment, at least in terms of facilities, had been significantly reduced by those operations.[63]

Corruption in education has been identified by Yolande Miller-Grandaux[64] as a dangerous driver of fragility in education and can drive mistrust of government and other grievances that lead to attacks on education. But attacks on education can also be a driver of corruption, by providing a context in which it can flourish. In Afghanistan, for instance, it is alleged that many attacks are carried out not by insurgents but by corrupt individuals and criminal groups within and outside government structures, as a cover for the stealing of salaries and payments for operating costs of schools. According to Kakar, there have been claims that schools have been closed by insurgents when in fact the attacks have been secretly arranged by corrupt officials, who have access to the resources provided for the schools and fraudulently claim they have already been spent. The context of the general problem of attacks on schools by armed groups makes the claims of attack by insurgents more credible. In other instances, officials close schools by force, using their own men to attack them by night, but report them to be open and claim salary and operating costs and take the money, Kakar asserts. Due to security problems, it is often not possible for officials from central government to visit the location of the attack to see if the school really was the work of insurgents.[65] Another

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[60] Telephone interview with Kakar, 16 June 2010

[61] Arancha Garcia del Soto, Psychosocial Issues in Education, in *Education in Chaos: Education in Times of Emergency*, Ed, Kevin Cahill, Fordham University Press 2010, p191

[62] For instance, see reported incidents in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in *Education under Attack 2010*, UNESCO, p184

[63] Telephone interview with Mike Young, IRC, 16 June 2010

[64] Yolande Miller-Grandvaux, Education and Fragility: A New Framework, *Journal of Education for International Development 4:1*

[65] Telephone interview with Kakar, 16 June 2010

example is the use of violence in Iraq to exact good grades from tutors. In the context of widespread targeting of academics on university campuses for assassination, armed groups issued threats of violence unless certain students were favoured.[66]

On a wider level, donors such as the UK's Department for International Development, argue that stabilisation activities, including the delivery of education, can profoundly affect the chances of social and economic development.[67] Attacks on education, particularly where they lead to schools being kept closed or out of operation for a number of years, may have the opposite effect of undermining the chances of successful social and economic development by creating instability and fragility at the village level. This works on two levels. First, by undermining confidence in the government's ability to govern; and second because education is the foundation for every type of development whether it is economic, social, or political. The drive to get millions of children back into school in Afghanistan following the overthrow of the Taliban provided hope for the recovery of the country after years of destruction of educational infrastructure during the preceding wars, which left a third of the country's 8,000 schools in ruins and 80 per cent of the population illiterate.[68] But subsequent attacks on schools, student and teachers have dispelled that hope in the worst-affected areas.

"Once you have a situation where large numbers are not able to read and write and go through education, the whole development of the country is affected," argues Kakar. "But attacks on education and threats of attack also have a psychological impact affecting development activities in other areas, whether it is building roads or constructing clinics, to the point where no one dares to contribute or take part in reconstruction. The target is not education alone, it is also an attack on a government institution, designed to weaken the government and discourage everyone from taking part in the reconstruction process."[69]

6. Implications for policy responses

The research for the case studies in this paper (see case studies 1. Sierra Leone and 2. Thailand, below) suggests that differing types of measures are needed to tackle the longer-term effects of attacks on education, depending on whether the effects are being addressed during or after the conflict, whether the attacks and threats of attack on education are ongoing and, importantly, whether fear of future attacks is continuing.

These approaches can be divided into three categories:

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[66] US Department of State, *2008 Human Rights Report: Iraq*

[67] Stabilisation Unit (UK), *Quick Impact Projects – QIPs*, p12

[68] Jeaniene Spink, Education, reconstruction and state-building in Afghanistan, *Forced Migration Review Supplement: Education and Conflict: Research, Policy and Practice*, July 2006, p15

[69] Telephone interview with Kakar, 16 June 2010

a. measures to prevent or halt attacks on education,

    b. measures to prevent the immediate effects of attacks on education becoming longer-term effects, and

    c. measures to address the longer-term effects.

It is also important to recognise, however, that some measures that are required to address the longer-term effects may also address the motives for attack, and as such are both restorative and preventive measures.

Measures to prevent or halt attacks, and prevent immediate effects becoming longer-term effects

The first two approaches (a. and b. above) are required because in most countries heavily affected by attacks on education in recent years, such attacks are continuing, with two important consequences for addressing the longer-term impacts.

One is that continuing attacks deter measures to address the longer-term impacts, such as rehabilitation and reconstruction, and can deter the return of teachers and students to school even if repair of damaged or destroyed schools is carried out. They can also prevent teachers being able to teach at all or to their full ability, and pupils may be hindered from reaching high levels of attainment. In southern Thailand the government has set aside money to carry out repairs to attacked schools, but contractors refuse to carry out the work because they are too afraid to go in and rebuild schools that have been targeted.[70] These fears are reinforced by actual incidents. For example in April 2008 five labourers were shot dead and one injured as they arrived at a school to construct a new building.[71] In Swat and neighbouring districts in north-west Pakistan, teachers have refused to return to work and parents have withheld their children from school more than a year after military operations to clear out the Taliban, because they know that members of the Taliban are still living or operating in the area and may re-merge to attack schools.[72] Again in southern Thailand, officials in Narathiwat report that due to a number of incidents in which teachers have been assassinated while actually taking classes, staff have to be constantly wary while at work, which takes their concentration

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[70] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[71] AFP, Rebels kill five labourers in Thai south: police, 24 April 2008

[72] Erum Burki, *Militants target education to terrorize*, Save the Children UK, 2010, p13; IRIN, 'Pakistan: Militants still targeting schools in northwest', 20 January 2010; and telephone interview with Mike Young, IRC, 16 June 2010

away from their teaching; and security arrangements restrict the hours they can devote to teaching at school.[73]

The other consequence is that continuing attacks increase the burden of measures to address the longer-term effects either during the conflict or afterwards, straining the capacity to do so, and often at a time when post-conflict governments are simultaneously trying to rapidly expand education provision as a means to securing peace, stability and development. If attacks can be prevented or halted or their impact reduced through protection measures, fewer schools will be reduced to rubble and the opportunity cost of having to rebuild them will be removed, freeing up funds for building schools in areas where too few existed to provide education for all; and fewer students and teachers will be killed, injured or threatened, reducing the likelihood of long-term effects on recruitment, retention and attainment. Similarly, other rapid recovery measures such as re-supply of teaching and learning materials, provision of psychosocial treatment may in some circumstance prevent the effects of physical damage or psychological harm becoming longer-term problems and thus reduce the likelihood of other related long-term effects such as student or teacher withdrawal, relocation of students and teachers from the area, teacher recruitment problems, falling student attainment, or destabilisation of the local community and population movement.

By contrast, returning to schools either before attacks have been halted or before the conflict has ended may in some circumstances increase the likelihood of long-term physical or psychological harm to students and staff. For example, in February 1999, this author visited a Kosovo Albanian school in Kishna Reka, Kosovo, a village where the homes had been torched by Serbs and local people had lived in hiding in some woods for five months, but had recently returned. The 7th March School, situated on a small hill overlooking the village had previously been shelled and looted, its furniture and windows smashed in the process. It was one of around 180 out of 900 schools in Kosovo that had been destroyed or damaged. But local teachers, with the support of the community, had re-opened the school, to provide some sense of stability in the village and investment in the children's future even though the staff had not been paid for over a year. When this author visited, the children were sitting shivering at their desks in classrooms, the snow outside visible through the shell holes in the shrapnel-peppered walls. As I was interviewing the headteacher, Hysen Mulaky, a shell thudded into the hill outside and the building shook. Mulaky said the Serbian forces shelled the other side of the hill each day to remind the Kosovo Albanians that they were still there. The incident had an immediate psychological effect, making concentration difficult as I conducted my interviews, and my mind unsure if doors banging shut were gunfire, wondering where the next shell would land. I asked if this was why many children in the classrooms sat with furrowed foreheads and the blank expression associated with fear and anxiety. The headteacher confirmed that many of the children had suffered trauma due to their experiences

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[73] Prasit op cit

during the conflict, and one had gone blind in one eye as a result. Doctors said pressure on the eye caused by trauma was the cause. Some were driven to crying and yelling repeatedly all day. [74]

In this case, it is debatable whether re-opening and operating the attacked school adequately addressed the potential long-term effects of its earlier closure on children's educational attainment and wellbeing, since it could not offer a good-quality learning experience or guarantee protection from harm, and the reported daily threat from shelling may have caused long-term psychosocial problems for the children and teachers with knock-on effects on their capacity to learn or teach. It may, however, have had important symbolic and psychological benefits for a community surrounded by threatening forces and for the children, for whom the alternative was to huddle around a stove in the burned out rooms of their family home.

The plight of 7th March school also highlighted the dilemmas faced by aid organisations carrying out recovery measures after attacks. A Norwegian church organisation had paid for the replacement of windows broken by shelling and UNICEF had donated firewood and classroom supplies. How could they be sure the school would not be hit again and the investment wasted? Were they right to repair it anyway? Within a month political talks broke down and the conflict rapidly intensified amid allegations of ethnic cleansing by the Serbs and of bombing of civilians by NATO forces, causing mass exodus of the population from Kosovo. It is not known what happened to the school in that period.

My conclusion is that in many areas where there are persistent attacks, appropriate responses to longer-term impacts may not be made or may be impossible to make, precisely because schools and the education system are still being attacked. If this is the case, action to deter or avert attacks and remove the motives for them must be addressed if the long-term effects on education or fragility are to be tackled.

The Thai experience suggests protection measures alone cannot eradicate attacks and their impact where education is a contributing factor to conflict. To prevent attacks on education contributing to fragility, it may necessary to enter negotiations and/or make compromises over education access and content with a view to reducing the motives for attack or enforced closure. This may require negotiations and compromises over the content of curriculum to increase sensitivity to local language, culture, and religion; ending unequal provision of education, particularly for youths; building trust through transparency and mobilisation of community support; negotiated codes of behaviour by armed groups and security forces in

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[74] Brendan O'Malley, 'Shell shocked but school must go on: Kosovo', *The Times Educational Supplement*, 19 March 1999

relation to students, teachers and schools; and punishment of perpetrators of attacks. It may also require negotiation to allow reconstruction and rehabilitation.[75]

For example, compromises on the perceived anti-Islamic nature of school policies and curriculum have eased such fears in Afghanistan and paved the way for agreement for large numbers of threatened schools to be re-opened in the south. In Thailand's cases compromises over the language of instruction, religious studies and history content might reduce the motives for attacking schools and teachers, since schools have historically been used as tools of assimilation.[76]

Negotiation by communities with insurgents, carries considerable potential risks for negotiators, but can be a low-cost route to solving conflict over schools. According to Kakar, it has proved the most effective mechanism for re-opening schools in Afghanistan and is low-cost, requiring perhaps just one salary for a social organiser in each area to establish community councils and discuss strategies for re-opening schools or preventing attacks. Compared to the cost of removing rubble and rebuilding schools, or the cost to development of schools remaining closed for several years, or even the cost to security services of attacks on schools giving encouragement to the insurgency, this may be extremely cost-effective.[77]

In addition, measures to prevent short-term impacts becoming longer-term problems must be undertaken, including rapid repair and rehabilitation of schools, and emergency education programmes to bridge the gap between the damage and repair of schools and to address the problem of temporary displacement of students due to attacks on schools.

