



2011/ED/EFA/MRT/PI/33

Background paper prepared for the
Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2011

The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education

Case studies on the role of politicisation of education in conflict-affected countries

Save the Children UK

2010

This paper was commissioned by the Education for All Global Monitoring Report as background information to assist in drafting the 2011 report. It has not been edited by the team. The views and opinions expressed in this paper are those of the author(s) and should not be attributed to the EFA Global Monitoring Report or to UNESCO. The papers can be cited with the following reference: "Paper commissioned for the EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011, The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education". For further information, please contact efareport@unesco.org.

Background paper
for the Education For All Global Monitoring Report 2011

Case studies on the role of politicisation of education in conflict-
affected countries

Save the Children UK
August 2010



Contents

Ghost Schools in Pakistan	3
Textbook Production in Pakistan	5
The Civic Education curriculum in Sri Lanka.....	7
School Development Committees and Youth Militia in Zimbabwe	7
Additional background resources.....	12
General.....	12
Pakistan.....	13
Sri Lanka	14
Zimbabwe.....	15

Note: *All case studies are based on interviews with individuals in-country, and are supported by references where possible. It should be noted that there is very limited literature on these topics.*

Ghost Schools in Pakistan

Across Pakistan, the prevalent phenomenon of 'ghost schools' – schools that only exist on paper to claim government funding for supposed staff remuneration – not only damages the educational opportunities for thousands of children, but highlights the dire need for increased accountability in the education sector.

Although no official definition for ghost schools exists, Pakistan's first ever National Education Census in 2005 indicated the proliferation of 'non-functional' schools – with close to 13,000 schools (5% of all schools) reported as non-functional. In southern Pakistan's Sindh province, non-functional schools accounted for as much as 12.5% of all schools in the region.¹ Media reports meanwhile suggest that there may be as many as 30,000 ghost schools nationwide² – with rural areas thought to be the most severely affected.

Ghost schools are generally taken to be schools that are registered to receive funds to pay staff, but where there are no teachers or children present – they are deserted buildings or sometimes just empty patches of land. They may also be schools where children are enrolled but few teachers turn up to teach, despite being on the payroll, as they are actually teaching in a different location altogether and profiting from a double salary.

There are various reasons why schools come to be ghost schools. In some incidences the government is given land to construct schools but fails to carry out an initial needs assessment, resulting in schools being built in areas inaccessible to the local community. In rural areas particularly – where insecurity, local criminal activity and lack of roads or reliable, safe public transport make it difficult for both teachers and children to reach certain schools – access is a key factor in whether or not a school actually functions. For female teachers, security difficulties can be exacerbated if local customs require them to travel with a chaperone, for which there are rarely adequate funds. A pattern emerges whereby after several months of attempting to navigate these multiple barriers, or arriving to find very few students, teachers simply stop turning up to teach – but they continue to draw a salary.

Local politics also often play a role in the creation or maintenance of ghost schools. In Karachi, for example, it was reported that when an education Minister visited a school and discovered it was non-operational, the regional education officer was suspended. The education officer explained that the school was a teacherless ghost school because the local political representative had had the teachers 'detailed' – meaning they were obtaining a salary from one school (A), whilst working in another (B). This system of politically backed preferential treatment for certain schools leaves school A non-functional, and school B with additional teachers. The education officer was fully aware of the situation, but unable to act because 'detailment' has the backing of locally powerful politicians. The officer is left to hire community members to teach in the school in order to save face, so that 'teachers' will at least be physically present – but this inevitably is to the detriment of the quality of teaching and of the education that children receive.

