2011 Education for All Global Monitoring Report
The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education

Gender overview

Key messages

- Gender disparities in primary and secondary school enrolments have narrowed since 1999, but too many governments are moving too slowly to eliminate them. Sixty-nine countries have failed to achieve gender parity in primary school enrolment, and in twenty-six there are fewer than nine girls in school for every ten boys. The global gender divide means that 3.6 million girls are missing from primary school.

- Despite improvements in the gender balance of educational opportunity, labour markets are still characterized by wide inequality in the type of employment and levels of remuneration men and women receive. Education can play an important role in narrowing labour market gender gaps. Governments that tolerate large gender gaps in their school systems are not just depriving young girls of a basic right, but also undermining the national economic interest.

- Children born to more educated mothers are more likely to survive and less likely to experience malnutrition. Universal secondary education for girls in sub-Saharan Africa could save as many as 1.8 million lives annually.

- Conflict-affected countries have some of the world’s worst education indicators, and girls are left furthest behind. Poverty effects interact with security fears over sexual violence and attacks by groups opposed to gender equity in education to keep girls out of school.

- Rape and sexual violence has accompanied armed conflicts throughout history, yet insufficient attention has been paid to the devastating effects on education.

- Given the scale of the problem, the consistent pattern of neglect and the degree of current impunity, this Report proposes the creation of an International Commission on Rape and Sexual Violence to document the problem, identify those responsible, and report to the Security Council.

- Strongly performing post-conflict countries have attached considerable weight to the development of education systems that are more inclusive of girls and other marginalized groups.
Part One: Monitoring progress towards the EFA goals

Goal 5: Assessing gender parity and equality in education

Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls’ full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

Gender parity in education is a fundamental human right, a foundation for equal opportunity and a source of economic growth, employment and innovation. The Dakar Framework for Action set bold targets for overcoming gender disparities, some of which have already been missed. Even so, there has been progress across much of the world in the past decade.

Viewed from a global perspective, the world is edging slowly towards gender parity in school enrolment (Table 1). Convergence towards parity at the primary school level has been particularly marked in the Arab States, South and West Asia and sub-Saharan Africa – the regions that started the decade with the largest gender gaps. To put this progress in context, if these regions still had the gender parity levels of 1999, 18.4 million fewer girls would be in primary school.

Table 1: Key indicators for goal 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country/Region</th>
<th>Total number of countries</th>
<th>Countries with data</th>
<th>GPI of the gross enrolment ratio</th>
<th>Change since 1999 (points)</th>
<th>Total number of countries</th>
<th>Countries with data</th>
<th>GPI of the gross enrolment ratio</th>
<th>Change since 1999 (points)</th>
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<td>0.96</td>
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</table>

Note: The gender parity index (GPI) is the ratio of female to male rates for a given indicator.
Source: [Table 1.8 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011] Annex, Statistical Tables 5 and 7.

Goal 5 suffers from poor design. Eliminating gender disparity in enrolment at both primary and secondary level by 2005 – the original goal – was overambitious and was accordingly missed by a wide margin. Achieving gender equality in access and achievement by 2015 is a more credible ambition. However, many poor countries will not achieve the target without radical shifts of policy and priorities in education planning (Panel 1).

Equal access to and progression through primary school is an obvious requirement for gender parity. But progress also requires interventions at the secondary school level (Panel 2). Regional challenges vary. While sub-Saharan Africa has seen a marked increase in female secondary school enrolment, albeit from a low base, gender parity has not improved. In the Arab States, progress towards gender parity in secondary schools has lagged behind progress at the primary school level.
Despite improvements in the gender balance of educational opportunity, labour markets are still characterized by wide inequality in the type of employment and levels of remuneration men and women receive. The policy focus section looks at school and work transitions for adolescent girls. It highlights the important role that education can play in narrowing gender gaps in labour markets.

Panel 1: Despite much progress, many countries will not achieve gender parity by 2015

How many countries have not yet achieved gender parity in education and where will they be in 2015 if current trends continue? Data gaps make it difficult to provide comprehensive answers to these questions. In fifty-two countries, the ratio of girls to boys — that is, the gender parity index (GPI) — in gross enrolment ratios is 0.95 or less at the primary school level, and twenty-six countries have a primary GPI of 0.90 or less. Of the forty-seven countries not yet at parity with enough data for a projection to 2015, most are moving in the right direction, but thirty-eight will fall short of the target. Some countries that are off track for gender parity have nonetheless made substantial progress since 1999. For example, in Yemen there were almost two boys for every girl in primary school in 1999, but by 2008 the ratio of boys to girls had fallen to 1.3. Other countries that are off track, such as Côte d’Ivoire and Eritrea, have made little or no progress in narrowing large gender gaps since 1999.

The picture in secondary education is more mixed, and prospects for gender parity by 2015 are less promising. Only about a third of all countries with data have achieved gender parity in secondary school and in many countries significantly fewer girls than boys are enrolled. In 2008, twenty-four countries in sub-Saharan Africa and three in South and West Asia had GPIs in secondary school enrolment of 0.90 or less — and ten had GPIs of less than 0.70. Of the seventy-four countries that had not achieved gender parity and had the data needed for a projection, only fourteen are on track to eliminate their gender disparities by 2015 (Figure 1).

Policies aimed at overcoming gender disparities are most likely to succeed when they are part of an integrated strategy. Bhutan has achieved deep cuts in the number of children out of school, and dropout rates have declined more rapidly for girls than boys: 95% of girls starting primary school in 2008 were expected to reach the final grade. The country’s success can be traced to a multipronged attack on gender disparity through a range of programmes (Bhutan Ministry of Education, 2009; Narayan and Rao, 2009). Classroom construction and teacher redeployment have brought schools closer to communities. The establishment of community primary schools in remote areas has been particularly important, as more parents are willing to send girls to school when classrooms are closer to home. Infrastructure investment has been backed by targeted school health and nutrition programmes and the expansion of non-formal education. The number of learners in non-formal centres tripled from 2000 to 2006, with 70% of participants being young women.

Each country needs to carry out its own assessment of the barriers to gender parity. Reducing distances between communities and schools — as in Bhutan — removes a key barrier to girls’ enrolment by helping allay parental concerns over security and by reducing tension over how time is shared between school and home (Lehman et al., 2007; National Research Council and Panel on Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries, 2005). In Burkina Faso, the development of rural satellite schools has brought education much closer to local communities and reduced gender gaps. In Ethiopia, a large-scale classroom construction programme in rural areas played a vital role in pushing up school attendance and reducing gender disparities. Targeted programmes and financial incentives can also help counteract gender disparities. Countries such as Bangladesh and Cambodia have provided scholarships for girls’ education, and Nepal has specifically targeted girls from low-caste groups for support (UNESCO, 2010a).
Figure 1: Prospects for achieving gender parity in secondary education by 2015 are low for many countries

Gender parity index of secondary gross enrolment ratio, 1999, 2008 and projected values for 2015

Notes: Only countries that did not achieve gender parity by 2008 are included. Determination of progress towards gender parity is based on the difference and the direction between observed 2008 and projected 2015 values. For Anguilla and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, 2000 data are used for 1999 (unavailable).

Sources: [Figure 1.32 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] EFA Global Monitoring Report team calculations; Annex, Statistical Table 7; UIS database.
Panel 2: Sources of gender disparity in primary and secondary school

Gender disparities originate at different points in the education system. Understanding the profile of the disparities is a crucial step in the development of any strategy aimed at achieving the targets set in goal 5.

In many countries, gender gaps start to open on day one of a school career. Intake into grade 1 is often skewed in favour of boys. Three-quarters of the countries that have not achieved the gender parity goal at the primary level enrol more boys than girls at the start of the primary cycle (Figure 2). In Mali, for example, the male gross intake rate is 102% while the rate for girls is 89%. Unless the imbalance is corrected later through higher survival rates for girls, the inevitable result of an unequal intake is a permanent gender bias in primary school.

Once children are in school, gender disparities are shaped by progression patterns. In some countries with significant gender gaps in enrolment, survival rates to the last grade are close to gender parity. In Burkina Faso, more than 70% of both boys and girls entering primary school survive until the last grade, and in Ethiopia girls are more likely to reach the last grade (Figure 2). With this type of pattern, gender disparities observed in school mirror intake disparities. In other countries, gender differences in intake are reinforced as children progress through school. For example, Guinea has high dropout rates for boys and girls alike, but when it comes to reaching the last grade of primary, boys have an advantage of ten percentage points.