Measures to address the longer-term impact of attacks

Addressing the longer-term impacts of attacks on education may require a number of the following measures:

- better monitoring of the longer-term impacts of attacks on education

- building the capacity of the education ministry to rebuild education

- urgent reconstruction and rehabilitation of education facilities

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[75] These measures have been discussed in Brendan O'Malley, *Education under Attack* (Unesco, 2007); Brendan O'Malley, *Education under Attack 2010* (UNESCO), *Protecting Education from Attack: A State-of-the-Art Review* (UNESCO, 2010) and Ed Kevin Cahill, *Even in Chaos: Education in Times of Emergency* (Fordham University Press/The Center for International Humanitarian Co-operation, 2010)
[76] See case study below
[77] Interview by telephone with Muhammad Suleman Kakar, 16 June 2010

- rapid interim teacher training

- building the capacity of the education ministry to ensure timely payment of teachers and re-supply of schools

- measures to address the psychological and symbolic effects of attacks and mobilise community support for education

- addressing the contribution of education to conflict such as inequalities of education provision and curricula that are insensitive to parents' language, culture and values

- improvements in transparency and accountability

- joint approaches with security and economic ministries to ensure future stability of education and relevance to job opportunities

- long-term building of capacity to provide initial teacher training

- monitoring of and research into the effectiveness of policy responses.

(i) Better monitoring and reporting of impact of attacks

Inquiries into the impact of political and military attacks against schools, students and teachers on the education system in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nepal, Pakistan, Palestinian Occupied Territories, Sierra Leone, and Thailand show that except in one or two countries very little data has been collected on this issue. It is an area that demands more detailed research and may require support to build the capacity to collect the data. For instance, according to Kakar, the Afghan central government does not have regular access to data on the impact of attacks, although provincial officials are required to report incidents on the day they occur and send out a team to assess the attack[78]; and the Education Cluster, led by UNICEF and Save the Children, reports that its biggest challenge is the absence of systematic data, due to the lack of manpower available at the Ministry of Education to collect information on attacks and their impact, but also due to the sensitivity of the topic and difficulties in verifying data sources.[79] One solution to this type of problem, is to follow the example of the Nepalese government, which made District Monitoring Committees responsible for identifying conflict-affected children and schools with high

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[78] Kakar, op cit
[79] Information supplied by John Ekaju, Education Cluster, Kabul, 8 May 2010

displacement, to establish needs for temporary classrooms and extra. This decentralised approach could be applied to the monitoring of the impact of attacks on schools.[80]

(ii) Capacity building

Countries emerging from long conflicts where education has been heavily attacked, may need to begin from scratch to develop education management systems and databases that include teacher qualifications and records, teacher deployment data, and student enrolment and attainment data. Other key challenges will include establishing effective payment systems for a teaching force in disarray due to widespread displacement and destruction of schools; developing appropriate new curricula where the curriculum was contributing factor to tension; marshalling resources for a massive schools rehabilitation and reconstruction programme; and solving the complex problem of plugging teacher shortages and providing adequate training, protection and support for teaching staff in an unstable situation. Where attacks on education and a wider conflict are ongoing, many of these challenges may be insurmountable.

(iii) Urgent rehabilitation and reconstruction

The key to ensuring recovery of the education system is to make money available to rebuild and repair schools, train teachers and mobilise the community to support education in as short a time as possible. Every year that passes without a school being rehabilitated and reopened, can mean a lost year of education for its students. Rehabilitating and reconstructing schools where a large proportion of schools have been damaged or destroyed, as has occurred in Afghanistan, Sierra Leone and parts of Pakistan, is a very heavy burden and may require large-scale collaboration with international donors and NGOs to fill gaps in funding and capacity. Sierra Leone's reconstruction efforts have been supported by the World Bank, for instance, but its plan to repair or reconstruct up to 200 schools per year would take a minimum of 15 years to complete without further support, and that is without taking into account the increased capacity required due to the abolition of primary school fees at the end of the conflict.[81] Investment on this scale is only likely, however, where attacks on schools have been halted, which requires intervention to avert or deter attacks and resolve conflict over education issues.

In some post-conflict countries the mismatch between the desire for education and the capacity to repair and rebuild schools will be so great that children's and teachers' safety will be put in danger. This creates a dilemma and may be exacerbated for policymakers in least developed countries emerging from conflict, who face the conflicting demands. On the one

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[80] Ibid.
[81] World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document for a Rehabilitation of Basic Education: Sierra Leone; 2003*, p29

hand, they may face political pressure to rapidly re-establish or expand education after a conflict in order to bring stability, invest in the future of the country and address previous grievances over education access and quality (which may be required under the terms of the peace agreement); and, on the other hand, extreme shortages of resources given the scale of urgent repair, reconstruction, rehabilitation, new building, training and recruitment that is required. It is the mismatch of capacity and needs that can lead immediate effects of attacks to become longer-term effects. Politically it is difficult for any government to reopen schools or promise free education in instalments: the political imperative is to get all children back into school or abolish fees for all in one go, or risk new tension. But the result can be the flooding of pupils back into schools that are in such a state of disrepair that they are actually putting children's lives at risk.

This was the case in Afghanistan after the Taliban were driven from power by the Northern Alliance and US-led international forces in 2001. In May 2002, this author visited numerous schools where children were attending classes in bomb-damaged buildings that were extremely unsafe. In one case, in Herat, I witnessed part of a roof fall off a building at Wasi Fateh Khan school, three miles from the city, onto a tented classroom next to it. Around 2,200 pupils were learning in 13 classrooms, corridor spaces, and ten tents, but fortunately that particular tent was empty at that instant. In another school in Herat the principal told me that a few days' earlier falling masonry had crushed six desks. In Kabul, at Habibia High School, Hamid Karzai's former school and one of the most prestigious in the city, groups of children moving between classes were peering out of shell holes in the wall, two and three storeys up: the holes, at floor level, were big enough to allow three or four pupils to walk through them side by side and there were no barriers to prevent them falling to their deaths. Some parts of the school were roped off to avoid falling masonry. Others, where masonry was visibly loose, were not. Students were warned not to wander onto the playing field surrounding the building, in case there were unexploded mines underfoot: there hadn't been the resources to clear it. There were no chairs, only floor mats. Elsewhere in an area of Kabul that had been pummelled into ruins over many years of war, I found classes being held in the tumbling ruins of Soofi Islam school, many of whose classrooms were missing whole walls and ceilings; and in Kwaja Rawash school, on the outskirts, children sat on the floor of classrooms with no dividing wall to blank out the noise of the other class, and no windows or doors, because the building had been blasted by rockets and stripped by looters during the war.[82] When I returned three years later Soofi Islam had been rebuilt, and Habibia and Kwaja Rawash schools had been substantially repaired, although most classes in Habibia and many in Kwaja Rawash were still being held in tents. They, however, were the lucky schools, as only one in eight nationally had been rebuilt and one in 16 renovated. In Salang Valley, north of the capital, for instance, only three out of 19 schools had buildings, and only five had tents.

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[82] Brendan O'Malley, 'Tale of destruction across two cities', *The Times Educational Supplement*, 7 June 2002

The rest had no shelter at all and students were sitting on the ground in the open air. At Ahangaran school classes had to be heard over the noise of heavy lorries, because the school was conducted in a layby next to the main road north through the mountains. It is not known what percentage of schools nationally were damaged and what percentage had merely fallen into disrepair due to being starved of investment during the years of war.[83]

(iv) Teacher training and re-supply of teachers

Teacher shortages caused by attacks on education can be addressed via incentives to encourage exiled and displaced teachers to return home and to teacher dropouts to return to the profession. But experience in worst affected countries suggests these may make little difference unless teachers' fears of future attacks and concerns for protection and timely payment of salaries are addressed. The fear factor also has to be addressed if applications for teacher training in affected regions are to be encouraged, particularly in countries where teachers are being singled out for attack.

The scale of attacks on education and their impact, and the financial capacity of the government, will affect policies for increasing teacher training. So too will the speed of reconstruction and rehabilitation of schools. In Sierra Leone's case, demand for teachers was simultaneously increased by the decision to drop fees for primary school and give girls scholarships at junior secondary school. As Miller-Grandvaux argues, rebuilding the teaching corps in these circumstance may require a mixture of short-term on the job training and long-term implementation of expanded initial teacher training programmes. This is further complicated in some conflict situations by the need to adjust curricula to address the motives for attacks on schools, which might include insensitivies to the local language, religion and cultural identity.[84] Such adjustments would require retraining of the teaching force.

Where girls' schools have been targeted gender specific plans are needed. For instance, in Pakistan special measures will be required to reverse the impact of a two-year ban on recruitment of teachers in Swat and the targeting of violence and threats of violence against female teachers in Swat and other parts of NWFP, particularly rural areas where the Taliban had most influence. Save the Children says this may require in-service training and additional incentives for female teachers, such as transportation and accommodation.[85]

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[83] Brendan O'Malley, 'Pencils in the dust', The Times Educational Supplement, 1 July 2005

[84] Yolande Miller-Grandvaux, Education and Fragility: A New Framework, *Journal of Education for International Development 4:1*

[85] Erum Burki, *Militants target education to terrorize*, Save the Children UK, 2010, p10-11

(v) Addressing psychological effects

The response to psychosocial needs includes provision of psychologists, training of teachers and local community members and provision of guidelines to identify children and teachers with psychosocial needs, deal with trauma and help them speak out about their experiences and to create programmes of activities that help them to do so. Mobile support teams, comprised of counsellers, physicians and volunteers, can help plug the shortages of specialist personnel. Experts such as Arancha Garcia del Soto call for an holistic approach that integrates education and psychosocial work.[86] It is essential to provide psychosocial support to teachers and other education staff affected by attacks, as well as children, otherwise the quality of teaching and therefore the quality of education provided may suffer.[87] In Sierra Leone specific programmes were devised to counter stigmatisation of children who had been physically branded by armed groups, by carving the initials of the group into their skin. The programmes included sensitisation seminars aimed at community leaders, teachers and social workers, as well as medical operations to remove the physical scars left by the branding.[88]

(vi) Addressing symbolic effects

The symbolic impact of attacks on education can be addressed in two ways. One is by prioritising restoration of the types of education attacked, for instance girls' education in Pakistan's Swat District and other nearby districts such as Bajaur. While schools have been neglected in many areas of the country, the attacks on schools in Swat have focused government and international donors' attention on the need to rebuild the school infrastructure and restore the collapsed educational system, particularly for girls. Due to the historic gender-based inequality of access to education and the specific targeting of girls' education for attack, there is a need to address the transition gap caused by fact that there is only one girls' middle school per 28 girls primary schools, and one girls' high for every 67 girls primary schools. To achieve this at a time when girls and women have lost confidence in the system due to past death threats and ongoing attacks on schools in surrounding areas requires special measures. Save the Children argues that these should include:

- community mobilisation and community policing to encourage parents to send their girls (and boys) to school. Radio, which had been used by the Taliban to threaten education, could be used to explain what safety measures are being put in place and urge a return to school. Stipends should be paid to encourage girls' attendance at school and send an important signal that girls' education is valued.

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[86] Arachan Garcia del Soto, Psychosocial Issues in Education, in *Even in Chaos: Education in Times of Emergency*, Ed Kevin Cahill, p199-207

[87] Alexander, Boothby and Wessells, Education and protection of children and youth affected by armed conflict: An essential link, in *Protecting Education from Attack: A State-of-the-Art Review*, UNESCO, 2010, p67

[88] *Witness to Truth*, Vol Three B, Chapter Four, p333

- special training in psychosocial support can be given to teachers, particularly to help girls who were targeted by the Taliban, in addition to those traumatized by the general conflict. The Education Cluster is planning widespread training.