A systemic lack of accountability is perhaps the biggest single factor contributing to the creation of ghost schools. Despite an established Education Management Information

¹ Federal Bureau of Statistics, Government of Pakistan (2005) *National Education Census: Major Features*

² S Stuteville (2009) *The ghost schools of Pakistan*, Global Post news article, 1 July 2009
[Hhttp://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/pakistan/090602/the-ghost-schools-pakistan](http://www.globalpost.com/dispatch/pakistan/090602/the-ghost-schools-pakistan)H (accessed 10.08.10)

System (EMIS) in each province, there is a lack of systemised evaluation and checking of the data collected. Information is often gathered through questionnaires that are disseminated by district authorities and completed at the school level, meaning the reports are effectively generated by the teachers themselves. The information is compiled by the districts to form the national EMIS, with no third party evaluation of the information at a national level. Data also emerges from School Management Committees and NGOs at the local level that does not corroborate the information generated by the schools themselves. In Sindh province for example, a series of school visits by a local NGO indicated that approximately 70% of schools were closed due to teacher absenteeism, but there is no system through which such information can be collected or centralised. This fundamental lack of accountability means that there are often no consequences for those who benefit from ghost schools – namely teachers, district education officials (who may take bribes from teachers to ignore their absence) and tribal elders (who may assign allies to teach in schools despite incompetence or absenteeism).

The negative impact on children's education, however, is significant and long lasting, as clearly children whose nearest school is a ghost school are less likely to attend. Families who are nevertheless determined to educate their children have the additional financial burden of transport costs to other schools, or school fees if their only viable option is a local private school. The extra strain on income can in turn lead to more parents being forced to withdraw their children from schooling altogether. Out-of-school children are deprived of their fundamental right to education, and are increasingly vulnerable to multiple forms of exploitation.

The quality of the education children receive also suffers from the existence of ghost schools, as teachers who receive a salary at one school but work at another may offer an unqualified community member half of their original salary to teach in their place at the first school. Such incidents have been reported both in Sindh province in the south and Gilit Baltistan territory in the very north, and anecdotal evidence suggests the issue is countrywide.

The literacy rate in Pakistan is only 54.2,³ but will inevitably drop further still if ghost schools continue to exist. Educationalists also express concern that as skill sets diminish, the employability of people of working age will also decline, with consequences for both the labour market within Pakistan, and for the ability of Pakistanis to find work abroad, particularly in the Middle East.

Concrete, systematic, long-term measures must be implemented to increase accountability at all levels and curb the proliferation of ghost schools. While sporadic actions have been taken by political or bureaucratic leadership, no firm measures have so far been adopted. Accountability systems should include a process for teacher licensing, as well as external monitoring and evaluation of the information generated at school level for the national EMIS. This would also ensure that any information and expertise generated at field level by NGOs can be captured. Until political will enables the implementation of these systems at a national level, all progress made will remain limited to time-bound, area specific projects, and children will continue to be deprived of a quality education.

³ UNESCO Institute for Statistics database (2008) *Pakistan Country Profile*

Textbook Production in Pakistan

The textbook production industry in Pakistan is negatively influenced by political and elite actors both at content and production level. Although much has been written on the politicisation and Islamicisation of the curriculum content, no comprehensive review of the textbook industry itself is available.

The national curriculum in Pakistan is set at the federal level;⁴ textbook content is decided at the provincial government level but is subsequently filtered up and finalised at the federal level, where manuscripts are approved by groups of experts in each subject area. Publishing and printing contracts are managed at the provincial level, with each provincial office preparing textbooks for all districts in its province.

A textbook board in each province historically had tight control of the entire production process, authoring the textbooks and then selecting printers and publishers. This created a system vulnerable to partiality, control and elitism. A new textbook policy however, passed in 2007, requires textbook boards to put out tenders, allowing open competition for publishing and printing contracts. While this has seen success in provinces such as Sindh and Punjab, implementation of the policy has varied dramatically and proves to be an issue in other parts of the country. In Baluchistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province) for example, fears among the elite that this policy would break the monopolisation of the industry – particularly as publishers from other provinces are permitted to apply for contracts – led to a staying order against the policy.