Gender disparities in secondary education can be tracked back to disparities in primary school. While there are exceptions, in most countries girls who have completed primary education have the same chance as boys of making the transition to secondary education. Once in secondary school, however, girls are often more likely to drop out (Figure 3). This is true even for Bangladesh, where government stipends have helped turn a large gender gap in favour of boys in the transition to secondary school into a gap in favour of girls. However, the disparity in favour of girls shrinks rapidly with progression through school so that the completion rate is 23% for boys and 15% for girls. Moreover, boys outperform girls in the lower secondary school exam (Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics, 2008). The policy challenge for Bangladesh today is to increase male transition rates to secondary school while cutting female dropout rates.

Tackling gender disparities in secondary school poses many challenges. Some of the barriers to gender parity at the primary level are even higher at the secondary level. Secondary schooling is far more costly, often forcing households to ration resources among children. Where girls’ education is less valued, or perceived as generating lower returns, parents may favour sons over daughters. Early marriage can act as another barrier to secondary school progression. Parents may also worry more about the security of adolescent girls because secondary schools are often further from home than primary schools.

None of these problems is insurmountable. As highlighted in the policy focus section, governments can fix the underlying causes of gender inequality. The starting point is to equalize opportunity for entry to and progression through primary school. Specific policies – such as stipends for female students – can help to improve school retention and promote transition to secondary school. Overcoming labour market inequalities faced by women can also strengthen incentives for education. But one of the most critical roles for government leaders is to challenge the social attitudes and practices that undermine gender equity in education.
Figure 2: There are distinct gender patterns in primary school participation
Gross intake rate in primary education, by gender, selected countries, 2008

Note: Only countries with gender gaps in the gross intake rate of more than 5 percentage points in favour of boys are included.
Source: [Figure 1.33 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] Annex, Statistical Tables 4 and 6.
Figure 3: The gender pattern of secondary school completion is mixed
Secondary completion rate for 22- to 24-year-olds, by gender, selected countries, 2000-2008

Notes: Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified. The secondary completion rate is calculated among those 22- to 24-year-olds who entered secondary education.
Source: [Figure 1.34 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] EFA Global Monitoring Report team calculations based on Standard DHS datasets (ICF Macro, 2010).
Policy focus: Managing school and work transitions for adolescent girls

As more and more women have joined the work force, the social and economic landscapes of developed countries have been transformed. Although many women struggle to balance paid employment and unpaid family demands, the feminization of labour markets has improved women's income and strengthened autonomy and empowerment (Blau, 1997; Goldin, 1990). Education has contributed to this transformation by opening up new employment opportunities. This section examines the potential for education to support a similar transformation in developing countries.¹

Gender imbalances in education are transmitted directly to job markets. While gaps between the numbers of girls and boys attending school are narrowing, they remain marked in many poor countries and typically increase with progression through grades. Fewer girls make the transition to secondary school and those who do are often more likely to drop out. Inevitably, girls leaving school and seeking jobs carry the disadvantages that come with fewer years in education. Labour markets themselves often reinforce gender disparities. Women's pay and their employment conditions are influenced not just by the supply of labour and demand for skills, but also by social barriers, cultural practices and discrimination.

Governments have good reason to address gender gaps in both education and employment. The case for gender fairness in education is based on human rights, not economic calculus. Schooling can equip girls with the capabilities they need to expand their choices, influence decisions in their households and participate in wider social and economic processes. By the same token, there is clear evidence that economic returns to female education are very high – and, at the secondary level, higher than for boys. The implication is that countries tolerating high levels of gender inequality in education are sacrificing gains in economic growth, productivity and poverty reduction, as well as the basic rights of half the population.

National economic interests and human development prospects are both harmed by discrimination in labour markets. When women face barriers to obtaining jobs for which they have the skills and qualifications, the resulting losses in efficiency hurt companies and damage productivity. They also hurt children, because children's nutrition, health and education improve when women have greater control over household resources (Buvinic and Morrison, 2009; Fiszbein et al., 2009). Moreover, discrimination in labour markets diminishes returns to schooling, weakening incentives for parents to keep girls in school, and reinforcing a vicious circle of gender inequality.

Women face barriers to employment and lower pay

To the extent that any conclusions can be drawn, evidence from several developing regions suggests that progress towards gender equity has been far slower in labour markets than in school systems.

Labour force participation provides one measure of the employment status of females. Data from household surveys point to significant gender gaps in all regions, especially South Asia, where males are more than three times as likely to be in the labour force (Figure 4). While participation rates have been increasing, large gaps persist for adolescents and young adults. Surveys for 2006 indicate that 64% of women aged 20 to 24 in South Asia are not in full-time education or work, compared with 5% of men (Morrison and Sabarawal, 2008). Evidence from Bangladesh demonstrates that gender disparities in education and employment can close at very different speeds. Over the past fifteen years, Bangladesh has registered dramatic advances in gender parity in both primary and secondary school participation (UNESCO, 2008). In 2007, the gross enrolment ratio in secondary education

¹ This section draws heavily on Lloyd (2010).
was slightly higher for girls than for boys. These gains in education have not been matched in employment, however, with female labour force participation increasing only marginally and remaining well below male levels (Al-Samarrai, 2007). The implication is that the supply of more educated female labour is increasing more rapidly than labour market demand, putting downward pressure on wages.

**Figure 4: Gender disparities in labour force participation are large in many regions**

Labour force participation rate for 17- to 24-year-olds, by gender, 1995–2004

![Bar chart showing gender disparities in labour force participation by region.]

**Note:** The regions presented differ from the Education for All regions.
**Source:** [Figure 1.35 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] Buvinic et al. (2007).

Unequal participation in employment is reinforced by unequal remuneration. It is difficult to establish with any accuracy the level of gender disparity in earnings for developing countries, partly because little information is available from the informal sector and small companies. The effect of wage discrimination as reflected in unequal pay for similar work is also difficult to establish on the basis of comparable cross-country data. Even so, there is no shortage of evidence documenting wide gender gaps in pay across a large group of countries. In Kenya, annual earnings for men who were self-employed or working in the private formal sector were paid more than double the earnings of women in the same sectors (Kabubo-Mariara, 2003). Similarly, self-employed women in the United Republic of Tanzania earned 26% less than their male counterparts (Chen et al., 2004).

Barriers to women’s participation in labour markets and to gender equity vary by country. While formal discrimination is on the decline in most countries, informal practices in families and by employers remain a pervasive source of gender inequality. Three broad causes of disparity can be identified:

- **Gender differences in skills and experience.** Inequality in educational opportunity, often linked to deeper social inequality, means that young girls and women enter labour markets with fewer skills. Preferential access to secondary education, in particular, often means men are more employable and better paid. In many developing countries, education is a key determinant of wages – and of wage inequality (Kabubo-Mariara, 2003; Kapsos, 2008). Recent analysis of the 2007 labour force survey in the Philippines identified formal education as the single most important factor contributing to individual wage differentials, accounting for a higher percentage of the difference among female workers (37%) than male (24%) (Luo and Terada, 2009).

- **Social norms governing women’s roles in economic life.** The traditional roles and responsibilities assigned to men and women create a gendered division of labour. In some countries, social and cultural practices may keep young women from spending time outside the home. Such practices, linked to factors ranging from perceptions of family honour to concerns over female safety, heavily influence labour force participation patterns in many countries (World Bank, 2005a). Household labour arrangements also
play a part. Adolescent girls and young women are often expected to spend more time than boys and men in activities such as collecting water and firewood, cooking, and caring for children or sick relatives, which restricts their opportunities to earn income beyond the home.

- **Segmentation and discrimination in the labour market.** Labour markets can often reinforce social differences, with occupations identified as the domain of either males or females. Gender discrimination frequently leads to greater demand for women in jobs that pay less and require fewer skills. For example, in the informal sector men are often more likely to be employers and own-account workers with better pay than women, who are more likely to be informal wage workers and home workers (Chen et al., 2004).