- pre- and in-service training and incentives for teachers to help children rebuild their lives. Special incentives for female teachers including transportation and accommodation facilities to resume their work in safety. The hiring of more teachers to plug the gap created by a two-year ban on hiring teachers in Swat, with priority given to rural areas, which were most neglected due to being former Taliban strongholds. [89]

The IRC argues that the most effective strategy in this region, which has a strong consultation-based culture, is to map a way forward via inclusive dialogue with the community, including religious leaders and elders, to produce local solutions for the specific context rather than one size fits all.[90]

Another way to address the symbolic effects of attacks on education is to send a powerful message that the right to education *for all* must be upheld by punishing perpetrators of attacks on education. Currently very few perpetrators are investigated, prosecuted or punished worldwide. This undermines the confidence of local people in the government's ability or commitment to protect education in future, which in turn can affect parents' decision on whether to return or keep their children in school. The UN Secretary General argues that a concerted effort must be made to establish and maintain the rule of law at national level and ensure the perpetrators of crimes against children are held accountable in a manner consistent with international human rights norms and laws and standards, as this has a critical deterrent effect.[91] Donor support may be required to address problems of weak legal and judicial infrastructures and lack of resources to conduct investigations and prosecutions.

Changes to international law to ban the conversion of schools to military use would force generals to pay more attention to the importance of protecting education facilities and students and teachers during the conduct of war. States should in any case be encouraged to provide specific training for troops, officers and military lawyers in the laws of war and the conduct of troops in relation to protecting education from attack and protecting the right to education.[92]

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[89] Erum Burki, *Militants target education to terrorize*, June 2010, Save the Children UK, p15

[90] Telephone interview with Mike Young, Regional Director, Asia and Caucasus, IRC, 16 June 2010

[91] Report of the Secretary General on Children and Armed Conflict, A/64/742-S/2010/181, 13 April 2010, p8-9

[92] See recommendations in Brendan O'Malley, *Education under Attack 2010* (UNESCO)

(vii) Addressing education's contribution to conflict

Important arguments have been made by Simon Reich and Millder-Grandvaux that education
of youth through Dismarment, Demobilization and Reintegration programmes is a vital way
to break the conflict trap of poverty/recruitment/violence, which fuels fragility, by avoiding
re-recruitment. Education serves not only humanitarian and developmental purposes but also
provides a bulwark against recidivism to gangs and armed groups, but national policymakers
tend to ignore the importance of the last component.[93] Prioritisation of support for non-formal
education programmes for youths, or for secondary education may be required – over the
emphasis of Education for All programmes on primary education – to prevent the long-term
effects of loss of education due to recruitment as child soldiers or due to attacks on schools
and to prevent those effects leading to re-recruitment by armed groups or other forms of
unrest that contribute to fragility.[94] In Pakistan, for instance, Save the Children has
recommended the establishment of reform schools to rehabilitate hundreds of boys who were
recruited for training as suicide bombers, provide psychological support for their
reintegration, extra academic counselling to help them catch up on their studies, and a
curriculum promoting peace and understanding.[95] In Sierra Leone, non-formal and
emergency education programmes were expanded for 10 to 14-year-olds who had missed
years of primary schooling until they could be absorbed into the system. The abolition of
school fees for grades 1 to 6 for all students and scholarships for girls at junior secondary
school in key geographical areas addressed the problem of unequal access, which had
contributed to the start of the conflict.[96] In another programme, more than 2,600 demobilised
teenagers aged 15 or over were offered nine-months of skills training, supported by a paid
allowance and a start-up kit, in programmes such as carpentry, masonry, auto mechanic work,
blacksmithing, soap making, and weaving.[97]

(viii) Improving transparency

If transparency is weak, programmes aiding recovery from attack may be undermined by
corruption, which robs the state of crucial resources, and lack of accountability. As the UK's
Stabilisation Unit argues, corruption undermines confidence in the state, can contribute to a

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[93] Simon Reich, Establishing Safe Learning Environments, *Even in Chaos* op cit, p181-2
[94] Yolande Miller-Grandvaux, Education and Fragility: A New Framework, *Journal of Education for
International Development 4:1*
[95] Telephone interview with Mike Young, Regional Director, Asia and Caucasus, IRC, 16 June 2010
[96] Alfa T Wurie, Minister of Education, Science and Technology, Sierra Leone: Rehabilitation of Basic,
Education, Policy letter, 9 July 2002, Additional annex 12, *World Bank Project Appraisal* op cit, p120-121
[97] Executive Secretariat of National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR);
Presentation at the State of the Nation Symposium; October 2003, cited in *Witness to Truth*, Vol Three B,
Chapter Four 338

continued sense of injustice among those excluded, and can damage the formation of more durable political acceptance of the state.[98] Kakar, as former deputy minister for education (2008-2010), is sceptical about the Afghan government's claims to have reopened 242 schools, at least 161 of them through negotiations. He believes the real figure is closer to 50, because some reopen and re-close and he claims some reported re-openings may be bogus, made either by individuals who are siphoning off the operating costs or by others claiming donor funds for assisting in negotiations who are inflating the results of their work to justify the payment.[99] In Nepal, after years of neglecting to ensure equal distribution of resources, the government introduced district micro-planning to better justify budget requests and to ensure the resources went to where they were really needed within the conflict-affected districts. However, local politicians and official in some cases have undermined the effectiveness of this approach by redirecting funds after they have reached the district, which donors and the government are now trying to solve by setting out requirements of priority lists for special support linked to allocations. The Nepalese government has also tried to increase governance and transparency by encouraging parental involvement in the running of schools via Parent Teacher Associations; making school governance bodies more inclusive with at least one female representative; and introducing fiscal audits. But World Education, an NGO, questions whether enough attention has been paid to capacity building at school level to achieve these aims.[100]

(ix) Joint sector approaches

Recognition of the role attacks on education play in contributing to fragility, leads to recognition that policy responses must involve co-operation between a number of ministries rather than a response simply by the Ministry of Education, particularly if the conflict is ongoing or in danger of re-igniting. In Afghanistan, the Ministry of Education has a new directorate of protection, and undertakes coordination of different actors on the ground, including the offices of the provincial governors, the National Directorate of Security, the Ministry of Interior and Ministry of Defence. Similarly donor countries such as the UK who wish to support efforts to stabilise countries are recognising that if the strategy is going to include ensuring that the government can provide basic services such as education, security has to be established and military contributions will usually be required often from UN-mandated forces or coalitions. In addition, stabilisation requires longer-term development, which can't be achieved without ensuring the fulfilment of the right to education. The UK's

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[98] Stabilisation Unit, The UK Approach to Stabilisation: Emerging UK Experience & Best Practice, Guidance Note, p34. The Stabilisation Unit, previously the Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit (PRCU), is jointly owned by the UK's Department for International Development, Foreign and Commonwealth Office and Ministry of Defence. It provides assistance in countries emerging from violent conflict where the UK is helping to achieve a stable environment that will enable longer-term development to take place.
[99] Interview by telephone with Muhammad Suleman Kakar, 16 June 2010
[100] Information supplied by Helen Sherpa, World Education, Nepal, 5 May 2010

joint-sector approach is reflected in the fact that its Stabilisation Unit (formerly the Post Conflict Reconstruction Unit) is jointly owned by the Department for International Development, the Foreign Office and the Ministry of Defence.[101] However, it should be noted that there are dangers in blurring the lines between military and aid operations, particularly if military forces are used to repair or reconstruct schools while a conflict continues, since research in Afghanistan and incidents in Pakistan, suggest that this can increase the risk of schools being attacked.[102]

Case studies

(i) Sierra Leone

The context: background to conflict

The roots of the conflict in Sierra Leone lay in the uneven development of the country. The war (1991-2002) began when the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) launched an offensive from the east to try to overthrow the government. It promised to end the marginalisation of the illiterate masses, pledging free education and other basic services.[103]

In 1997 the Sierra Leone Army itself replaced the government with a military Junta and invited the RUF to join the administration. The legitimate government was restored in 1998 by the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West Africa (ECOWAS). But rebels eventually took control of around half of the country. Ultimately, British forces were sent in to help UN troops secure and mediate a peace agreement and government control was restored across the country.

During the fighting more than 50,000 people were killed and thousands were tortured or mutilated – in many cases by cutting off one or more limbs – including many schoolchildren

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[101] Stabilisation Unit, The UK Approach to Stabilisation: Emerging UK Experience & Best Practice, Guidance Note, p12. DfID is proposing to allocate at least 50 per cent of all new bilateral funding to fragile states and focus assistance in fragile countries on objectives to promote peaceful states and societies

[102] Marit Glad, *Knowledge on Fire: Attacks on Education in Afghanistan, Risk and measures for successful mitigation*, CARE, September 2009; Jane Perlez, 3 US soldiers die in attack by Pakistan militants, New York Times, 4.2.10

[103] Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Sierra Leone, *Witness to Truth: Report of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, 2004, Volume Three, Chapter One, page 29

and teachers.[104] Pupils and teachers were abducted from schools[105] and schools and symbols of education were widely targeted for destruction.[106]

Immediate impact on education

A ministry of Education, Science and Technology assessment in 1996 reported widespread damage to school buildings. Many were burned down or looted, stripped of furniture and fittings, such as window frames and roofing. Equipment and materials were destroyed. The few buildings that survived fell into disrepair due to abandonment and lack of maintenance.[107] Many schools were reduced to rubble. School records, registration and academic reports were burned.[108] During two rebel incursions into Freetown, 70 per cent of schools were destroyed, according to the Ministry of Science Education and Technology.[109]

The National School Survey Report, conducted at the end of 2001, identified 3,152 schools with a total of 4,854 school buildings. Of these 35 per cent needed full reconstruction, and 52 per cent needed to be repaired or reconstructed. Only 13 per cent were judged to be usable in their current condition. One in four teachers had a table or chair. One in ten pupils had a table. There were several children for every chair. Availability of basic supplies such as blackboards and chalk, was "abysmal". One in four schools was wired for electricity and 14 per cent had connections to a pipe-borne water supply. [110]

Longer-term impacts

The longer term effects include the continuing impact of lost years of, and reduced quality of, provision on student attainment; the effect of continuing psychological trauma on students and teachers; the effect of inadequate facilities or resources as a result of inability to repair or reconstruct infrastructure or replenish learning materials; the effects of teacher shortages

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[104] Ekundayo JD Thompson, The Sierra Leone Civil War: Destruction of Educational Infrastucture, briefing note provided to the author, March 2007, for Education under Attack (2007), Unesco

[105] Julia Paulson, *Conflict, Education and Trust Commissions: The case of Sierra Leone,* MSC thesis, University of Oxford, published by INEE, p42

[106] Ekundayo JD Thompson, op cit

[107] World Bank, Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Grant in the amount of US$20 Million Equivalent to the Republic of Sierra Leone for a Rehabilitation of Basic Education, 2003, p7

[108] See Plan Ireland, Children in Disasters programme, 'The Importance of Education in Disaster Rehabilitation – The Rapid Education Programme in Sierra Leone', 2000; available at the following website: www.plan-ireland.org/pdfs/childrenindisasters. Cited in *Witness to Truth*, op cit, Volume Three B, Chapter Four, page 321

[109] Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 2004, cited in Julia Paulson, *Conflict, Education and Trust Commissions: The case of Sierra Leone*, MSC thesis, University of Oxford, published by INEE

[110] National School Survey Report (NSSR), 2001, cited in World Bank, Project Appraisal Document for a Rehabilitation of Basic Education; 2003, p7

caused by deaths, inability to pay, staff fleeing the country, disruption of teacher training during the conflict; and the impact of attacks on education and the conflict in general on the fragility of the education system. To measure them fully, it would be necessary to track the impact throughout the years of conflict (1991-2001), as well as during the years after it formally ended. This may not be possible given the lack of data available. However, since a national survey was conducted at the end of 2001 it has been possible to find some indicators of the rate of recovery since then.