Although the market is now theoretically open, the reality is that printing and publishing contracts are often awarded to an interconnected group of companies dominated by the regional elite. This has implications both for the quantity and quality of textbooks produced. In terms of quantity, in one province it was discovered that many of the publishing and printing companies were in fact 'phantom', non-existent companies. Contracts are issued and money is paid, but nothing is produced, leading to a shortage of textbooks in affected regions. Connections between the textbook board and the ghost publishing and printing companies mean that little action is taken to address this issue. In terms of quality, the same matter of preferential treatment for an interconnected elite arises. Both the content quality, and the physical quality of the book itself, suffer as companies take advantage of the situation, knowing that there will be no consequences in delivering sub-standard work. Evidently, the casualties of this monopolisation are the children whose education suffers, as well as the families and communities of which they are a part.

The politicisation of the curriculum content itself is a widely explored subject. Pakistan's previous curriculum, based on the National Education Policy of 1998, contained text glorifying war and jihad, and focused on the conflict between Muslim and Hindu, Sunni and Shia. This curriculum was heavily criticised from within Pakistan from 2001, and a Curriculum Council was formed to implement a new curriculum. Whilst acknowledging that no curriculum is ever truly apolitical, the present curriculum reveals few political influences – although there is still evidence of lingering issues, particularly around Islamic references in textbooks used by children of all faiths. The issue then is not so much with the content of the national curriculum, but with the textbook content developed and printed locally, and how individual teachers choose to teach the curriculum. The regional

⁴ The tiered-system of administrative units in Pakistan consists of one federal government at the top tier, followed by four provinces and a group of federally-administered tribal areas. The four provinces are subdivided into 27 administrative divisions, which are further subdivided into districts, tehsils and union councils respectively.

printing system outlined above means that the extent to which content has political or religious undertones can vary enormously.

The textbook policy of 2007 promises much for the opening up of the textbook production industry in Pakistan. For children and communities to benefit from the positive steps at this policy level, capacity now needs to be strengthened to examine the extent to which the policy is actually implemented in each province.

The Civic Education curriculum in Sri Lanka

The ruling party in Sri Lanka retains control of the education system, and changes in educational policy are associated with a change in government. Ministers have been known to change the direction of education policy in line with their own political or personal agendas.⁵ The appointment of Ministers, administrators and teachers is often politically motivated, and leads to issues of quality in the system, in teaching and in examinations.

Although the education system was reformed in 1997, this reform did not incorporate clear guidelines on preventing political interference. A sector-wide education plan⁶ was also developed, but again did not address the issue of political interference in education. To the contrary, there are indications that these reforms may have facilitated interference through resource allocation, teacher deployment and transfers, and school admissions. In this context, a collaborative project was started in 2006 for the development of a Civic Education curriculum – by Save the Children, the Ministry of Education (MOE) and the National Institute of Education (NIE).

A Civic Education curriculum responded to what children wanted – as found through consultations led by Save the Children – that is, an interest in learning skills beyond maths and science that would equip them for their broader lives. It also addressed the MOE and NIE's desire to encourage responsible citizenship and promote participatory learning approaches. Joint plans were developed, agreeing the inclusion of life skills and civic education in the new curriculum.⁷

Of the 9,500 schools in Sri Lanka, 7,200 (76%) have grades 6-9 for which the Civic Education curriculum was prepared. Of these, approximately 7,000 schools are now using the new curriculum, with key modules encompassing life competencies, citizenship, and child rights and responsibilities.⁸ 300 MOE in-service advisers were trained in the participatory curriculum and the training was cascaded to 7,000 teachers.

The programme was led by Save the Children in Sri Lanka, with funding initially from DFID and Save the Children Norway. Over 50 million Sri Lankan rupees⁹ was allocated to the programme between 2006 and 2008, and thereafter through the NIE who continue to designate a proportion of their government funding to the Civic Education curriculum. Technical education expertise was also provided by Save the Children, who facilitated curriculum development meetings, inputted into the training of the MOE in-service advisers and designed the child-centred monitoring and evaluation process adopted by the MOE.