Gender disparities in labour markets limit the potential of education to unlock increases in productivity and equity. Evidence from developing countries suggests that the effect of education in increasing earnings is more marked for women than for men (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos, 2004). The ‘gender premium’ in education is often particularly large at the secondary school level. In India, for example, the level of additional earnings associated with an additional year of secondary schooling in 2004 was 7% for girls and 4% for boys (Reilly and Dutta, 2005). A clear implication is that gender inequality in secondary education in India impedes economic growth and poverty reduction. As increasingly knowledge-based production systems raise demand for workers with higher skills, the benefit of having secondary (and postsecondary) education is likely to increase over time (Luo and Terada, 2009; US National Research Council and Panel on Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries, 2005). This implies that the costs of gender inequality in secondary education are also growing, both for individuals and society.

**Education can combat labour market discrimination**

While labour market disadvantage can diminish the returns to girls’ education, moves towards gender parity in school can help break down formal and informal barriers to employment. There is no simple association between the level of schooling and labour market outcomes. In some countries, though, it takes a lot of education to mitigate gender disadvantage in labour markets.

One recent study in Pakistan found that more education did help women obtain jobs, but only if they had completed at least ten years of school (Aslam et al., 2008). However, women aged 17 to 22 in Pakistan averaged only five years of schooling, declining to just one year for women from poor rural households (UNESCO et al., 2010). It is not just years in school that counts. How much girls learn also shapes employment prospects. Evidence from several countries shows a strong, if variable, association between higher levels of learning achievement and a more rapid transition from secondary school completion to employment (Egel and Salehi-Isfahani, 2010; Lam et al., 2009). One study of the Cape area in South Africa found that an increase of one standard deviation in a literacy and numeracy test was associated with a six percentage point increase in the chances of being employed (Lam et al., 2009).

Schools influence the supply of skills entering labour markets. But it is demand in those markets, from private companies and public employers, that defines employment prospects. Unemployment in general, and youth unemployment in particular, is a sensitive barometer of misalignment between the education system and the skills demanded by employers (UNESCO, 2010a). Adolescents and young adults often emerge from schools having received a poor education and with skills that employers do not value. At the same time, inflexible labour market practices, segmentation of employment opportunities and weak capacity for training can limit employers’ willingness to recruit. Here, too, there are pronounced gender effects in many countries, even for better-educated women. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, women with secondary education and above face the most
protracted transition from school to employment, one that is often counted in years (Egel and Salehi-Isfahani, 2010; Salehi-Isfahani and Egel, 2007). Such problems reflect issues that go far beyond education, including entrenched labour market discrimination. But they also point to a mismatch between labour market demand and the type of skills developed in the school system.

**Equalizing opportunity for adolescent girls in formal school**

When girls enter school they bring the disadvantages associated with wider gender inequality, which are often transmitted through households, communities and established social practices. Education systems can weaken the transmission lines, but building schools and classrooms and supplying teachers is not enough. Getting girls into school and equipping them with the skills they need to flourish often require policies designed to counteract the deeper causes of gender disadvantage. Public policy can make a difference in three key areas: creating incentives for school entry, facilitating the development of a ‘girl-friendly’ learning environment and ensuring that schools provide relevant skills. In most cases, simultaneous interventions are required on all three fronts. Drawing on a global survey that identified 322 national programmes targeting adolescent girls, this section looks at what can be done to narrow the gender gap (Lloyd and Young, 2009).

**Creating incentives through financial support.** There is a growing body of evidence which shows that financial incentive programmes can be a powerful antidote to gender disparity. These programmes can operate either through cash transfers or through measures that reduce the financial barriers to girls’ education. Almost half the 322 programmes included cash or in-kind incentives linked to school attendance (Lloyd and Young, 2009).

Some of these programmes have delivered impressive results. Bangladesh’s stipend programme, which provides tuition-free secondary schooling and a payment to girls in school, is a striking success story. In the space of a decade, the programme has helped eliminate a large gender gap in education. In Pakistan, a school stipend programme supported by the World Bank offers incentives to encourage girls’ enrolment in government middle schools (grades 6 to 8) and counteract pressures leading to dropout (Chaudhury and Parajuli, 2006). Some programmes have attempted to target support at groups that face a high risk of dropout. In Cambodia, a girls’ scholarship programme focuses on girls from poor households attempting to complete the last grade of primary school (Filmer and Schady, 2008).

On a far larger scale, several anti-poverty cash transfer programmes in Latin America have made support conditional on keeping children in school. Evidence from Brazil, Mexico, Nicaragua and other countries suggests that the programmes have not just improved school attendance, but also enhanced health and nutrition (UNESCO, 2010a). Policy-makers have to address important questions relating to the targeting and coverage of support and the level of transfer. But in countries with large gender disparities in education there are strong grounds for integrating incentives for girls into wider cash-transfer programmes aimed at poor households.

**A girl-friendly school environment.** Incentives can help get girls into school and lower the barriers to their progression through the education system. But what happens in the classroom is also critical. Education planners need to ensure that girls find a supportive environment that expands horizons and challenges the stereotypes that restrict ambition. This is an area in which more could be done: only about a quarter of the 322 programmes covered in this survey aimed to recruit and train women as teachers.

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2 For a summary of the results for Mexico see US National Research Council and Panel on Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries (2005).
The composition of the teacher work force can make an enormous difference. An extensive body of evidence demonstrates a positive association between the presence of female teachers and the enrolment and learning achievement of girls (Lloyd and Young, 2009). One recent study in thirty developing countries found that only female enrolment rates were positively associated with the proportion of female teachers (Huisman and Smits, 2009). A study of five West African countries found that grade 5 test scores were higher for girls taught by a woman than for girls taught by a man (Michaelowa, 2001).

Gender training of teachers is a vital complement to female recruitment. Teachers inevitably carry social attitudes into the classroom, including prejudices about students' abilities. Research in rural Kenya found that teachers not only gave boys more class time and advice, reflecting their lower expectations of girls, but also tolerated sexual harassment (Lloyd et al., 2000). The research found that girls suffered from negative attitudes and discriminatory behaviour at academically strong and weak schools alike. Such evidence underlines the importance of changing teacher attitudes as part of a wider strategy for gender equality and improved learning outcomes.

Breaking down the practices that undermine girls' learning opportunities requires the development of an integrated strategy, with teachers at the centre. Even deeply entrenched disadvantages can be diluted when girl-friendly practices are introduced. One striking example comes from Pakistan, where an initiative aimed at strengthening female literacy through improved teacher training has dramatically increased transition rates to secondary school for young girls. The recruitment of female teachers has been a central part of this success story (Box 1). More broadly, the recruitment and training of female teachers can create a virtuous circle: as more girls get through school, more female teachers become available for the next generation.

Box 1: Empowerment through the school system – Developments in Literacy in Pakistan

Pakistan has some of the world’s largest gender disparities in education. Young girls are less likely to enter the school system and more likely to drop out of primary school, and few make it through secondary school. Interlocking gender inequalities associated with poverty, labour demand, cultural practices and attitudes to girls’ education create barriers to entry and progression through school, and reduce expectation and ambition among many girls.

Developments in Literacy (DIL), a non-government organization formed thirteen years ago and supported by the Pakistani diaspora in Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States, runs 147 schools in nine districts across all four provinces of Pakistan. Its goal is ‘to provide quality education to disadvantaged children, especially girls, by establishing and operating schools in the underdeveloped regions of Pakistan, with a strong focus on gender equality and community participation’. Working through local non-government groups, it delivers education to more than 16,000 students, 60% to 70% of them girls.

Recognizing the poor quality of teaching in most public schools, DIL has developed its own teacher education centre. Training in student-centred methods is mandatory for all DIL teachers, 96% of whom are female. DIL has also developed its own reading materials in English and Urdu, designed to challenge stereotypes by showing girls exercising leadership and pursuing non-traditional roles and occupations. Innovative teaching methods have been developed to encourage problem-solving and critical thinking and to discourage passive learning.

As the programme has evolved, DIL has recognized the importance of helping girls make the transition to secondary school or work. Financial support is provided to girls graduating from DIL, enabling them to continue to government secondary schools. Transition rates from primary to secondary school have been impressive. In most schools, over 80% of students progress to grade 9. Many girls who entered the project in its early years have gone on to university and careers, with some entering teaching and health care, showing how education can create virtuous circles of rising skills and expanding opportunity.