The World Bank concluded that the war left the education system in crisis through the devastation of infrastructure, severe shortages of teaching materials, overcrowding of classrooms in more secure locations, displacement of teachers and delays in paying salaries, psychological trauma among pupils, poor learning outcomes and weakened institutional capacity, with large gaps in information required to plan provision.[111]

Impact on access and learning capability: By the end of the conflict many children had outgrown school age and others had lost two to three years' schooling[112] – in 1997 alone an entire academic year was reportedly lost[113]. Many pupils were severely traumatised, hindering their learning capability.[114] Two other measures suggest the impact of failure to repair and reconstruct schools, resupply teaching and learning materials, and supply adequate numbers of trained teachers may have contributed to limitations on access for years to come. In 2004/5, nearly one in two pupils still did not complete six years of primary schooling, and in 2007 nearly 30 per cent of children aged 6 to 11 remained out of school.[115]

Impact on infrastructure: According to the World Bank, most of the infrastructure of the education system was destroyed in the conflict. Whether this translated into longer-term damage can be measured by how many schools were not repaired one, two or three years after their destruction or after students were able to return to the area.

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[111] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p15

[112] See Plan Ireland, Children in Disasters programme, 'The Importance of Education in Disaster Rehabilitation – The Rapid Education Programme in Sierra Leone', 2000; available at the following website: www.plan-ireland.org/pdfs/childrenindisasters. Cited in *Witness to Truth*, Volume Three B, Chapter Four, page 321

[113] *Witness to Truth*, op cit, Volume Three, Chapter Three, page 247

[114] See Plan Ireland, Children in Disasters programme, 'The Importance of Education in Disaster Rehabilitation – The Rapid Education Programme in Sierra Leone', 2000; available at the following website: www.plan-ireland.org/pdfs/childrenindisasters. Cited in *Witness to Truth*, op cit, Volume Three B, Chapter Four, page 321

[115] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, pp55, 61, 189

If we take the end of 2001 as the date from which all students could potentially return to their original schools, because hostilities had ended, and determine for how long the schools remained unusable or partially usable, we can find one measure of the longer-term impact, although a large number of schools may have been damaged or destroyed years earlier in the conflict.

By 2004, up to three years after the fighting ended, 60 per cent of primary schools and 40 per cent of secondary schools still required major rehabilitation or reconstruction. In some districts, more than 80 per cent of schools required major rehabilitation or reconstruction.[116] Yet the World Bank estimated in 2001 that only up to 200 of the 3,152 schools could be repaired or reconstructed per year under its own programme to assist the government in re-establishing education services. That would mean that unless other repairs were undertaken it would take at least 15 years to get the whole system back in working condition.[117] In 2007 the World Bank reported that the top priority for the education system after the war was to rehabilitate all destroyed and damaged schools, but that this mission remained far from complete.[118] The inadequacy of school buildings, furniture, and teacher accommodation continued to present major challenges. In many schools children were still resorting to sitting on stones or standing.[119]

Against these negative trends, there was also ongoing construction of schools during the years of fighting; 28 per cent of schools existing in 2001 had been built during the years during the conflict, 182 of them in the previous two years. [120]

Impact on quality of provision: Where schools did continue during the conflict, much of the learning content was reduced to songs, the alphabet and numbers.[121] By 2004, even though

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[116] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p68

[117] World Bank, Project Appraisal, p29

[118] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p6

[119] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities,* Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p68, 69

[120] National School Survey Report (NSSR), 2001, cited in World Bank, *Project Appraisal Document for a Rehabilitation of Basic Education*; 28 January 2003.

[121] See Plan Ireland, Children in Disasters programme, 'The Importance of Education in Disaster Rehabilitation – The Rapid Education Programme in Sierra Leone', 2000; available at the following website: www.plan-ireland.org/pdfs/childrenindisasters. Cited in *Witness to Truth*, op cit, Volume Three B, Chapter Four, page 321

the situation was improving, there was only one set of textbooks for every three pupils in urban areas and one set for every six pupils in rural areas.[122]

Two significant factors affecting the quality of provision were the destruction and damaging of schools and loss of teaching staff, which resulted in high class sizes in schools in areas where IDPs congregated. Trained teachers had either left the country or relocated to the cities, leaving most schools with untrained teachers, according to the World Bank.[123]

In 2003, headteachers reported that teachers were not taking up posts in the provinces due to the war.[124]

In some districts such as Kailahun, in the east, up to 70 per cent of teachers had not returned to their jobs by 2004.[125]

Attacks on teacher training institutions also affected the quality of future teaching personnel. An internationally acclaimed teacher training college, Njala University College, an innovative centre for training rural teachers, was attacked numerous times; its records were destroyed and teachers and students were dissuaded from attending.[126]

Teacher attrition and displacement may have been a major factor behind high pupil:teacher ratios, affecting the quality of teaching provision. In 2004 the number of students enrolling in schools far exceeded the spaces available.[127] In 2004/5, there was an average pupil:teacher ratio of 66:1 at primary level, with a ratio of 78:1 in the Northern Region. Very large class sizes, overcrowded classrooms with more than 60 students per class were still common, with children having to sit on the floor for lack of proper furniture.[128] By 2007, many junior secondary schools in the Western Area also had more than 60 pupils per class and many senior secondary schools had more than 45 per class.[129]

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[122] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p15, 68, 69

[123] Sierra Leone: *Rehabilitation of Basic Education*, Report no PID10709, Ministry of Education youth and Sports, Sierra Leone, October 2001

[124] World Bank, Project Appraisal (2003), p8

[125] National Recovery Strategy for Sierra Leone, p. 36, cited in *Witness to Truth*, op cit,Volume Two, Chapter Three, page 135; also World Bank, Project Appraisal Document on a Proposed Grant in the amount of US$20 Million Equivalent to the Republic of Sierra Leone for a Rehabilitation of Basic Education, 2003, p

[126] Paulson, op cit, p42

[127] World Bank Rehabilitation of Basic Education Project, p.7

[128] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p6

[129] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p68

However, other possible causes of high PTRs include the high numbers of children returning to school, because attacks on schools and general insecurity prevented them attending during the conflict; and, significantly, the government's declaration of free primary education in the closing stages of the conflict.[130] Together these factors helped lead to a doubling of enrolment between 2001/2 and 2004/5. There was a 66 per cent in increase enrolment in first grade in one year.[131]

Policy responses

The government drew up a revised Quick Action Program in January 1998, following the reinstatement of constitutional government, with the aim of restoring and renewing the education system via rehabilitation and reconstruction of infrastructure, providing teaching and learning materials in conflict-affected areas and paying teachers' salaries on time. After the conflict ended, the government's priority was to resume and rapidly increase access to basic services, including education, especially for those who had been under-served via its Rehabilitation of Basic Education Project for 2002 to 2007. The government recognised that development of all levels of education was "critically important" to the development of human resources to contribute to the country's overall economic growth and reduce poverty. It also implicitly recognised the need to address one of the key grievances of the former rebels, the lack of equal access to educational provision, which may have been a significant motive for the destruction of schools.[132]

A peace agreement and successful implementation of a Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programme contributed to the return of conditions in which basic services could be resumed. The government has collaborated with international donors and NGOs to support school rehabilitation and reconstruction, provision of furniture, teacher-learning and sports-recreation materials, teacher training, school feeding, reorientation and accelerated learning programmes for over-age children; a non-formal programme for children lacking access to formal schools, and emergency education programmes.[133]

In addition, the government aimed to address the equity issue by abolishing the payment of primary school fees, providing scholarships for girls in class one at junior secondary schools in the north and east, and providing an operating budget to schools to compensate for the loss of income from fees; build primary schools and some junior schools in areas where students

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[130] In 2000/1 it abolished fees for grades 1-3 and the following year it abolished them for all primary grades. See World Bank, Project Appraisal, p120

[131] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, pp38, 189 and World Bank, Project Appraisal, op cit, p120

[132] Alfa T Wurie, Minister of Education, Science and Technology, Sierra Leone: Rehabilitation of Basic, Education, Policy letter, 9 July 2002, Additional annex 12, World Bank Project Appraisal op cit, p119

[133] Alfa T Wurie, op cit, p119-120

were previously underserved, particularly girls, and students in Northern and Eastern regions; and supplying adequate teachers and learning materials. Also, non-formal and emergency education programmes were to be expanded for 10 to 14-year-olds who have missed years of primary schooling, until they could be absorbed into the formal system. Up to 10,000 teachers were to be trained in pedagogical skills and peace building, every school roofed, every child given a desk and chair. Class sizes would be kept at a maximum of 40 in primary schools and 30 in junior secondaries. The ministry expected to rehabilitate or reconstruct 500 primaries and 100 junior secondaries. It would also set up 800 school management committees. Attention would be paid to capacity building and to establishing indicators to measure progress by schools and an Education Management Information System to monitor progress made in the delivery of services and by the conduct of an annual schools survey to aid planning. [134]

The project required $42.5million, in grants and loans from the IDA and the African Development Bank.

Sierra Leone has devoted 16 to 17 per cent of government spending on education, more than on any other sector, in 2000-2004, which amounted to 4.2-4.9 per cent of GDP. Primary enrolment rates surged to become the highest among low-income countries in Africa. The number of primary school graduates increased by 250 per cent between 2001 and 2005, from 21,700 to 55,800. [135]

However, the World Bank warned in 2007 that while the education system had achieved an extraordinary level of recovery in the four years after the conflict, particularly its doubling of enrolment, and strong levels of funding, there remained formidable challenges, many of which are long-term consequences of the war, including the destruction of schools. The rehabilitation and reconstruction of schools was far from complete and needed diligent oversight. Much more work needed to be done to address disparities in education provision and increase access for girls, rural children and children outside the Western Area, and those in poorer households.[136]

Tackling stigmatism resulting from attacks: Sensitisation seminars were conducted to reduce stigmatisation of the thousands of amputee and wounded children, many of whom became street beggars because they were ashamed to go to school. The seminars were aimed at community leaders, teachers, social workers and health workers.