The concept for a Civic Education curriculum would not have been viable or successfully realised without the engagement of staff at the MOE and NIE and without Save the

⁵ L Perera et al, 'Education Reform and Political Violence in Sri Lanka' in UNESCO International Bureau of Education (2004) *Education, Conflict and Social Cohesion*

⁶ The Education Sector Development Framework and Programme (ESDFP) for 2006-2010, which focused on four key areas: Access, Quality, Equitable Resource Allocation and Educational Governance

⁷ The work agreed in these meetings is detailed in Save the Children in Sri Lanka's Operational Plans and Thematic Programme Plans for 2007, 2008 and 2009. It is also in the NIE 2006-2010 plan and in their Annual Plans for 2007, 2008 and 2009. The MOE has outlined the project in its Donor Funded Projects Plan, under Save the Children funded projects for 2007, 2008 and 2009

⁸ The Grade 6 curriculum was finalised in 2006, with an additional grade added each year until Grade 9 was completed in 2009. Curricula and teachers manuals available online at <http://www.nie.lk/page/syllabus.html> (accessed 02.08.10)

⁹ Approximately \$450,000 USD

Children's monetary and technical contribution to the programme. The Curriculum Development team, consisting of representatives from the NIE and Save the Children, met regularly in the first and second years of the project, as did a MOE group led by the Social Studies Subject Director. In 2008, Save the Children succeeded in facilitating three-way meetings with the MOE and the NIE, which led to the Secretary for the Minister of Education requesting monthly meetings between himself and Save the Children. As a result of these meetings, the Secretary at the MOE and the Director of the NIE ensured plans were approved and necessary people involved. Without the signatures of these key individuals, it is not permitted to operate any projects or programmes in Sri Lankan schools. In every respect, the collaborative nature of this project has been essential.

Each stakeholder had something to gain from the partnership. Save the Children had a long held desire to increase child participation in education, so as to inform and improve their education interventions and to engage children as active members of civil society. The MOE and NIE too recognised that there were gaps in their five-year plans in terms of child participation, teacher training and community mobilisation, and were keen to receive technical support and capacity building funds from Save the Children to enable them to move forward, and to be seen to be moving forward, in this area. At a personal level, MOE and NIE staff considered travelling abroad to receive relevant training an important professional development opportunity.

Progress, however, was not made without setbacks. Despite the engagement of the MOE and NIE, the involvement of an international NGO in curriculum development raised the suspicions of politicians. The recent political history of Sri Lanka led them to believe that any NGO involving itself in this area must have an ulterior motive and, most likely, be working to promote the rights of Tamil communities. This was countered by a clear statement from Save the Children emphasizing the collaborative nature of the project, and clarified that the curriculum was available in Sinhala and Tamil to enable all children to learn in their mother tongue.

Other constraints have included gaps in monitoring and evaluation data in certain provinces, particularly in the North and the East. In displacement areas in these provinces, education has been completely disrupted, with many children out of school. UNICEF is working on an Accelerated Learning Programme with the MOE, condensing the nine year curriculum into six, but it is not apparent whether Civic Education will be included. The transfer of teachers and key administrative staff has also been problematic. A teacher may be trained in the new curriculum, but then suddenly be moved to a different school and different subject. Transfers are often said to be politically motivated and teachers have little choice whether or not they comply. The same issue exists at MOE and NIE level. Both the Secretary for the Minister of Education at the MOE and the Social Studies Subject Director at the NIE, who were instrumental in establishing the curriculum, have now been transferred. Every time this happens, gaps are left, new people must be trained, and new relationships built.

Despite the setbacks, Save the Children's aim was to see 350,000 children benefitting from the new curriculum – and over a million children are now doing so. The organisation reports that children find the curriculum fun and interesting and they are more aware of the world around them. Participation in schools is emphasized in a new way, teachers have adopted active learning and child-friendly teaching methods, and children's rights are openly discussed. In the long term, it is hoped that this curriculum will contribute to the development of a more peaceful Sri Lanka.

School Development Committees and Youth Militia in Zimbabwe

Education in Zimbabwe experiences political interference at several levels, both through the manipulation of School Development Committees (SDC) and the intimidation of and violence towards teachers by the youth militia of the National Youth Service (NYS).