Providing girls with relevant skills. High levels of youth unemployment, low levels of productivity and low wages are all symptoms of the misalignment between education and employment discussed earlier. In correcting that misalignment, education planners have to be aware of barriers that can prevent young girls from gaining the basic competencies and problem-solving skills they need to achieve their potential. In the global survey of programmes targeting adolescent girls, about one-fifth included a livelihood or vocational training component (Lloyd and Young, 2009).

Formal technical and vocational training opportunities are frequently more limited for girls. In 2008, females made up 31% of technical and vocational enrolment in South and West Asia and 40% in sub-Saharan Africa. Such courses often channel girls into areas characterized by low skills and low pay, fuelling a cycle of restricted expectation and limited opportunity (Adams, 2007).

Non-formal programmes for adolescent girls who have been left behind

Adolescent girls and young women who were excluded from education in their earlier years need a second chance to gain the literacy, numeracy and wider skills they need to expand their choices and strengthen their livelihoods. Non-formal education can give them that opportunity. Almost one-quarter of the 322 programmes mentioned above offered non-formal alternatives, with most including vocational training (Lloyd and Young, 2009). There is a broad array of approaches, across and within countries, to non-formal education for adolescent girls. Some governments have integrated non-formal programmes into the wider education system. In many cases, however, non-formal education is provided predominantly by non-government organizations, with government sometimes involved in a partnership. For example, the Centres d’éducation pour le développement in Mali, which address the needs of girls who have never been to school, were established by the government. But financing, training and development are supported by CARE and local non-government groups. Programmes run for three years, with two years focused on academic subjects such as reading in a local language and arithmetic, and one year spent on vocational training (Lloyd and Young, 2009).

Non-formal education has a mixed reputation, but there is evidence that it can achieve results even in the most trying environments. Conflict-affected countries pose particularly difficult challenges, not least because violent conflicts often exacerbate gender disparities (see Part 2). The Youth Education Pack project developed by the Norwegian Refugee Council targets adolescents in conflict-affected settings who are too old to re-enter school. The one-year full-time programme, currently operating in nine countries, has three components: literacy/numeracy, life skills and vocational training. Priority is given to single mothers, youth who head households and those with the least education. A recent evaluation in Burundi found that trainees were better off after attending the programme and that the skills training met high standards for relevance and quality (Ketel, 2008). Another example comes from Bangladesh, where centres run by BRAC, a large national non-government organization, take an integrated approach to vocational training and support for transition to employment (Box 2).

Conclusion

Taken separately, gender inequalities in education and employment have profoundly damaging consequences for the life chances of individuals and for national economies. Those consequences are mutually reinforcing with education disparities reinforcing labour market inequalities, which in turn reduce the incentives for girls to complete secondary school. Governments that tolerate large gender gaps in their school systems are not just depriving young girls of a basic right, but also undermining the national economic interest. Gender inequality weakens a country’s skill base, generates inefficiency and hurts firms
seeking a supply of skilled labour. Whether the situation is viewed through the narrow lens of economic growth or the wider lens of human rights and social justice, there are strong grounds for putting gender equity at the centre of a broader education and employment agenda.

Box 2: BRAC’s Employment and Livelihood for Adolescents Centres

More girls than boys now enter secondary school in Bangladesh, but adolescent girls and young women continue to face restricted employment opportunities. BRAC, well known for its microfinance expertise, has addressed this problem through an innovative programme.

The programme’s Employment and Livelihood for Adolescents (ELA) Centres aim to develop skills and increase self-confidence among young women, whether they are in or out of school. In 2009, there were over 21,000 centres where about 430,000 members can socialize, maintain their literacy skills and discuss topics such as health, child marriage and girls’ role within the family. The centres also offer training in income-generating skills along with a savings and small loans programme for women seeking to establish small businesses.

Non-formal programmes are seldom effectively evaluated, which limits the scope not just for identifying weaknesses but also for drawing valuable lessons. One advantage of the BRAC programme is that it has been subjected to evaluation. The results show it has been successful in raising social mobility and engagement in income-generating activities. Participants reported that the programme had helped boost their self-confidence and their ability to negotiate on issues concerning their lives. The combination of increased confidence and better skills meant that adolescent girls in the programme were more likely to be involved in income-generating activities and to earn more than non-participants involved in such activities. In turn, increased earnings were a source of greater autonomy. Participants reported an enhanced role in family and community decision-making, with higher income enabling them to plan for the future and in some cases pursue further studies.

The ELA model is being adapted for other countries, with pilot programmes in Afghanistan, the Sudan, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania. Careful monitoring will be required to ensure that the adaptation process responds to local conditions, but BRAC’s experience in Bangladesh shows the potential for non-formal programmes to strengthen gender equity.


Goal 1: Early childhood care and education

*Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the most vulnerable and disadvantaged children.*

### Table 2: Selected key indicators for goal 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender parity index of the gross enrolment ratio in pre-primary education</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>Change since 1999 (points)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low income countries</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle income countries</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle income countries</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High income countries</td>
<td>0.99</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab States</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Asia</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia and the Pacific</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South and West Asia</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America and Western Europe</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and Eastern Europe</td>
<td>0.96</td>
<td>-0.004</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: Gender parity is reached when the gender parity index is between 0.97 and 1.03.*

*Sources: [Extract from Table 1.8 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] Annex, Statistical Tables 3A and 3B (print) and Statistical Table 3A (website); UIS database.*
Maternal education has the potential to act as a powerful catalyst for progress in child health and nutrition. Children born to more educated mothers are more likely to survive and less likely to experience malnutrition. Universal secondary education for girls in sub-Saharan Africa could save as many as 1.8 million lives annually. The policy focus section looks at the pathways through which education empowers women and extends choice. One of the key messages for policy-makers is that stronger progress towards the international goals on child survival will require a firmer commitment to gender equality in education.

Panel 3: Child mortality rates are falling worldwide, but wide disparities remain

Basic human rights dictate that household circumstances should not determine survival prospects. Yet across the world, the risk of childhood death is closely linked to household wealth and maternal education (Figure 5). In the Philippines, Rwanda and Senegal, under-5 mortality rates are at least three times higher among children of mothers with no education than among those having mothers with some secondary education. As highlighted in the policy focus section, women’s empowerment through education saves lives. The more educated women are, the more likely they are to have better access to reproductive health and provide better nutrition to their children, all of which reduce the risk of child mortality (Cohen, 2008; Lewis and Lockheed, 2008; Singh-Manoux et al., 2008).

Figure 5: Children of mothers who attended secondary school have a lower risk of dying  
Under-5 mortality rate, by mother’s education and wealth, selected countries, 2003-2009

![Figure 5: Children of mothers who attended secondary school have a lower risk of dying](image)

Note: Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified.  
Source: [Figure 1.2 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] ICF Macro (2010).

Policy focus: Improving child health — why maternal education matters

**Empowerment through education — a catalyst for improved child health**

Household survey data provide compelling evidence of the strong association between maternal education and child health. Children with more educated mothers are more likely to survive (Figure 6). Each additional year of maternal education can reduce the risk of child death by 7% to 9% (Caldwell, 1986). A recent estimate suggests that improvements in women’s education explained half of the reduction in child deaths between 1990 and 2009.
Figure 6: Education saves lives — mortality rates fall with maternal schooling
Under-5 mortality rate, regional weighted average, by mother’s education, 2004–2009

![Graph showing mortality rates by maternal education level in South and West Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.]

Note: Regional averages are calculated using countries with data for the most recent year available in each region (four in South and West Asia and twenty-five in sub-Saharan Africa) and weighted by the population under age 5.
Sources: [Figure 1.6 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] ICF Macro (2010); United Nations (2009c).

(Gakidou et al., 2010). In Kenya, the mortality rate for children under 5 born to mothers with secondary education is less than half the level for children of mothers who failed to complete primary school (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics and ICF Macro, 2010).

While education effects intersect with other characteristics such as wealth gaps and rural-urban divides, disparities in child death rates linked to maternal education often outweigh other factors. This is especially true in countries with high levels of child mortality. The association between maternal education and nutrition is equally marked. Children born to educated mothers are also less likely to be stunted or underweight, or to suffer from micronutrient deficiencies.