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[134] Alfa T Wurie, op cit, p120-121

[135] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, p3-4, 98

[136] World Bank, *Education in Sierra Leone: Present Challenges, Future Opportunities*, Africa Human Development Series, 2007, pp 6, 9

For many children the scars of war were physical as well as psychological. It was a common practice among armed groups to carve the initials of the group such as RUF or AFRC into the bodies of the children abducted to become child soldiers. The aim was to prevent them escaping because they would face retribution if found by enemies of the group. But it also meant they were branded for life on their foreheads, chests arms or backs. After the conflict many were regarded as dangerous members of the faction whose name they bore, making it hard for them to be accepted in their village or school. UNICEF responded by setting up an initiative with International Medical Corps and USAID to use plastic surgery to remove the scars, complemented by counselling. Eighty-two girls and boys had their scars removed or transformed surgically.[137]

Sexual violence: The Christian Children's Fund Sierra Leone, in collaboration with the Sierra Leone Association of University Women, launched a community-based initiative to train health care workers, teachers and community representatives in therapeutic skills to deal with victims of sexual violence. More than 600 people were trained, but funding problems forced an early closure of the programme. [138]

Lost years of education: Non-formal education initiatives to assist children affected by conflict included a package of programmes to provide incentives to schools to take on ex-combatant children who missed out on formal education and help their reintegration, as well as to help displaced children and those who had lost years of schooling because their school closed down due to attack or insecurity.[139] For instance, there was a compressed programme to provide six years of education to children aged 10 to 14 over three years, called CREPS (the Complementary Rapid Education Program for Primary School). Set up by the education ministry, with support from UNICEF and the Norwegian Refugee Council, its curriculum topics included psychosocial and health issues such as trauma healing, peace education, human rights, gender issues and HIV/AIDS. However, less than 7,000 out of a targeted 25,000 children were catered for. [140] By March 2004 enrolment had risen to 26,000, but this was still little more than one in twenty of those children eligible for such support. Expansion was limited by the government's inability to pay teachers.[141]

In another programme, more than 2,600 demobilised teenagers aged 15 or over were offered nine-months of skills training, supported by a paid allowance and a start-up kit, in

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[137] *Witness to Truth*, Vol Three B, Chapter Four, p333
[138] *Witness to Truth*, Volume Three B, Chapter Three, page 209
[139] *Witness to Truth*, Volume Three B, Chapter Four, p333
[140] *Witness to Truth*, Volume Two, Chapter Four, pp 260-1
[141] Guidebook for planning education in emergencies and reconstruction, 2006, IIEP, p221

programmes such as carpentry, masonry, auto mechanic work, blacksmithing, soap making, and weaving.[142]

(ii) Thailand[143]

The conflict

Violence erupted in the three southernmost provinces of Yala, Pattani, and Narathiwat and in parts of neighbouring Songkhla, in 2004 and has continued ever since, though the levels of violence have reduced since the peak of 2007. It is the latest phase in a long-running intermittent ethnic struggle in which armed groups are seeking autonomy in an area that more than a century ago was an autonomous Muslim sultanate. Schools were historically used as vehicles of assimilation by the Thai government, which in the 1940s banned Islamic schools, Muslim dress, Muslim names, the local language and local versions of history. State schools still teach through the medium of Thai in an area where the first language is Yawi; until recently they taught Buddhism instead of the local religion, Islam, and Thai versions of history. In the past five years, the burning down of schools and killings of teachers, education personnel and troops escorting teachers have been a frequent occurrence during the insurgency.

The immediate impact

The attacks brought immediate closures of damaged schools but also temporary closure of dozens of schools situated nearby to targeted schools. Following one spate of attacks in June 2007 all schools in the three southernmost provinces were closed indefinitely[144]. Between 4 January 2004 and 7 July 2008 the Southern Border Provinces Educational Board recorded 296 arson attacks on schools, and reported that 99 teachers and other education staff were killed, 97 injured; and 29 students were killed and 114 injured. Most teacher deaths were individual assassinations at on their way to or from work, prompting fears among other teachers that they would be also be picked off. [145]

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[142] Executive Secretariat of National Committee for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR); Presentation at the State of the Nation Symposium; October 2003, cited in Witness to Truth, Vol Three B, Chapter Four 338

[143] The gathering of information for this case study would not have been possible without the assistance of Fuadi Pitsuwan, Vimonmas Vachatimanont, and Pudtachad Sheena Sucharitakul, who helped put the author in contact with sources in Thailand and kindly assisted with carrying out or arranging translations.

[144] AFP, 'Thailand: bomb injures 14 in Thai Muslim south', 18 June 2007

[145] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

Longer-term impact

Teacher numbers and quality

Analysis by the Office of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education concluded that the threats to life and property of teachers was causing fear among education personnel and discouraging them from working. With the press reporting more than 130 teachers and education staff killed to date, many of them ambushed on their way to or from school, and some shot in front of their class, teachers across the region have become fearful, and are constantly worried about being attacked in class or on their way home from school.[146] In the most dangerous areas teacher attendance has become irregular.[147]

According to the Office of Education Council, the violence has forced many teachers, particularly Buddhist teachers, to give up their job or move out of the region. At the same time experienced and newly qualified teachers from other regions are afraid to apply for jobs in the south. [148]

Before the attacks began, teaching was a popular profession. Aspiring teachers from the central, north or north-eastern provinces applied to take the test for the Southern Provinces. Now the number of applicants has significantly decreased, with most applicants coming only from the southern provinces, according to Prasit Nukung, director of Educational Service Area 1, one of two education authorities in Narathiwat province.[149]

In January 2008, Human Rights Watch reported that 1,600 teachers in southern Thailand, where schools and teachers are targeted for attack, had requested transfers from the region due to security concerns.[150]

Other research suggested that the majority of teachers in the three southernmost provinces of Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat had applied to move to other areas.[151]

The flight of staff from the region or from the profession has left schools with shortages of qualified teachers, especially in four key subjects: Thai, English, mathematics and science. Prasit reports that the impact of attacks on teachers and schools has also been to reduce the

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[146] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, produced by the Office of the Education Council, under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, 2008, pp171-193

[147] Prasit Nukung, director, Narathiwat Educational Service Area 1, interviewed by author via email, July 2010

[148] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[149] Prasit op cit

[150] Human Rights Watch, Thailand, Country summary, January 2008, p3

[151] Nattavud Pimpa, Terrorism and Work Motivation: Teachers in Southern Thailand, 2008 AARE Conference: Changing Climates: Education for Sustainable Futures, 30 Nov- 4 Dec, 2008, Queensland University of Technology, Brisbane

quality of teaching "immensely", especially in the most dangerous areas. Due to the decreased competition for teaching posts, the quality of applicants has fallen and schools have also had to rely more heavily on new teachers with less experience.[152]

An additional disincentive for teachers in the south is the financial cost of coping with the persistent threat of attack. Many rural teachers have moved into the relative safety of towns, for instance, pushing up the cost of transport to school. Some have sent their children to other more stable provinces to study, adding to their expenses.

In class, teaching is affected by fear and despondency. Due to a number of incidents in which teachers have been assassinated while actually taking classes, staff have to be constantly wary while at work, which takes their concentration away from their teaching, Prasit reports.[153] In the longer term, the effects on teacher concentration and morale and the restrictions on the amount of time they can devote to teaching due to security considerations such as having to return home at a set time with a security detail, affects their ability to work and to develop the curriculum. This in turn has a detrimental impact on student attainment and development. [154]

Enrolment and attendance

The situation has had a significant impact on enrolment at primary and secondary schools and universities. Some parents have moved their children out of the area. Parents who can afford it or have relatives in other provinces have sent their children to safer areas.[155] Some 300 small schools, with less than 120 students each, are particularly affected by decreasing attendance. [156]

Tertiary education has been hit in several ways. Enrolment in higher education is poor, because students from other provinces do not want to risk their lives to attend university in the south. With less competition for places, the quality of those students who do register has fallen, leading to a lower quality of learning. Top professors have moved away to work in other provinces, causing students to further doubt the quality of the institution, which further affects enrolment and attendance.[157] This could have a knock-on effect on the quality of aspiring teachers, particularly given the increasing reliance purely on local recruits to the profession.

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[152] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193; and Prasit op cit
[153] Prasit op cit
[154] Prasit op cit
[155] Prasit op cit
[156] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193
[157] Prasit op cit

Attainment

For children, the security situation restricts the scope of their learning opportunities. It means they may have to cope without qualified teachers as mentors. They are unhappy and confused and less willing to learn. [158]

According to Prasit, since January 2004, when the recent phase of violence erupted, there has been a significant fall in academic achievement in the southern provinces.

Students' results in the O-Net (ordinary national education tests which contribute to tertiary entrance) and NT (National Test) are lower than the country's average on almost every subject and, if the results were to be ranked, students in the southern provinces would come bottom.

"If teachers continue to be harmed or killed, if schools are burned, academic achievement will be even lower," Prasit says. "Good-quality dedicated teachers will not dare to teach in schools that are at risk, contractors will not dare to fix or build new schools to replace those that are burned. These factors will have a huge impact on the quality of education."[159]

The National Institute of Educational Testing Service found that the academic achievement is low in every subject except English language. National Test results show that the academic achievement of students in Yala, Pattani, and Narathiwat in Thai language, mathematics, science and social studies is ranked last in the country and much lower than average score of other provinces and of the country. According to the Office of the Education Council, this is due to a range of causes such as the scarcity of teachers, lack of investment in education media and technology; and reduced time for educational management compared to other regions; as well as factors not related to attacks on education, such as poverty.[160]

School management

The unrest has also undermined the management of education by weakening the co-operation of local communities with schools. [161]

The educational quality of around 200 small schools cannot be assured, because the Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment could not approach the schools to certify them.[162]

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[158] Prasit op cit

[159] Prasit op cit

[160] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[161] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[162] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

The attacks on teachers have increased the financial burden on the system caused by the requirement for extra security measures for them and their families.

Impact on stability, fragility and development

The impact on stability and fragility includes a loss of confidence among ordinary people in their ability to carry on with daily lives and routines, such as taking the children to school. [163] The attacks not only cost the lives of teachers and students and loss of government property and assets but also affected the government's ability to manage and provide education in the region, and protect it. Students in the southern region had significantly less time to study than students in other regions, for instance. Although the curriculum is designed to be taught over 200 days, frequent closures over concern for teachers' safety meant that students in the region attended school for only 130-150 days. In addition, on those days when schools were open students' study time was cut virtually in half due to teachers having to arrive at school at 9.30am and leave at 2.30pm to be escorted by the security unit. [164]

As a result, students are deprived of equal opportunity to study compared with students in other regions, and achievement has fallen. In other words the government has been unable to deliver full access to education services in the region due to the violence.

Similarly, the government is unable to ensure timely repair of schools from attack or the timely building of new schools to replace those burned down. Although it has set aside the budget for such work, no one is prepared to enter certain areas, particularly red zones, to carry out the repairs, not even army officers (Red zone areas are areas of high numbers of security incidents[165]), according to the OEC.

The violence has made it difficult to supervise, assess and assist the schools throughout the region. Though the Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment carries out external assessments of schools, many schools cannot be visited to carry out such inspections. This has had a "severe affect on stability and efficiency of education management", the OEC reports.

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[163] Prasit op cit

[164] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[165] In 2005, the then prime minister, Thaksin Shinawatra, introduced a zonal system in southern Thailand by which villages were assigned colours (red, yellow or green) according to the level of insecurity in Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat. (See Carlo Bonura, Indeterminate geographies of political violence in southern Thailand, a presentation for the Department of Political Science, Thammasat University, June 11, 2007) It can be argued however, that some of the problems are also caused by the government's responses to the violence, rather the violence itself, since the zonal policy drawn up by then prime minister Thaksin in 2005 included a stipulation that those areas designated "red zones" were to lose government funding related to community development. This form of indiscriminate punishment on the community for the actions of individuals may have increased the risk to any contractors going into the area to repair government schools.