School Development Committees were introduced in Zimbabwe through a Parliamentary Statutory Instrument in 1992, to increase accountability within schools and create a management system that involves both parents and the school administration. Every school is expected to have a SDC, whose function is to oversee school management, ensure accountability of the headteacher, and work alongside the school administration to maintain infrastructure, mobilise resources and determine school levies. The degree of influence exercised by a SDC varies, but many are powerful in all areas of school management.

SDC are made up of elected parents, who tend to take roles of chair, vice-chair, treasurer, secretary and vice-secretary. They are joined by the headteacher, deputy head, senior teacher – and the ward councillor, a politically elected, ex-officio member. It is often the case that considerable influence is exerted by the ward councillor, and it is not unusual to find that other members of the SDC belong to the councillor's political party, making it easy for bias to enter the system and leave the school governance open to manipulation for political purposes.

Although no documented cases exist, there is much anecdotal evidence from NGOs that children are favoured, or not, by the SDC according to the political allegiance of their family. This bias manifests itself particularly in the allocation of the Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM),¹⁰ with only children from the same political party as the ward councillor benefitting from the programme. For teachers, those with opposing political views have been intimidated and forced to relocate – this too has consequences for children, who are left with fewer teachers and a diminishing quality of education.

The issue is informally acknowledged by communities and NGOs, but attempts to prevent such manipulation of school governance are constrained: NGOs who report allegations are accused of being politically partisan, and the power of the ward councillor and chair of the SDC leaves the other members reluctant to oppose what they say. Ultimately, raising such concerns leads to political intimidation and victimization. A current project, funded by UNICEF and implemented by Save the Children and the Netherlands Development Organisation, is working to train and empower SDC members and school administrators, helping them to understand their roles and adopt best practice approaches. Both a manual and a handbook for SDC members have been produced in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, Arts and Culture and several other NGOs. In the present environment, it seems that such measures – which will have a positive but limited effect – are the only way to progress forward.

The NYS youth militia appear to have a more explicitly violent effect on schools and education systems. Formed in 2002 as an initiative of the ZANU-PF¹¹ government, the NYS training programme developed rapidly from a 'voluntary' scheme allegedly aimed at skills enhancement, patriotism and moral education, to a compulsory system of large scale paramilitary training in 2003. Since 2008 it has once again become voluntary, and

¹⁰ N Marongwe (2007) *Observatory Case Studies: The Basic Education Assistance Module (BEAM) in Zimbabwe*, paper prepared for The United Nations and Partners' Alliance on Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVCs); UNICEF (2009) *Zimbabwe's children receive vital education support*, UNICEF News note, 14 September 2009

¹¹ Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

tends to attract ZANU-PF youth, or those with no other employment prospects. All training materials are ZANU-PF campaign literature and political speeches, found to be “crudely racist” and “vilifying”¹² of the opposition party Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). The core reference book for the study of national history is Robert Mugabe’s “*Inside the Third Chimurenga*”,¹³ and weapons training has been included since 2003. 29,000 youth militia were on the civil servant payroll in 2009, and a certificate of attendance from the NYS is still requisite for those wishing to join the army or the police.

Although the NYS has no official policy of engagement with schools, some schools have documented cases of school leavers being forced to join youth militia and of training centres being based in schools. Violence towards teachers and students accused of “preaching opposition politics” is well documented,¹⁴ and there were reports of intimidation and violence against teachers in May and June 2008, during the presidential election. Two teachers were beaten to death at their school in Guruve village because the opposition had won the elections in this area. In Binga, the District Education Officer was forced to take on the role of an election official, and was then accused of rigging the election and imprisoned with no legal process. She was eventually released after going on hunger strike.