The relationship between education and child health has far-reaching implications for strategies aimed at achieving the MDGs. Consider the association between maternal education and child survival in sub-Saharan Africa. If the average child mortality rate for the region were to fall to the level for children born to mothers with some secondary education, there would be 1.8 million fewer deaths – a 41% reduction (Figure 7).

Child survival advantages conferred by maternal education are not the product of simple cause and effect, and association should not be confused with causation. Education is also correlated with higher income, which in turn influences nutrition and access to clean water, shelter and basic services. Isolating a distinctive ‘education effect’ is often difficult, and the size of the effect is highly variable. However, many studies have found that maternal education has a statistically significant effect, even after controlling for other factors (Arif, 2004; Cleland and van Ginneken, 1988; Glewwe, 1999; Sandiford et al., 1995). In Pakistan, mothers’ education was found to have strongly positive effects on children’s height and weight even after other important determinants such as household income were controlled for. On average, children of mothers who had completed middle school were significantly taller and heavier than children of illiterate mothers (Aslam and Kingdon, 2010).
The precise pathways through which education influences child health outcomes are poorly understood. Formal education may directly transfer health knowledge to future mothers, make them more receptive to modern medical treatment, and impart literacy and numeracy skills that assist diagnosis (Glewwe, 1999). It may also improve confidence and status, enabling educated women to demand treatment for children and to negotiate over resources within the household.

These effects, which are not mutually exclusive, add to the impact of schooling on household income and employment. Whatever the precise mix of influences, the overall result is that education is a critical part of a wider empowerment process through which women can exercise greater control over their lives and over the well-being of their children.

Empowerment is a notoriously difficult concept to measure. Even so, there is compelling evidence that it is the primary pathway through which maternal education enhances child survival and nutrition. More educated women are more likely to receive antenatal care, immunize their children and seek treatment for acute respiratory infection, the single biggest killer of children (Figure 8). In Indonesia, 68% of children with mothers who have attended secondary school are immunized, compared with 19% of children whose mothers have no primary schooling.

Knowledge is an indicator of empowerment in its own right. Parents who lack information about the identification and treatment of infectious diseases may inadvertently expose themselves and their children to heightened levels of risk. This is especially true for HIV and AIDS. Household survey evidence for sub-Saharan Africa powerfully documents the protection afforded by maternal education. More educated mothers are more likely to know that HIV can be transmitted by breastfeeding, and that the risk of mother-to-child-transmission can be reduced by taking drugs during pregnancy (Figure 9). In Malawi, 27% of women with no education are aware that the risk of mother-to-child transmission can be reduced if the mother takes drugs during pregnancy; for women with secondary education or higher the share rises to 60%. There is also evidence that educated women are more likely to use antenatal care services to request testing for HIV (Figure 10).
Figure 8: Immunization coverage rises with women’s education

Percentage of 1-year-olds who have received basic vaccinations, by mother’s education, selected countries, 2003-2009

Notes: The basic vaccinations are those for tuberculosis (BCG), measles, polio (three doses), and diphtheria, pertussis (whooping cough) and tetanus (DPT, three doses). Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified.

Source: [Figure 1.8 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] ICF Macro (2010).
HIV and AIDS is also an area in which the empowerment effects of education can save lives. Every day, around 1,000 children under age 15 become infected with HIV, and UNAIDS estimates that 2.5 million children are living with the disease, 92% of them in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2007, UNAIDS estimated that 260,000 children under 15 died of HIV-related illness (UNAIDS, 2010). The vast majority of children affected contract the virus during pregnancy or delivery, or when breastfed by HIV-positive mothers. The marked differences in the awareness of these transmission mechanisms associated with different levels of education suggest that increased education could significantly decrease infection rates.

**Figure 9: Awareness of HIV and AIDS – education provides protection**

![Graph showing awareness of HIV and AIDS by education level.](image)

**Notes:** Calculations are based on non-weighted averages for sixteen countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified.

**Source:** [Figure 1.9 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] ICF Macro (2010).

**Figure 10: Educated women are more likely to seek testing for HIV during pregnancy**
Percentage of pregnant women who, when it was offered during an antenatal care visit, sought HIV testing and received their results, by education, selected sub-Saharan African countries, 2004-2007

![Graph showing percentage of pregnant women seeking HIV testing.](image)

**Note:** Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified.

**Source:** [Figure 1.10 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] ICF Macro (2010).
Of course, knowledge on its own is not enough. Converting information into action requires access to health services and affordable medicines. In the case of HIV and AIDS, the first step is to ensure that pregnant mothers have access to health systems providing advice, testing and treatment. Yet in 2008, fewer than half of the estimated 1.4 million HIV-positive pregnant women in low and middle income countries received antiretroviral therapy (Global Fund, 2010c). Even where services are available, user fees and drug prices often create barriers to entry. Removing fees can deliver rapid results. In recent years, countries including Burundi, Liberia, Nepal and Sierra Leone have removed charges for maternal and child health services, leading to significant increases in attendance at clinics. In Burundi, outpatient consultations for children have trebled and the number of births in health units has increased by 146% since fees were removed in 2006 (Yates, 2010).

Cash transfer programmes can also improve child and maternal health care by reducing poverty-related constraints. In Mexico, the Oportunidades programme, in which parents receive a payment linked to compliance with nutrition programmes, has reduced the prevalence of stunting and is associated with children doing better on measures of cognitive development (Fernald et al., 2008). In Nicaragua, a conditional cash transfer programme in rural areas has supported increased spending on healthier and more varied diets; the results have included gains in language and other indicators of cognitive development (Macours et al., 2008). An innovative programme in India extends conditional cash transfers to create incentives for women to give birth in health facilities (Box 3). Direct nutritional interventions are also important. In Viet Nam, a pre-school nutrition programme has been associated with higher test scores by beneficiaries in grades 1 and 2 (Watanabe et al., 2005).

Box 3: Promoting safe delivery in India

The state of maternal, newborn and child health in India is a matter of global importance. More than 1 million children in the country do not survive their first month — one-third of the world’s total number of neonatal deaths. Both maternal and neonatal mortality have been falling far too slowly to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.

In 2005, the government of India launched a new programme in response to the limited and varied progress in improving maternal and neonatal health. Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY) is a national conditional cash transfer programme aimed at creating incentives for women of low socio-economic status to give birth in health facilities. After delivery in an accredited facility, women receive on average the equivalent of US$13 to US$15, rising to US$31 in rural areas of ten states that have very poor indicators. In 2008–2009, the programme reached 8.4 million women.

How successful has JSY been? Early evaluations have documented some positive signs and several challenges. There has been a marked increase in in-facility births and a small reduction in neonatal deaths. However, the poorest and least educated women have not always been well targeted. The more serious problem is that birth centres are chronically understaffed and do not meet basic quality standards. Instances of corruption have also been reported.

For all its problems, JSY is a serious attempt to address one of the most pressing human development issues facing India. It has the potential to contribute to wider measures that could save many lives. Realizing that potential will require strong supportive action in other areas, including increased financing for the public health system and governance reforms to enhance the quality of care and accountability of providers.

Sources: [Box 1.1 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] Lim et al. (2010); Paul (2010).

Such evidence shows that rapid gains in child health and nutrition are possible, and underlines the importance of integrated approaches and equity in service delivery. Maternal education produces strong multiplier effects in health, though the case for gender equity in education is not contingent on these effects. Current approaches to child survival and nutrition have an unduly narrow focus on increasing the supply of basic health services. By
increasing demand for these services, maternal education could strengthen their effectiveness and accelerate progress towards better child survival and nutrition. National governments need to drive improvements in child health and nutrition, but donors also need to step up their support.

**Goal 2: Universal primary education**

*Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.*

Being female, poor and living in a country affected by conflict are three of the most pervasive risk factors for children being out of school.

**Panel 4: The number of children out of school is declining, but not fast enough**

In both sub-Saharan Africa and South and West Asia, girls are less likely to enter school than are boys, drawing attention to the persistence of gender disadvantage. In sub-Saharan Africa, almost three-quarters of out-of-school girls are expected never to enrol, compared with only two-thirds of boys (UIS, 2010a).