The OEC concluded that education management in the southern border provinces is facing many obstructions to education development in the region that prevent it achieving the same quality of provision as in other regions of the country. These include the lack of safety for teachers and education personnel and their property; shortages of good quality personnel; the loss of will and courage to work; deteriorating learning conditions caused by the unrest; low-quality of educational provision; and the increasing separation of Thai-Buddhist and Malay-Muslim students which has undermined the peace-building role that education can have in providing opportunities for children from different traditions to learn about and understand each other.[166]

Policy measures

Asof June 2010 there was little available evidence that the Thai government had addressed the longer-term effects of attacks on schools, teachers and students. Repeated requests for information on such responses from the Educational Service Area 1, Narathiwat, and from the Office of Strategy Management and Educational Integration No.12 (the government's regional body responsible for education in the southern provinces) and from the State School Teachers' Association in the Three Provinces, elicited no information on this issue.

The main response to attacks on teachers and schools appear to have been protection measures.

However, the information received on the longer-term impact of attacks (ie declining teacher quality, teacher shortages, declining pupil attainment and inability to manage repairs and reconstruction) strongly suggests that in a long-running conflict in which attacks on education persist over a number of years, it may not be possible to address them without also finding a way to prevent attacks from continuing. In these situations prevention becomes a prerequisite for effective responses to the impact of attacks.

Financial incentives might make it easier for some teachers to stay in the south, but as long as staff fear being attacked at work or on their way to school, there is little prospect of addressing the problems of teachers dropping out of the profession, leaving the area or refusing to apply for jobs in the region.

The government's response so far, according to the available information as of June 2010, has been to increase security measures rather than address the motives behind the attacks[167]. Teachers have been given weapons training, training in how to deal with hostage takers, and permission to carry guns. Armed military escorts have been provided to guard them on their

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[166] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193

[167] New research by the author after this paper was written suggests there has been a recent change of policy on the teaching of Islam and some recognition of the need to address perceived motives of attack.

way to and from work. Police patrols around schools have been increased and thousands of policemen have been posted at schools. In many cases armed soldiers and paramilitary units have been posted on school grounds.

This has produced mixed results. On the one hand, the number of teachers, education staff and their security escorts killed continued at a steady rate at least until mid 2009. On the other hand the number of schools attacked has fluctuated wildly – increasing dramatically in 2007 and falling even more dramatically in 2008 and continuing at a low rate in 2009 [168] The fall in school arson attacks has been attributed to various measures ranging from the stationing of a permanent military presence in many schools, to a dramatic increase in the size and number of teacher protection patrols provided by security forces, and to a backlash from local Muslim parents who want their children to attend school. There has also been an unverified suggestion that many schools burned down were old wooden buildings and the ones left are concrete structures, which are harder to burn so less likely to be attacked.[169]

The OEC concludes, however, that, while it is clear that the problems in the region cannot be solved simply by implementing security measures, the development of education quality will be a significant driver of a sustainable solution. [170] Addressing the impact of attacks on education and the motives for such attacks is therefore imperative.

Annex

(i) Recent reported attacks on education

One of the most significant new developments in 2009-2010 was the outbreak of attacks on schools in Yemen. Two hundred and twenty schools were completely destroyed, partially destroyed or looted in the Saada governate during the five-month conflict that ended with the signing of a ceasefire agreement on 11 February 2010, according to Saada's education office. A report by Seyaj organization for Child Protection said 17 schools were destroyed in fighting and 16 had been taken over by parties to the conflict[171]. Yemen was not among the

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[168] Brendan O'Malley, *Education under Attack 2010*, p111

[169] See, Zachary Abuza, Update on Southern Thailand, Southeast Asia Analysis, 9 July 2010; and Center for Intelligence News Study, Counter-terrorism: Deep South Thai Terrorism "the conflict gets little attention in this Bangkok-centric nation, obsessed with the elite's political machinations", 8 July 2010,

[170] *Education Management Status in the Southern Border Provinces of Thailand*, op cit, pp171-193. According to the Southern Border Provinces Educational Information Centre, the number of arson attacks in the three provinces was 51 (2004), 32 (2005), 43 (2006), 164 (2007), and 6 (2008). Ministry of Education by contrast reported that 14 schools were burned down in Narathiwat and Pattani in 2008. A Centre of Intelligence News Study report said 12 schools were burned down in January 2009 – May 2010

[171] IRIN, 'Yemen: Children hit hardest by northern conflict', 23 February 2010

31 countries listed by UNESCO's *Education under Attack 2010* study as having suffered attacks on education during the period January 2007 to July 2009.

Most students could not enrol in school in their areas of displacement during the fighting in Yemen, because they could not get their files and documents from their school in their home district. All 725 schools in Saada were closed during the five months of fighting between government forces and Shia Houthis rebels. In total 383,3322 children – 97 per cent of school-age children in Saada – were unable to go to school over the five months, including 121,000 who had been due to enrol in October.[172]

Nearly 700 children had been used as child soldiers in the fighting, according to the Seyaj organisation for Child Protection.

Hundreds of schools opened five months later than normal, in February. Since then, between March and May 2010, an estimated 30,000 pupils were prevented from attending the first two months of the school year, due to Houthis rebels occupying dozens of schools in al-Safraa, Majaz, Kitaf, Baqim, Razih and Sihar districts of Saada Governate. The rebels occupied the schools after the government refused to release a thousand Houthi men from jail. Armed with machine guns and using armoured vehicles, they looted the schools and targeted pupils in grades 8-12 for recruitment.[173]

Schools were also targeted in a new area of conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo in late 2009. UN agencies reported that in Dongo, Equateur Province, western DRC, where there was inter-ethnic fighting from October to December 2009, schools were closed from November 2009 onwards and remained closed in February 2010, preventing up to 200,000 children from attending school. A dozen schools were destroyed or burned down. Teaching materials and desks were also stolen. In addition, children were recruited by insurgents.[174]

Some of the most heavily reported targeting of schools occurred in Pakistan, particularly in the North-West Frontier Province and neighbouring tribal region (FATA). Between 1 January and 12 July 2010 at least 68 schools and three other educational institutions (a university, a degree college and a technical institute) were reported to have been attacked. In most cases buildings were blown up, and in some cases students were killed or injured.

On 5 January a boys' school in Bajaur Agency was blown up.[175] On 6 January a primary school was subjected to rocket attack in Bajaur Agency and a boys' school in Mohmand

[172] IRIN, 'Yemen: Saada schools reopen', 28 February 2010
[173] IRIN, 'Yemen: Rebels occupy schools', 10 May 2010
[174] IRIN, 'DRC: Parents keep children at home amid security fears in Dongo', 10 February 2010
[175] IISS Conflict Database

Agency was threatened.[176] On 18 January a boys' primary school in Ashraf Kalay, Khyber Agency, was blown up.[177] On 31 January militants blew up a girls' primary school in Bannu, in North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), almost completely destroying it.[178]

On 3 February three US soldiers and three school girls were killed in a bomb attack when an explosion was remotely detonated near a school in Lower Dir, next to Swat District in North West Frontier Province. Up to 95 girl students were injured when they were caught up in the blast as they streamed out of class for morning break at Koto girls' high school. The soldiers were passing the school on their way visit a girls' primary school. The Taliban claimed responsibility. [179]

This attack raised eyebrows not just because of the scale of injury, but because officially there is no US troop presence in Pakistan. Yet reporting of the incident revealed that US soldiers were engaged in small-scale development projects supporting education. A former US official told *The Guardian* that the Defense Department had been quietly funding development projects such as building schools in NWFP for three years. The newspaper alleged that counter-narcotics programmes operating on the Afghan border were funding the construction of schools. The attack demonstrated that despite the army claiming to have cleared the area of militants, they were still able to strike at groups trying to rebuild local schools.[180]

Meanwhile, in the first half of February 2010 suspected militants also blew up 16 schools in the tribal regions of Mohmand, Bajaur, Khyber and Dara Admkhel, also in the north-west. On 13 February, for instance, militants blew up a boys' high school in Qamardin village in Mohmand tribal district in the north-west, using five explosives and almost completely destroying it.[181] There are other reports of one school being blown up on 16 February,[182] two on 21 February[183] and a primary school on 25 February, all in Mohmand.[184]

[176] IISS Conflict Database

[177] IRIN, 'Pakistan: Militants still targeting schools in northwest', 20 January 2010

[178] AFP, Bomb kills two soldiers in NW Pakistan: paramilitary, 31 January 2010

[179] Jane Perlez, '3 US soldiers die in attack by Pakistan militants', *New York Times*, 4 February 2010; Declan Walsh, 'US soldiers and schoolgirls among seven killed by Taliban bomb attack in north-west Pakistan', *The Guardian*, 4 February 2010; IISS Conflict Database

[180] Jane Perlez, '3 US soldiers die in attack by Pakistan militants', *New York Times*, 4 February 2010; Declan Walsh, 'US soldiers and schoolgirls among seven killed by Taliban bomb attack in north-west Pakistan', *The Guardian*, 4 February 2010; IISS Conflict Database

[181] AFP, 'Taliban blow up boys school in NW Pakistan: official'; Dawn.com, 'Taliban blow up boys' school in Mohmand', 13 February 2010

[182] IISS Armed Conflict Database

[183] AFP, 'Militants blow up two boys' schools in Pakistan: officials', 21 February 2010

[184] IISS Armed Conflict Database

Also that month, on 6 February, Taliban militants below up a girls' primary school in Huwaid, near Bannu in North West Frontier Province (NWFP). Multiple explosives were used to destroy five out of seven of the rooms in the school.[185]

Although the Pakistani army declared the Bajaur region clear of militants in early March 2010, schools continued to be blown up. Up to 25 March, it was reported that at least 74 schools had been destroyed in Bajaur since the conflict, began in 2008. Technically, schools had re-opened, but there were no teachers to take classes, according to IRIN. Many children had not attended school regularly since August 2008 as a result of attacks and insecurity, and six schools were blown up in Bajaur in March.[186]

On 2 March 2010, suspected Taliban militants destroyed all four rooms of a boys' primary school in Spin Qabar area, Khyber, north-west Pakistan; and in south-western Pakistan one student was killed and 13 injured when attackers hurled grenades into a cultural show at an engineering university in Khuzdar district, Baluchistan.[187] On 3 March a boys' school in Khyber Agency was blown up.[188] On 8 March, militants bombed three girls' schools – one primary, one middle and one high school - on the outskirts of the Peshawar, NWFP.[189] On 17 March, a girls' school in Bajaur was blown up.[190] On 19 March, two primary schools in Bajaur were blown up.[191] On 21 March, a boys' school in Bajaur Agency was blown up.[192] On 22 March a girls' school in Nowshera district, NWFP was attacked using explosives.[193] On 25 March Pakistani jets killed around 50 people in strikes on a school and an Islamic seminary in north-west Pakistan.[194] On the same day two girls' schools in Bajaur Agency were blown up by suspected militants.[195] On 29 March two schools in Lower Dir, NWFP, were torched.[196]

On 2 April 2010 it was reported that militants had attacked four schools and colleges in Orakzai Agency and Mohmand Agency; they torched a degree college and a technical

[185] AFP, 'Pakistan attackers hit school, concert: district officials', 3 March 2010; AFP, 'Taliban blow up girls' school in NW Pakistan: minister', 6 February 2010; Dawn.com, 'Militants blow up 16 schools in Pakistan in February', 16 February 2010

[186] Abdul Majeed Goraya, 'Pakistan: Return to broken homes, empty schools in northwest', IRIN, 25 March 2010

[187] AFP, 'Pakistan attackers hit school, concert: district officials', 3 March 2010