There are also reports of incidences of militia going into schools in many other areas over this same period, making “hate speeches” about the teachers and systematically assaulting them in the presence of their pupils. In July 2009, the Progressive Teachers Union of Zimbabwe (PTUZ) reported that the same youth militia implicated in the election violence of 2008 had established bases in schools around the country and were intimidating teachers. Reports from the PTUZ cite teachers being pulled from classes and beaten as “sell-outs and puppets of the west”. The type of intimidation can range from full-scale beatings to enforced attendance at meetings or “re-education” camps where lessons centre on a biased view of the country’s history.¹⁵ Schools targeted for intimidation tend to be in areas where ZANU-PF has a strong network, where the MDC are planning a rally, or where there are known opposition supporters in the teaching body. Although there are few reports of actual violence at present, the fear of a resurgence of the violence seen in 2008 is enough to continue intimidating many communities and teachers.¹⁶

The effect of this intimidation on children, schools and communities is considerable. A Save the Children Education Assessment from 2008 reported that “a number of children witnessed horrific acts of violence and there is ongoing trauma evident from the events. Around a third of the schools visited [by the survey team] reported being directly affected by the troubles,”¹⁷ with one teacher from Binga divulging that teachers from the district were so afraid that “during the violence we sometimes slept in the bush.”

¹² Solidarity Peace Trust (2003) *National Youth Service Training: Shaping youths in a truly Zimbabwean manner*

¹³ R Mugabe (2001) *Inside the Third Chimurenga*

¹⁴ Zimbabwe Human Rights NGO Forum (2003) *Teaching them a lesson: The role of militia groups in maintaining ZANU-PF’s political power*, B Philips (2004) *Zimbabwe’s School Crisis*, BBC News article, 27 November 2004

[Hhttp://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/4045805.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/4045805.stm)H (accessed 03.08.10)

¹⁵ A Meldrum (2003) *No Surrender*, The Guardian news article, 10 June 2003

[Hhttp://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2003/jun/10/internationaleducationnews.students](http://www.guardian.co.uk/education/2003/jun/10/internationaleducationnews.students)H (accessed 03.08.10)

¹⁶ C Gande (2009) *Zimbabwe rights groups says political violence, food discrimination persist*, Agora report, 10 October 2009 [Hhttp://agora-dialogue.com/?p=1419](http://agora-dialogue.com/?p=1419)H (accessed 03.08.10)

¹⁷ Save the Children UK (2008) *Education Assessment Zimbabwe*

The education system itself is also directly affected, namely through politicization of appointments to administrative education posts, including School Heads and District and Provincial Education Officers. Thousands of trained teachers have also left the profession since 2008, and although it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which the economic collapse contributed to this, intimidation and violence against teachers is likely to be a significant factor. Up to 45,000 teachers¹⁸ are reported to have left over the last decade, and a general undermining of the status of teachers was articulated in Save the Children's 2008 Education Assessment.

Although action taken to attempt the prevention of the politicization of education and intimidation of teachers varies by community, little overt action is evident at a national level. The Minister of Education (currently from MDC) has not acknowledged the issue, and the path ahead for NGOs, teachers and communities wishing to engage in this issue remains difficult.

¹⁸ V Gonda (2010) *Teachers leader urges civil servants to go on hunger strike over wages* SW Radio Africa news article, 28 April 2010 [Hhttp://www.swradioafrica.com](http://www.swradioafrica.com)H (accessed 03.08.10)

Additional background resources

General

- K Bush and D Saltarelli (2000) *The Two Faces of Education in Ethnic Conflict: Towards a Peacebuilding Education for Children*, UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.66.7704&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

This study seeks to develop a clearer understanding of one particular dimension of contemporary ethnic conflict: the constructive and destructive impacts of education – the two faces of education. The need for such analysis is apparent from even a cursory review of experiences in conflict-prone regions. Because educational initiatives can have polar opposite impacts, those involved must stop supporting peace-destroying educational initiatives, and start supporting those aimed at peacebuilding. In other words, if such educational initiatives are to have a positive peacebuilding impact, then they must seek to deconstruct structures of violence and construct structures of peace.

- A Smith & T Vaux, DFID (2003) *Education, Conflict and International Development*
<http://www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications/edconflictdev.pdf>

Outlining and defining the global situation specific to conflict-affected countries and DFID's strategic response, the report mentions the greater need in countries that have suffered conflict for "systems and structures that 'insulate' the education sector from *political bias*, potential *corruption*, and interference in operational policy", because of a tendency for political elites to want to use education for their own purpose. "Capacity building and training for those working within the public service may therefore be a necessary prerequisite for the success of any overall education sector plan that takes account of conflict."