Along with gender, wealth and household location strongly influence the out-of-school profile. In Pakistan, 49% of the poorest children aged 7 to 16 were out of school in 2007, compared with 5% of children from the wealthiest households (Figure 11). A child’s location and gender reinforce disparities – poor girls living in rural areas are sixteen times less likely to be in school than boys from the wealthiest households living in urban areas.

The global gender gaps in the out-of-school population have narrowed, but girls still made up 53% of the out-of-school population in 2008. Disparities are most pronounced in South and West Asia, where girls account for 59% of children not enrolled in school.

**Figure 11: The chances of going to school vary enormously within countries**

*Percentage of 7- to 16-year-olds not enrolled in school in Pakistan, 2007*

Source: [Figure 1.13 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] UNESCO et al. (2010).
Policy focus – Tackling the dropout crisis in primary schools

*Patterns of dropout vary across the primary school cycle*

Understanding when children drop out is critical for designing policy and timing interventions. Detailed national profiles of dropout patterns are a vital tool in identifying periods when children are most at risk and in informing the design of policies to mitigate that risk.

Gender-related factors come into play. In countries where early marriage is common, girls who start school late may be deemed to be of marrying age long before completing primary school. One study in Uganda found that early marriage and pregnancy were two of the leading reasons for girls dropping out of primary school (Boyle et al., 2002). Parental fears over the security of their daughters also increase during the adolescent years.

**Goal 3: Youth and adult learning needs**

*Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life skills programmes.*

**Panel 5: Access to secondary education has improved, but large inequalities remain**

Secondary school attendance and completion are strongly influenced by poverty, location and gender (Figure 12).

**Figure 12: Urban youth have better chances of completing secondary education**


Notes: Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified. Urban and rural poor are defined as the poorest 20%.

Source: [Figure 1.23 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] UNESCO et al. (2010).
Policy focus – Overcoming the marginalization of low-skill workers in developed countries

In the Republic of Korea, the public Employment Insurance System, which subsidizes in-company training, favours men with higher education degrees in large companies towards the middle of their career (Table 3).

Table 3: Training in the Republic of Korea favours male workers
Participation in firm-based training subsidized by the Employment Insurance System, 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Participants as share of all insured employees in category (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total (%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>476 298</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1 861 063</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: [Extract from Table 1.6 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] OECD (2007a).

Overcoming the skills divide

The Educational Maintenance Allowance in the United Kingdom has been available since 2004 for 16- to 19-year-olds undertaking any academic or vocational course. Evaluations suggest that the allowance has improved participation, retention and achievement, especially among low and middle achievers, young women and ethnic minority students (OECD, 2008b).

In Spain, the Escuelas Taller (apprenticeship schools) and Casas de Oficios (craft centres) combine two years of general classroom-based teaching with practical work in monument conservation and other areas of social and public interest. Most participants have not completed upper secondary education, and about two-thirds are male. By 2004, about 80% of programme completers were employed or had started their own businesses within a year of completion. However, these two small-scale programmes, which by 2004 covered only 20,000 youth, are among the limited opportunities available in Spain (OECD, 2007b).

Goal 4: Improving levels of adult literacy

Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

In 2008, there were just under 796 million illiterate adults, around 17% of the world’s adult population (Table 4). Women make up nearly two-thirds of the total.

Panel 6: Disparities in literacy rates within countries are large

National literacy data can mask the level of social disparity within countries. As the global numbers indicate, women are far less likely to be literate than men, reflecting past and present inequalities in access to opportunities for education. But gender is just part of a literacy divide that encompasses wealth, location and other markers for disadvantage.

When it comes to literacy, the legacy of gender disadvantage weighs heavily on a global scale. Literacy rates for women are higher than those for men in only 19 of the 143 countries with available data. In 41 countries, women are twice as likely as men to be illiterate. Irrespective of the overall level of adult literacy, female adult literacy levels are generally far lower in developing countries. While gender gaps in wealthier developing countries tend to be smaller, they often remain substantial. For example, in Turkey overall literacy levels are high but female literacy rates are fifteen percentage points below those of men.
Table 4: Key indicators for goal 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Total illiterate adults</th>
<th>Adult literacy rates</th>
<th>Youth literacy rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>795 605</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low income countries</td>
<td>202 997</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower middle income countries</td>
<td>531 704</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper middle income countries</td>
<td>47 603</td>
<td>-26</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High income countries</td>
<td>13 950</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>167 200</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab States</td>
<td>60 181</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Asia</td>
<td>362 322</td>
<td>-61</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Asia and the Pacific</td>
<td>105 322</td>
<td>-54</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South and West Asia</td>
<td>412 432</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and the Caribbean</td>
<td>36 056</td>
<td>-22</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America and Western Europe</td>
<td>6 292</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central and Eastern Europe</td>
<td>7 960</td>
<td>-36</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified. Gender parity is reached when the gender parity index is between 0.97 and 1.03.

Sources: [Table 1.7 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] Annex, Statistical Table 2; UIS database.

**Policy focus: Working for a breakthrough in adult literacy**

Improving adult literacy ought to be a leading priority on the international development agenda. Literacy can empower people by increasing their self-esteem and creating opportunities to escape poverty. It can equip women with the knowledge and confidence to exercise greater control over their reproductive health, protect the health of their children and participate in decisions that affect their lives. Literacy programmes also have a wider role to play in promoting equity because they target populations that have a history of marginalization in education and in society (UNESCO, 2010a). That is why progress in adult literacy is of vital importance both for the Education for All agenda and for the achievement of the wider Millennium Development Goals (UNESCO, 2005).
Box 4: Strong government coordination of literacy programmes in Morocco

Morocco adopted a national strategy for literacy and non-formal education in 2004, aiming to reduce the illiteracy rate from 43% in 2003 to 20% by 2012. The Department for Literacy and Non-Formal Education is responsible for overall management and curriculum design, while a committee headed by the prime minister assures coordination among ministries. The state funds four types of programmes:

- Regional and local offices of the government implement a general programme focusing on basic literacy (152,000 participants in 2006/2007).
- They also run other public programmes covering functional literacy and income-generating skills (242,000 participants).
- A partnership started with non-government organizations in 1998 provides additional programmes aimed at women and seeks to encourage professionalization of non-government groups (310,000 participants).
- A smaller functional literacy programme is run by private companies as a first step towards continuing vocational training for illiterate employees (5,000 participants).

Of the 709,000 people enrolled in the programmes in 2006/2007, 82% were women and 50% lived in rural areas.


Box 5: Support to literacy instructors pays off in Egypt

Sustained progress in raising literacy levels requires a body of instructors equipped to impart skills. The experience of Egypt demonstrates the role that support for trainers can play.

In the mid-1990s, the General Authority for Literacy and Adult Education (GALAE) launched an ambitious ten-year campaign focused on basic literacy skills in Arabic. The core literacy component was complemented by courses offering equivalency certificates for primary education and opportunities for vocational training. Secondary school graduates were offered a monthly stipend to train illiterate relatives, friends and community members, subject to government certification. GALAE provided textbooks and other materials, but lacked resources to offer systematic training or supervision. After initial successes, enrolment and completion rates declined and the campaign faltered, especially in poorer, rural districts and among women.

National authorities responded by reconfiguring the programme. With support from aid donors, GALAE developed the Capacity Enhancement for Lifelong Learning (CELL) programme. Textbook-based teaching was replaced by participatory teaching methods, with an emphasis on materials relevant to learners’ lives and experiences. The programme was targeted at deprived villages in which the previous campaign had failed. Community leaders were recruited to help generate interest in the programme. Instructors were local secondary school graduates. Paid the same stipend as in the original programme, they received three initial residential training courses and a monthly support meeting with a CELL instructor.

Strengthened support delivered results. In 2005, an evaluation found high retention rates, with 82% of entrants completing the first five-month phase and 62% the second one. Achievement levels were also high: 65% of CELL learners enrolled in the second year passed the final assessment, compared with less than 50% in the earlier campaign. The project also succeeded in enrolling women, who represented three-quarters of learners. The evaluation linked the improved performance to the local recruitment of facilitators, the adaptation of the curriculum to local needs and the quality of support to instructors.