[188] IISS Armed Conflict Database

[189] AFP, 'Militants bomb three girls' schools in Pakistan', 8 April 2009

[190] IISS Armed Conflict Database

[191] IISS Armed Conflict Database

[192] IISS Armed Conflict Database

[193] IISS Armed Conflict Database

[194] Reuters, 'Pakistan troops kill 24 militants after attack', 26 March 2010

[195] IISS Armed Conflict Database

[196] IISS Armed Conflict Database

institute in Jalakaka, and blew up both a Girls' Model School in Bezot and a boys' government high school in Tehsil Kakro.[197] On 4 April. a girls' school in Mohmand Agency was blown up.[198] On 7 April three schools were attacked by suspected militants in Peshawar and badly damaged.[199] On 15 April militants blew up three schools in three locations in the Tehsil Anbar area of Mohmand Agency, destroying the buildings completely: including a girls and a boys primary school and a government high school.[200] On 19 April, a seven-year-old schoolboy was killed when a bomb exploded by the entrance of a school for police officers' children in Peshawar. Five students were injured.[201] On the same day mortar rounds were fired at a school in Kyber Agency.[202] On 23 April, a school was blown up in Orakzai Agency.[203] On 29 April 2010, three girls' schools were blown up in the Mamozai area of upper Orakzai Agency.[204] On 2 May 2010, two boys' schools were blown up in Bajaur.[205] On 21 May, a girls' school was attacked in Peshawar.[206] On 30 May, a school in Khyber Agency was blown up.[207] On 1 June, a girls' school was blown up in Mohmand Agency.[208] On 13 June, militants reportedly blew up four schools in Orakzai: the Government Girls Primary School in Kashah, a high school for boys and a girls primary in Sra Mela, and a girls' primary in the Ghiljo area.[209] On 22 June, a school was blown up in Bajaur Agency.[210] On 27 June; another school in Bajaur Agency was attacked with explosives.[211] On 6 July, one primary school in Peshawar and two further primary schools in Bajaur Agency were blown up.[212] On 12 July, militants blew up another primary school in Bajaur Agency, FATA.[213]

Another country with heavy rates of continuing attacks on schools, according to reports, was Afghanistan.

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[197] *EMOIZ.com*, '6 militants killed, 4 schools blown up in tribal areas', 2 April 2010
[198] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[199] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[200] *The Nation*, '8 Militants killed in Orakzai, 3 schools destroyed in Mohmand agency', 15 April 2010
[201] DPA, 'Seven-year-old killed in Pakistan school bombing', 19 April 2010
[202] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[203] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[204] *Dawn.com*, 'Three schools blown up in Orakzai Agency', 29 April 2010; IISS Armed Conflict Database
[205] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[206] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[207] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[208] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[209] *Pak Tribune*, 'Four schools, six houses blown up in Orakzai', 13 June 2010
[210] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[211] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[212] IISS Armed Conflict Database
[213] IISS Armed Conflict Database

In June 2010, UNICEF estimated that 50-80 per cent of schools in southern Afghanistan had closed in the preceding two years. Officials in Kandahar province said increasingly parents were setting up clandestine home classes for girls. This was reportedly due to the threat of being killed or kidnapped if they went to school. The head of women's affairs in Kandahar province, Rana Tarin, said many parents were now too scared to send their daughters to school.[214]

Incidents in the first half of 2010 include a bomb attack on Rohi High school, Mandoza district in the eastern province of Khost on 11 May 2010, in which six pupils and four teachers were injured. The bomb was hidden inside the school building and was triggered as students were entering the school.[215]

On the same day 30 schoolgirls fell ill in an attempted poison attack at Khadijatul Kubra High School in Kunduz, Kunduz province, in the north. The incident occurred days after similar attacks in Kabul and Kunduz city caused dozens of pupils to fall ill. The attackers appear to have used poisoned gas.[216] In late April, 2010, more than 80 school girls fell ill in three incidents of suspected gas poisoning in the space of a week in Kunduz Province. On 24 April, 47 girls and three teachers from Khadeja-tul-Kubra high school were admitted to Central Hospital, Kunduz, after feeling dizzy and nauseous. The following day 13 girls fell ill at another school in the city, complaining of headaches, vomiting and shivering. The previous week around 20 girls were admitted to the hospital with similar symptoms. Pupils complained of smelling a strange odour when they turned up to class. The Taliban, who are suspected of being behind the attacks, denied any involvement.[217]

On 21 June 2010 a bomb was exploded in front of a high school 3km from Lashkar Gah, Helmand province.[218]

At least 60 schools were torched or destroyed in 2009, according to the Ministry of Education.[219]

Other countries where attacks on schools were reported in the media, included Kyrgystan, India, Iraq, Indonesia, and Palestinian Autonomous Territories. On 21 April 2010, five pupils

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[214] Matthew Green and Kate Holt, 'Secret girls schools emerge in Afghanistan', *Financial Times*, 25 June 2010
[215] DPA, 'Ten wounded, 30 fall ill in attacks on Afghan schools', May 11, 2010
[216] DPA, 'Ten wounded, 30 fall ill in attacks on Afghan schools', May 11, 2010
[217] DPA, 'Over 80 Afghan school girls fall ill in suspected gas poisoning', 25 April 2010; Rahim Faiez, 'Mystery of Afghan girls' sickness', *The Guardian*, 26 April 2010
[218] Deb Riechmann, Mirwais Khan, 'Two blasts rock Afghanistan', AP, 21 June 2010
[219] IRIN, 'Afghanistan: dozens of schools reopen in Helmand', 4 February 2010

and one teacher were killed in the Iraqi city of Baquba, Diyala Province, when a bomb was set off by a primary school.[220]

The Indian government announced on 28 April that Maoists had blown up 109 schools in three years. This included 25 in 2008, 71 in 2009 and 13 in 2010 as of 13 April. A media report in February 2010, by contrast, said that 440 school buildings had been blown up in Bastar region since 2005.[221] Within days of the government announcement, another school was blown up by Maoists rebels in Koraput district, Orissa, on 2 May. A group of 50 Maoist rebels surrounded Dhepaguda Girls' high School, cleared the area of people and detonated explosives.[222]

In Jakarta, Indonesia, where there has been a rise in religious violence, youths dressed in black attacked a Catholic-run school in May in response to an anonymous blogger's allegedly blasphemous website.[223]

In Gaza, on 23 May 2010, 40 armed militants stormed and burned down a summer camp for children run by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). They attacked guards and left them with a letter with four bullets attached addressed to UNWA head of operations John Ging. Hamas had accused UNRWA of "culturally invading the minds of Palestinian children" to "tear and scatter their beliefs through forgiveness, co-existence and forgetting the past".[224]

During ethnic violence in Kyrgyzstan in June 2010, the Lev Tolstoy High School in Osh, Kyrgyzstan, where Uzbek school children had been gathered for their protection on the last day of term, was attacked by a mob armed with automatic weapons and petrol bombs, and destroyed. The children fled under sniper fire.[225]

In some countries, the direct targeting of individual students and teachers for kidnapping or assassination was reported. In Iraq three teachers were found shot dead in Mosul on 25 December 2009.[226] There was also a spate of killings of Christian undergraduate students in

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[220] DPA, 'Teacher killed, five pupils injured in Iraq violence', 21 April, 2010

[221] Sujeet Kumar, 'Maoist militancy takes heavy toll on school education', IANS, 17 February 2010

[222] ANI, 'Maoists destroyed 109 schools in three years', 28 April 2010; 'Maoists target school building', *www.naxalwatch.blogspot.com*, 2 May 2010

[223] 'Islamists take fight against Christians to Jakarta's suburbs', *South China Morning Post*, 7 July 2010

[224] 'Gunmen burn UN summer camp for children in Gaza', DPA, May 23, 2010

[225] Luke Harding, 'Uzbeks in desperate plea for aid as full horror of ethnic slaughter emerges', *The Observer*, 20 June 2010

[226] AFP, 'Three teachers among six killed in Iraq: police'

the same city, with three killed in separate incidents in February 2010, one of whom was studying to be a teacher.[227]

In Senegal, on 18 December 2009, a teacher was killed in Casamance by suspected members of the rebel Casamance Movement of Democratic Forces.[228]

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, in December 2009, rebels from the Lord's Resistance Army, searched schools and other gathering places to abduct children during a four-day operation in villages in Haut Uele district in north-east DR Congo. They abducted more than 250 people, including 80 or more children. Children aged 10 to 15 were among those tied up with ropes or wire and forced to carry goods that the rebels had seized. They were threatened with death if they walked too slowly or tried to escape, according to Human Rights Watch.[229]

In the Philippines, on 29 January 2010, armed kidnappers seized Najib al-Udaini, a Yemeni aid worker who was helping a World Assembly of Muslim Youth project to build mosques and schools and held him for ten days before releasing him. [230] On 9 July 2010, Mark Francisco, 27, a teacher at San Isidro Elementary School in Planas, Masbate, also in the Philippines, was gunned down by masked men as he rode home with four other teachers. He was a member of a party-list group Alliance of Concerned Teachers.[231] Also on 9 July 2010 in Masbate, Edgar Fernandez, 44, a teacher at Roco Pahis Sr Central School, received death threats by text messages before being killed; and another teacher Dexter Legazpi, 36, also of Palanas, was shot on his way home on 6 July, but survived. Following the killings, classes in 16 schools in Masbate were suspended and teachers were reported to be afraid to go to work. In Bataan, Josephine Estacio, 46, a Grade 1 teacher at Tenejero Elementary School, Balanga City, was shot dead in front of other teachers and students during a flag ceremony on 12 July 2010.[232]

In India, a primary school headteacher was gunned down in front of Indiraboni primary school in West Mindapore district, West Bengal on 23 July 2010. Rabindranath Mahato was killed for preventing pupils from taking part in rallies organised by the People's Committee Against Police Atrocities, a Maoist-supported organisation.[233] On 18 December 2009, rebels

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[227] AFP, 'Fourth Christian killed in as many days in northern Iraq', 17 February 2010

[228] AFP, 'Senegal: Soldier killed in suspected rebel attack', 18.12.2009

[229] Arthur Bright, 'Human Rights Watch says Lord's Resistance Army rampage killed 321 in the Congo', *Christian Science Monitor*, 28 March 2010

[230] AFP, 'Kidnapped Yemeni freed in Philippines', 8 February 2010

[231] Paolo Romero and Ric Sapnu, '2 more activists killed', *The Philippine Star*, 13 July 2010; Janess Ann J. Ellao, 'Two public school teachers killed, another survives attack in Masbate', *Bulatlat.com*, 12 July 2010

[232] Alexis Romero, 'Military on killings: Don't look at us', *The Philippine Star*, 14 July 2010

[233] IANS, 'Maoist activist held for role in teacher's killing', 2, August, 2010

arrived at Shiarboni primary school, Goaltore, West Mindapore, on motorbikes, entered a classroom and shot teacher Udaybhanu Lohar in the back while teaching class III students. One of the students, Marshal Murmu, was shot in the stomach.[234] On 2 December 2009, a teacher in West Bengal was gunned down and beheaded by Maoist rebels for campaigning against their attacks on civilians.[235]

In Thailand, on 30 December 2009, two soldiers were killed in a bomb blast as they patrolled a route used by teachers to ensure their protection.[236] On 8 February 2010, suspected militants shot and killed a teacher as he rode home in Pattani province, and set fire to his body.[237] On 3 March 2010 a father and daughter were killed when gunmen opened fire on the man as he carried his three daughters home from religious school on motorbike in Pattani province.[238] On 3 June, 2010, Boonam Yodnui, 41, a teacher in BanKlong Tha school in Kok Po district, Pattani, was shot dead while driving a motorcycle home from school.[239] On 19 July a 50-year-old Buddhist teacher was shot dead at his home by suspected militants in Pattani, southern Thailand.[240]

On 22 July 2010, Pichal Suasaeng, 55, director of Dusong Payae school, Yaring district, Pattani, reportedly became the 131st teacher or member of education staff to be killed since the recent period of conflict began in 2004, after being shot several times by two assassins with a shotgun and a pistol as he drove his pick-up truck home from school.[241]

At least ten teachers were killed in Colombia in the first four months of 2010, a similar death rate to recent years – 90 teachers were killed in 2006 to 2008, two thirds of them being teacher trade unionist, most of whom were reportedly targeted because they were active in the trade union.[242]

Other reported types of attack included the recruitment and use of child soldiers and the occupation of schools by military and security forces.