The report also talks about the particular vulnerability of a history syllabus towards political bias, often where it is designed to tell a 'national story' at the expense of certain groups or peoples.

Under 'Conflict and State Education: Working with the government' in Section 2, the report states:

"In relation to conflict the most important characteristic of school education is that it is almost always run by the state, and the state may be a party to the conflict. This makes intervention in such a situation extremely difficult because it will be hard to separate impartial humanitarian objectives from political judgments. Decisions about the potential impact of development assistance for education are also difficult in situations where there are unstable political structures, no clear view about long-term, sustainable governance arrangements, undemocratic regimes or lack of confidence in government authorities.

The existence of conflict inevitably raises questions concerning government views on the *purpose of education* and the extent to which education is seen as a tool for political or ideological purposes. Political involvement in operational matters, such as education appointments, deployment of teachers, determination of the curriculum etc., may provide some indication of the extent to which government perceives education as mainly about 'social control' or about 'empowerment' through social, economic and cultural development. Military expenditure compared to education is an important indicator of the relative importance attached to education.

In many circumstances political elites are likely to want to use education for their own purposes. Where there is conflict this suggests an even greater need for systems and structures that 'insulate' the education sector from *political bias*, potential *corruption* and interference in operational decisions to implement policy. Capacity building and training for those working within the public service may therefore be a necessary prerequisite for the success of any overall education sector plan that takes account of conflict."

- UNESCO International Bureau of Education (2004) *Education, conflict and social cohesion* <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/conflict-social-cohesion/education-conflict-and-social-cohesion.html>

This report explores the questions of whether education is a catalyst for the outbreak of identity-based conflict, and focuses on projects in seven conflict-affected countries: Bosnia and Herzegovina, Guatemala, Lebanon, Mozambique, Northern Ireland, Rwanda and Sri Lanka, to explore how education can contribute to social and civic reconstruction. In particular, see Chapter 1 below, *Education and Identity-based Conflict: Assessing curriculum policy for social and civic reconstruction* (S Tawil and A Harley)

Pakistan

- N Durrani (2008) *Schooling the 'other': the representation of gender and national identities in Pakistani curriculum texts*, Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, Vol. 38, No. 5, October 2008

This paper argues that challenging patriarchal relations in schooling and education requires moving beyond access to understanding the ways the curriculum acts as a set of discursive practices which position girls and boys unequally and differently constitute them as gendered and nationalised/ist subjects. Using curriculum texts from Pakistan, the paper explores how gender and national identities intersect in a dynamic way in the processes of schooling. The paper illustrates the ideological power of both curriculum and school experiences in fashioning the reciprocal performance and construction of gender and national identities in Pakistan. It contends that in its current form, education is a means of maintaining, reproducing and reinforcing the gender hierarchies that characterise Pakistan.

- International Crisis Group (2004) *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*, Asia Report N°84, 7 October 2004 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-asia/pakistan/084-pakistan-reforming-the-education-sector.aspx>

This article argues for the increase in educational resources needed to reverse the influence of jihadi groups during Musharraf's presidency. Despite a strong lobby in favour of a more secular public school syllabus, education remains outdated and controlled by powerful Islamist groups. Corruption in the education system goes as far as 'ghost' or non-existent schools eating into significant portions of the budget. A deteriorating infrastructure is leading to a greater gap between the education of the rich and the poor. The article makes recommendations to the Government of Pakistan and international donors.

- SW Kazmi (2005) *Role of Education in Globalisation: A Case for Pakistan*, Journal of Human Resource Development <http://www.shrdc-isb.org.pk/SAARC-Journal/SAARC-JHRD-V1.N1/06.SyedaWadiatKazmi.pdf>

This article outlines past and current education initiatives in Pakistan, and provides a brief overview of education policies, targets and strategies that have been put in place since the country's independence in 1947.