Sources: [Box 1.11 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] McCaffery et al. (2007); Oxenham (2005).
Goal 6: The quality of education

*Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills.*

Figure 13: Differences in learning achievement are related to wealth and location
Percentage of grade 6 students scoring from level 5 to level 8 in the SACMEQ reading assessment, 2007

Note: SACMEQ uses eight levels to rank grade 6 reading skills. Level 1 students are classified as having only pre-reading skills. Level 5 students are classified as having interpretive reading skills and level 8 students are assessed as having obtained critical reading skills.

Source: [Figure 1.39 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] Hungi et al. (2010).

Policy focus – Bridging learning gaps in poor countries

Household circumstances weigh heavily on geographic differences in learning achievement. In Kenya, half of the poorest children in grade 3 could read a standard grade 2 Kiswahili text, compared with about three-quarters of the richest students. Many factors influence such results, but one important effect is linked to the ability of households to pay for extra tuition (Figure 14). For rich households, extra tuition led to fairly modest but still significant improvement in test scores, but children from the poorest households — especially girls — receiving extra tuition were far more likely to pass the Kiswahili test. Poor girls receiving extra tuition were 1.4 times more likely to pass the test than girls who did not pay for additional coaching.

Government allocation mechanisms can play a key role in narrowing learning gaps. In India, per-pupil allocations from central government funds have been substantially increased to the districts with the worst education indicators. The formula targets districts that have poor school infrastructure, limited access to higher grades of primary school, large populations of disadvantaged children (particularly from scheduled castes) and wide gender disparities in enrolment. In 2008/2009, per-pupil allocations to such districts were nearly double those to the districts with the best indicators. The additional resources helped fund extra teachers and narrow gaps in infrastructure (Jhingran and Sankar, 2009).
Countries affected by armed conflict are among the farthest from reaching the Education for All goals, yet their education challenges go largely unreported. The hidden crisis in education in conflict-affected states is a global challenge that demands an international response. As well as undermining prospects for boosting economic growth, reducing poverty and achieving the Millennium Development Goals, armed conflict is reinforcing the inequalities, desperation and grievances that trap countries in cycles of violence.

Chapter 3 – Education and armed conflict: The deadly spirals

Violent conflict is destroying educational opportunities for millions of children. This chapter identifies the mechanisms of destruction — including attacks on schools, human rights violations and diversion of resources to military spending — and examines the shortcomings of the international aid response. It also explains how the wrong sort of education can help fuel conflict by fostering intolerance, prejudice and injustice.

Armed conflict as a barrier to Education for All

When governments adopted the Dakar Framework for Action in 2000, they identified conflict as ‘a major barrier towards attaining Education for All’ (UNESCO, 2000, p. 19). With the 2015 target date for reaching the Education for All goals approaching, violent conflict is still one of the greatest obstacles to accelerated progress in education.

Taken collectively, the thirty low income and lower middle income conflict-affected countries identified for this Report have some of the world’s worst education indicators – far worse than for countries at comparable income levels that are not affected by conflict. And girls are left furthest behind. While low and lower middle income countries not affected by conflict have reached gender parity of the gross enrolment ratio in both primary and secondary
education, conflict-affected poor countries are far from reaching this goal, especially at the secondary level (Figure 15). The heavy burden of violent conflict on education revealed by this global snapshot is confirmed by a review of the empirical literature at the country-level. The small number of such studies available show that girls tend to be more affected, in part because of sexual violence (Justino, 2010).

Violence reinforces inequalities

Within countries, the impact of conflict varies geographically and between groups. While data constraints make it difficult to establish clear patterns, there is convincing evidence that conflict strongly reinforces the disadvantages associated with gender and poverty. The upshot is that armed conflict both holds back overall progress in education and reinforces national inequalities. Since education disparities can play a role in fuelling conflict, the result is a self-reinforcing cycle of violence and rising inequality.

The more localized effects of armed conflict can be captured by the Deprivation and Marginalization in Education (DME) data set (UNESCO et al., 2010), which makes it possible to compare levels of educational disadvantage in conflict-affected areas with those in other parts of a country. The DME measures the share of the population aged 7 to 16 with no education and the proportion of those aged 17 to 22 living in ‘extreme education poverty’ (with less than two years of schooling). The data set also makes it possible to look at associations between education indicators and wealth and gender disparities.

The results confirm that conflict-affected areas are often sites of extreme disadvantage in education (Figure 16). Within these areas, the poor typically fare far worse than others, and poor girls worst of all. In comparison with the national average, adolescents and young adults living in North Kivu province of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, for example, are twice as likely to have less than two years in school – three times as likely for poor females. In the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM) in the Philippines, the incidence of extreme education poverty is twice as high for women aged 17 to 22 from poor
households as for their average national counterparts. One stark example of the wealth and gender effects of conflict comes from northern Uganda. In this case, violent conflict appears to have had little impact on the educational opportunities of boys from the wealthiest one-fifth of households, while it nearly doubles the risk of extreme education poverty for girls from the...
poorest households. In the case of gender, poverty effects interact with parental security fears over sexual violence to keep girls out of school.

Most violence is directed against civilians

All armed conflicts pose threats to the lives and security of civilians. Those threats can be limited when combatants observe international norms on the protection of non-combatants. Unfortunately, the rise in intra-state conflict has been associated with flagrant disregard for such norms. Non-state groups as well as many government forces perpetrate egregious violations of human rights, indiscriminate acts of terror, targeting of civilians, forcible uprooting of communities and destruction of livelihoods. These patterns of violence are a source of widespread insecurity and poverty. And they have a devastating impact on children and education systems. Girls and women are often among the most affected.

Examples from the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Darfur region of the Sudan are illustrative. Women and girls are under threat of rape and other gender-based violence in both countries. In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the United Nations has accused state and non-state parties of widespread, systematic violation of human rights, military operations between January and September 2009 resulted in reports of more than 1,400 civilian deaths and 7,500 rapes. Belonging to an armed group in the conflict zones of the north-eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo has some risk attached. But being a civilian – especially a female civilian – is far more dangerous. Military operations by government forces and their allies against one of the main militias in January 2009 produced a grim casualty arithmetic that powerfully highlights the distribution of risks. For every reported fatality of a militia member, three civilians were killed, twenty-three women and girls were raped, and twenty homes were burned (Human Rights Watch, 2009b).

On the front line – children, teachers and schools

Education systems have been directly affected by the indiscriminate use of force and deliberate targeting of civilians that are hallmarks of violent conflict. Children and schools today are on the front line of armed conflicts, with classrooms, teachers and pupils seen as legitimate targets. The consequence, as one UN report puts it, is ‘a growing fear among children to attend school, among teachers to give classes, and among parents to send their children to school’.

In several long-running conflicts, armed groups have used attacks on schoolchildren and teachers to ‘punish’ participation in state institutions. Groups opposed to gender equity in education have targeted girls in particular. Among recent examples:

- In Afghanistan, some insurgent groups have actively sought to undermine access to education through attacks on schoolchildren, teachers and school infrastructure. In the first half of 2010, seventy-four children were killed as a result of suicide attacks and improvised explosive devices, sometimes deliberately placed on routes used by female students to walk to school (UNAMA, 2010). Other incidents included bomb attacks on a secondary school in Khost province and the poisoning of water supplies at girls’ schools in Kunduz province (O’Malley, 2010b). One study on behalf of the World Bank and the Afghanistan Ministry of Education found that girls’ schools were targeted more often than boys’ schools (Glad, 2009).