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[234] 'Teacher shot at by Maoists in school', *Expressonline*, 18 December 2009

[235] AFP, 'India's Maoists behead schoolteacher: police', 2 December 2009

[236] AFP, 'Two soldiers killed in Thai south bomb blast: police', 30 December 2009

[237] AFP, 'Two killed, two injured in Thai south ambush attacks: police', 9 February 2010.

[238] AFP, 'Father and daughter shot dead, bomb wounds five in Thai south', 3 March 2010

[239] Veera Prateepchaikul, 'The ever present danger of teaching in the deep South,' *Bangkok Post*, 22 July 2010; 'South crisis: Teachers asked to cooperate in South', *The Nation*, June 5, 2010

[240] AFP, 'Three shot dead in restive south', 19 July 2010

[241] Veera Prateepchaikul, T'he ever present danger of teaching in the deep South', *Bangkok Post*, 22 July 2010

[242] Education International, 'Colombia: EI takes action to end the killing of teachers', 14 April 2010; and information supplied by Escuela National Sindical for Brendan O'Malley, *Education under Attack 2010*, UNESCO

In May 2010, the Secretary General's report on Children and Armed Conflict said that the Transitional Federal Government in Somalia and the Alliance for the Liberation of Somalia-Djibouti was reported to have trained around 1,500 child soldiers in 2009.

In Nepal, the Young Communist League occupied schools in Nepal during the general strike in early May 2010, which forced the closure of schools, postponement of grade 12 examinations and the suspension of the school enrolment programme.[243] According to one report Maoist youth wing members and ordinary supporters were camping in hundreds of private schools that they shut down.[244]

In southern Sudan, the Sudan People's Liberation Army was reported in July to have occupied one school for use as a base and used two schools as places to torture suspects.[245]

In West Bengal, India, security forces faced a court order to vacate schools they had occupied for up to five months by the end of 2009.[246]

Schools students and staff continued to be put at risk by battles between security forces and drug-gangs or between rival drugs gangs in Latin America. There were at least nine shootouts in school locations in Mexico between October 2009 and July 2010, including an hour-long gun battle between soldiers and armed members of a drug cartel just 60 feet from a pre-school in Taxco, on June 15 2010. On March 19 2010, two college students were killed as they left classes at Tec de Monterrey University in Monterrey, and there were gunbattles next to schools in the western town of Bellavista on 18 June and in Apodaca in the north, where police evacuated two elementary schools, on 24 June.[247]

In Brazil, an 11-year-old pupil, Wesley Gilbert de Andrade, 11, was shot inside his primary school on 16 July 2010, during a police operation against drug gangs in the surrounding slums. Most of Rio's thousand or so slums are controlled by armed gangs or vigilante groups.[248]

(ii) New protection measures:

There is only anecdotal information about new protection measures or plans for protection measures and no information on their effectiveness. This is an area that requires further research.

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[243] UCPN-M Protest Situation Report, OCHA, 7 May 2010, p3
[244] *BBC*, 'Maoists converge on Nepal capital', 28.4.2010
[245] BBC Monitoring, 'Sudan's SPLA reportedly tortures journalist in southern state', International News Safety Institute, 9 July 2010
[246] Suhit Sen, 'Editorial: The crumbling red fort', 18 December 2009, *www.naxalwatch.blogspot.com*
[247] Chris Hawley, 'Mexico schools teach lessons in survival', *USA Today US Edition*, 8 July 2010
[248] IRIN, 'Brazil: Rio considers bullet-proofing favela schools', 26.7.2010

New measures to strengthen the implementation of international law to protect children from grave violations that may include attacks on education have been announced by the United Nations.

The Secretary General's annual Report on Children and Armed Conflict, published in May 2010, for the first time listed *persistent* violators of the rights of children in armed conflict. In June 2010, the UN Security Council declared itself ready to impose asset freezing, arms embargoes and travel restrictions against individuals who persistently violate international law by recruiting and using child combatants, or killing and maiming or sexually abusing children in war.[249]

Also in the Secretary-General's report, for the first time the killing and maiming of children and the rape and use of sexual violence against children were used as criteria for listing parties to conflict as violators. This has extended the opportunities for and likelihood of parties being listed for attacks on education, including attacks on schools; and abduction of children, recruitment of child soldiers, or sexual violence against children at or on their way to or from school. Being listed should require parties to comply with time-bound action plans to halt violations involving the killing and maiming of children, sexual violence by armed groups and security forces against children, and recruitment and use of children as combatants.

Recent progress on the latter violation has been made by the signing of action plans that end the recruitment and use of child soldiers by the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (Philippines), the Sudan People's Liberation Army and the Unified Communist Party of Nepal – Maoist.[250]

Some new practical protection measures have been reported in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where they are being implemented by partners in the Education Cluster:

- rehabilitating schools to provide multiple exits, which may prevent children being trapped in the classrooms in event of an attack by allowing them alternative escape routes. This is particularly relevant to attacks aimed at abducting children for recruitment, which occur during school hours;

- the setting up of school brigades, comprising either parents or older brothers and sisters, which accompany children to and from school to provide an element of security;

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[249] CRIN, 'UN Security Council: Ready to hold accountable those recruit children for war', press statement by OSRSGCAAC, 16 June 2010

[250] Children and armed conflict, Report of the Secretary-General, 13 April 2010, A/64/742-S/2020/181

- awareness-raising among teachers, parents and children on the risks but also on the mechanisms put in place to protect children;

- early-warning mechanisms within the communities.[251]

On 4 June 2010, security officials in southern Thailand held a meeting with teachers to reassess measures to protect teachers. It followed the shooting of teacher Bunnam Yordnui, the 129th teacher or member of education personnel killed since 2004. Previous measures instituted include the posting of paramilitary soldiers on school campuses, the provision of military escorts for teachers on their way to and from school, and training teachers in the use of guns. In recent years insurgents have heavily targeted teachers on their journey to work, either alone or escorted. The new measures to be taken included posting more soldiers and policemen at security checkpoints and making helicopter patrols more frequent or mandatory on high-risk routes to school. Steps were also to be taken to increase teachers' trust in the security forces by urging them to notify officials if they left school earlier than scheduled.[252]

Although the Afghan government has since October 2009 been encouraging negotiated agreements to re-open schools in areas of persistent closure due to attack, as a means of ensuring protection, a new development is the negotiation of separate agreements by NGOs to ensure schools are not attacked.[253] In Mandozai District, Khost province, south-eastern Afghanistan, local people reached an agreement with insurgents not to attack teachers and students at schools built by the NGO Partnership for Education of Children in Afghanistan (PECA). The NGO said its schools were not attacked because they were supported by the local community, local people were involved in the construction and management of the school and all building materials were sourced locally. The Afghanistan NGO Safety Office said in a report in January that the key to achieving security for NGOs in many parts of the country was neutrality and local acceptance.[254]

In April 2010, Education International, which is a federation of teacher unions representing 30 million teachers worldwide, ran capacity building workshops for regional education unions and human rights activists in Bogata, Colombia. The training included guidance on how to enforce legally binding human rights treaties and International Labour Organisation conventions that can be used to press governments to strengthen the protection of the human and trade union rights of teachers.

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[251] Information supplied by Tracy Sprott, Education Specialist, UNICEF, DR Congo, 21.4.10

[252] 'South crisis: Teachers asked to cooperate in South', *The Nation*, June 5, 2010

[253] In March 2010 the Ministry of Education reported that 240 schools had been re-opened in the previous 18 months, mostly in volatile areas in the south and south-east of Afghanistan. In Helmand province more than 60 schools were re-opened between March 2009 and February 2010, according to the provincial education department.

[254] IRIN, 'Afghanistan: The best way to ensure NGO staff safety?', 15 July 2010

The capacity-building programme included an analysis of the effectiveness of the Colombian government's programme to protect teachers, which includes the creation of a committee composed of representatives of the teacher unions, civil society and local education authorities. They assess each reported case of violence against a teacher and assess whether the teacher requires protection status. Such status provides the threatened teacher and their family with the opportunity to relocate to a safer part of the country, be sent into exile, or receive protection by bodyguards. The programme identified that 96 per cent of murders are either not investigated or not solved. Participants called on the government to guarantee protection of human and trade union rights, and called for the creation of a national human rights network to allow for efficient exchange of information, mobilisation of support, and the development of an index to document the actual figures of violence against teachers. [255]

New measures were considered for protection of schools caught up in armed drugs gang-related violence. In July 2010, all schools in Neuvo Len state, Mexico, were sent guidelines on how teachers should respond if they hear gunshots near the school. According to the Safety School Manual of Nuevo Len Deprartment of Education, on hearing gunshots teachers are advised to:

- immediately order students to lie chest down on the floor,

- prevent anyone leaving the classroom until authorities arrive or the school administrator gives the all clear,

- keep children away from windows,

- ensure children avoid eye contact with the gunmen,

- prevent children from taking videos or pictures of the gunmen,

- help disabled children to follow the procedure. [256]

The key action is to ensure children lie on the floor and cover their heads to protect from flying glass or fragments of concrete blown off the walls by bullets. But it is also essential to warn children not to make themselves targets by trying to take pictures or videos, which is often their first reaction. In the heat of battle gunmen can mistake the shape or reflections from cameras or cell phones for weapons, making them a target. After the Taxco battle in June, the southern state of Guerro held shootout drills in several schools and began training for 52,000 teachers. Several Mexican states already require shootout drills to be undertaken and include them in teacher training courses.

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[255] Education International, 'Colombia: EI takes action to end the killing of teachers', 14 April 2010
[256] Chris Hawley, 'Mexico schools teach lessons in survival', *USA Today* US Edition, 8 July 2010

Also in July 2010, Brazilian authorities in Rio de Janeiro were considering other measures for schools in areas affected by the war against drugs, such as the introduction of reinforced walls and bulletproof windows in school buildings. The new thinking followed the shooting of Wesley Gilbert de Andrade inside his primary school. Edna Feliz, a director of Rio's teacher's union, said schools urgently needed bullet-proofing and called for the immediate suspension of police operations during school hours. [257] In recent years there have been reported cases of both security forces and drugs gangs occupying schools, of school facilities being riddled with bullet holes, and at least one case of a military-style assault being launched by police against a drugs gang from a school building while children were still in class, putting them at grave risk of being caught in the crossfire and leaving many screaming with fear.[258]

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[257] IRIN, 'Brazil: Rio considers bullet-proofing favela schools', 26.7.2010
[258] Denise Sarreira and Suelaine Carneiro, *Violation to the Rights of the Community in the Complexo de Alemao, Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paolo: Office of the National Rapporteur on the Human Right to Education*, 2008