“A survey conducted with the help of the Pakistan Army, the Government of Punjab unearthed about 4,000 ghost primary schools and 20,453 fake teachers, costing Rs 1.4 billion each year to the province”

- M Lall (2008) *Educate to Hate: The Use of Education in the Creation of Antagonistic National Identities in India and Pakistan*, Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, Vol. 38, No 1, January 2008

This article analyses how education was used as a tool to artificially create antagonistic national identities based on religious and ethnic definitions of who was Indian or Pakistani. It focuses in particular on how in India the BJP led government (1998-2004) and in Pakistan the government under General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988) rewrote the curricula and changed textbook content in order to create the 'other' in order to suit their ideology and the politics of the day. Drawing on the original textbooks, extensive fieldwork interviews in both countries and a study of recent literature, the paper argues that fundamentalization in general and the fundamentalization of textbooks in particular are state-controlled mechanisms through which to control society. They can also have serious international consequences, as two antagonistic national identities oppose each other's definition of history and self.

- Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education: Curriculum Wing (2007) *National Textbook and Learning Materials Policy and Plan of Action*
http://www.moe.gov.pk/Textbook_and_Learning_Materials_Policy_and_Plan_of_Action280607.pdf

This Ministry of Education document outlines the national textbook policy passed in 2007 in Pakistan.

- R Hathaway, ed. (2005) *Education reform in Pakistan: Building for the future*, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars
<http://www.apnaorg.com/research-papers-pdf/rahman-5.pdf#page=20>

A collection of essays on the problematic education system in Pakistan. See the following essays in particular:

Shahid Javed Burki, *Educating the Pakistani Masses*

Ahsan Saleem, *Against the Tide: Role of The Citizens Foundation in Pakistani Education*

International Crisis Group, *Pakistan: Reforming the Education Sector*

Sri Lanka

- P Colenso, DFID (2005) *Education and social cohesion: developing a framework for education sector reform in Sri Lanka*, Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education, Volume 35, Issue 4 December 2005
<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/content~content=a727306824&db=all>

This paper describes the initial development of an analytical and planning framework for addressing education and social cohesion within the context of a sector-wide approach to education reform in Sri Lanka. A brief literature review suggests three inter-connected domains in which links between education and social cohesion might be usefully analysed, together with three working

hypotheses: (i) *political economy/governance*: education affects social cohesion through transparency and participation in education policy formulation, planning and management; (ii) *equity/equality of opportunity*: education affects social cohesion through the distribution of education resources, opportunities and outcomes; (iii) *teaching/learning*: education affects social cohesion through the development of certain competencies in students. Drawing on this analytical framework, research conducted in Sri Lanka is used to identify a set of interventions to promote social cohesion, with corresponding baseline, process and outcome indicators as benchmarks for measuring the progress and impact of intended policy measures. This process is described within the context of a 'sector-wide approach' to education reform, intended to bring together the activities of the government and external partners within a single comprehensive medium-term planning and budgetary framework.

- National Institute of Education [Sri Lanka], Department of Social Sciences (2007) *Civics and Governance: Teachers' Instruction Manual, Grade 10*
<http://www.nie.sch.lk/ebook/e10tim14.pdf>
- National Institute of Education [Sri Lanka], Department of Social Sciences (2007) *Civics and Governance: Syllabus, Grades 10 and 11*
<http://www.nie.sch.lk/ebook/e10syl14.pdf>

Zimbabwe

- C Dugger (2008) *Violence in Zimbabwe Disrupts School and Aid*, The New York Times news article, 8 May 2008
<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/05/08/world/africa/08zimbabwe.html>
- RB Lloyd (2010) *Countries at the Crossroads 2010: Country Report – Zimbabwe*, Freedom House report
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=140&edition=9&ccrpage=43&ccrcountry=200>

The 'Countries at the Crossroads' series is an annual survey of government performance and provides in-depth comparative analyses and quantitative ratings – examining government accountability, civil liberties, rule of law, anticorruption efforts and transparency – that are intended to help international policymakers identify areas of progress, as well as to highlight areas of concern that could be addressed in diplomatic efforts and reform assistance.

This Zimbabwe country report provides a comprehensive overview and outlines examples of political interference in education.