- Insurgent groups in Pakistan’s Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas have targeted girls’ primary and secondary schools. In one attack, ninety-five girls were injured as they left school (O’Malley, 2010b).
Rape and other sexual violence

Sexual violence has accompanied armed conflicts throughout history. Mass rape was a feature of Bangladesh’s war of independence, ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, the civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone, and the genocide in Rwanda, where it is estimated that 250,000 to 500,000 women were subjected to sexual attacks (IRIN, 2010b; Kivlahan and Ewigman, 2010). The international courts set up in the wake of the wars in the former Yugoslavia and the genocide in Rwanda have firmly established rape and other sexual violence as war crimes, yet these acts remain widely deployed weapons of war. They are used to inflict terror, destroy family and community ties, humiliate ethnic, religious or racial groups defined as ‘the enemy’ and to undermine the rule of law (Goetz and Jenkins, 2010). While the majority of victims are girls and women, boys and men are also at risk in many countries.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the devastating effects on education. For those directly affected, sexual violence leaves psychological trauma that inevitably impairs the potential for learning. Fear of such violence, exacerbated when perpetrators go unpunished, constrains women’s mobility and often results in girls staying home rather than attending school. The family breakdown that often accompanies sexual violence undermines prospects of children being brought up in a nurturing environment. Of all the grave human rights violations monitored by the Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict, rape and sexual violence is the most underreported. Cultural taboos, limited access to legal processes, unresponsive institutions and a culture of impunity are at the heart of the under-reporting problem. However, the United Nations reporting system also contributes (see Chapter 4). The following accounts provide an insight into the scale of the problem:

- The Kivu provinces of the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo have been described as ‘the rape capital of the world’ (Kristof and WuDunn, 2009). Reported cases of rape in North and South Kivu stood at 9,000 in 2009, and reporting captures only a fraction of the crimes (UN News Centre, 2010). One survey found that 40% of women had reported an experience of sexual violence, and it also documented a high level of sexual violence against men and boys (Johnson et al., 2010). Children have figured prominently among the victims: the Secretary-General documented 2,360 reported cases in Oriental Province and the Kivus in 2009 (United Nations, 2010b). Alarmingly, national army and police units have been heavily implicated, along with a wide range of militias. Despite a strong national law on sexual violence, only twenty-seven soldiers were convicted of offences in North and South Kivu in 2008 (Human Rights Watch, 2009d). Recent military operations against militias have been accompanied by a sharp increase in rape levels. In September 2010, around 287 women and girls were raped in four days in what the United Nations described as a carefully planned attack (MONUSCO and OHCHR, 2010).

- In eastern Chad, women and girls face the threat of rape and other forms of sexual violence by local militias, Janjaweed groups from the Sudan and members of the national army. Most reported cases concern attacks on and rapes of girls carrying out household activities outside camps for IDPs (United Nations, 2008a). Access to essential services such as health care are often lacking for victims of such violence (Perez, 2010).

- In Afghanistan, widespread sexual violence against girls and boys has been reported. The poor rule of law in many areas has hindered reporting to authorities. Perpetrators are often linked to local power brokers, including government and elected officials, military commanders and members of armed groups (UNAMA and OHCHR, 2009). Sexual violence remains a major concern in Darfur. In 2004, Amnesty International documented systematic rape by Janjaweed militia and Sudanese armed forces (Amnesty International, 2004). Arrest warrants issued by the International Criminal Court indicate
that senior political figures may be implicated. The warrants issued for President Omar al-Bashir, a former state minister and a Janjaweed militia leader cite evidence of government collusion in perpetuating or facilitating crimes against humanity, including the subjection of thousands of women to rape (International Criminal Court, 2010a).

**Recruitment into armed forces and abduction**

The forced recruitment of children into armed forces, often through abduction, is widespread. It remains an immense barrier to education, not just because child soldiers are not in school, but also because the threat of abduction, the trauma involved, and problems of reintegration have far wider effects. While child soldiers are invariably depicted as boys, girls are often involved as well. Since the armed conflicts in Angola and Mozambique in the 1990s, ‘girl soldiers have been present in virtually every non-international conflict’ (Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers, 2008, p. 28). In some conflicts, abduction of girls for sexual exploitation and forced marriage has also been common (Geneva Declaration, 2008; WCRWC, 2006).

**Reinforcing poverty and diverting finance**

As well as destroying lives, war weakens livelihoods, exacerbates health risks, undermines economic growth and diverts scarce public resources into armaments. Efforts to accelerate progress towards the Education for All goals suffer twice over, as violent conflict increases poverty – with attendant consequences for child labour and household spending on education – and robs school systems of desperately needed investment.

Many of the poorest countries spend significantly more on arms than on basic education. Drawing on data for thirty-nine countries, this Report identifies twenty-one states in which military spending outstrips spending on primary education – in some cases by a large margin. Many of these countries, including Chad and Pakistan – where the military budgets are four and seven times the primary education budget respectively – have large out-of-school populations, poor quality public education, and very high levels of gender inequality.

**Mass displacement – a barrier to education**

Access to school can offer displaced children and youth a sense of normality and a safe space. All too often, however, displacement is a prelude to severe educational disadvantage.

In Afghanistan, squatter areas around Kabul include people who have returned from refugee camps in the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan but have become IDPs, not yet able to go back to their home area. One survey of returnees found that over one-third of parents reported being unable to send girls to school, often citing the absence of a safely accessible school building as the main reason (Koser and Schmeidl, 2009).

While data remain limited for many refugee situations, recent work by UNHCR has started to fill some of the information gaps, especially on provision levels in refugee camps. Data collected in 127 camps in 2008 documented wide variations in education indicators. High levels of gender disparity are a feature of many refugee camps (Figure 17). On average, there are around eight girls in school for every ten boys at the primary level, and even fewer at the secondary level. Gender disparities are particularly wide in camps in South and West Asia, especially in Pakistan, where four girls are enrolled for every ten boys at the primary level. In sub-Saharan Africa, nine girls are enrolled for every ten boys at the primary level. The gender gap widens significantly at the secondary level, where around six girls are enrolled for every ten boys. Problems of insecurity in some camps deter many parents from sending children to school, especially girls.
In Iraq, analysis of data from the governorates of Baghdad, Basra and Ninewa found that IDP families were far less likely to send their children to school than families in the local population. Significant gender gaps were observed for children of IDPs in all three governorates (Bigio and Scott, 2009).

Displacement effects linked to violence are compounded by poverty, excluding many displaced children from education. Surveys of displaced people in many conflict zones consistently point to household deprivation, often linked to child labour, as a barrier to education. Internally displaced households in Afghanistan cite child labour as the primary reason for young boys being out of school (Koser and Schmeidl, 2009).

**Fanning the flames – education failures can fuel armed conflict**

Education is seldom a primary cause of conflict. Yet it is often an underlying element in the political dynamic pushing countries towards violence. Intra-state armed conflict is often associated with grievances and perceived injustices linked to identity, faith, ethnicity and region. Education can make a difference in all these areas, tipping the balance in favour of peace – or conflict. This Report identifies mechanisms through which too little education, unequal access to education, and the wrong type of education can make societies more prone to armed conflict.

**Restricted education opportunities – a source of poverty and insecurity**

When large numbers of young people are denied access to decent quality basic education, the resulting poverty, unemployment and sense of hopelessness can act as forceful recruiting agents for armed militia.

Much of the debate on poverty-driven recruitment into armed groups tends to focus on young men. But young women are also affected. While women typically represent a small share of armed combatants, they have accounted for up to one-third of some insurgent groups (Bouta et al., 2005). Lack of education and job opportunities was reported as one consideration informing the decision of young women to join armed groups in Mozambique,
for example (McKay and Mazurana, 2004). Women may also provide less visible non-
military support (whether voluntarily or otherwise) through domestic labour and 'encouraging'
their children to go to war (McLean Hilker and Fraser, 2009). Other gender-based factors
contribute to female recruitment. In some countries, young girls and women are more prone
to abduction by armed militias, whose leaders exploit female recruits for military, sexual and
labour purposes. The fact that women often have significantly lower educational
opportunities may also be significant. One survey in Liberia found that young women who
had been combatants had had little access to education or work, making them more
vulnerable to exploitation (Specht, 2006).

Failures in education exacerbate the risks associated with the youth bulge and
unemployment. Too many children leave school in conflict-affected countries lacking the
skills and knowledge they need to succeed in labour markets, making them vulnerable to
recruitment into armed groups, often with tragic consequences. In Rwanda, unemployed,
dereduced rural male youth figured prominently among the perpetrators of the 1994
genocide. One reason was that young men who were out of education, unable to inherit land
and lacking the skills even to find low-paid, temporary jobs were drawn into the Interahamwe
militia through a combination of coercion and monetary reward (Sommers, 2006).

Unequal education – a force for grievance and injustice

Inequalities in education, interacting with wider disparities, heighten the risk of conflict.
Demands for a greater share of resource wealth to be invested in education figure
prominently in many group-based conflicts. Striking contrasts between the wealth generated
by exploitation of minerals and the dilapidated state of classrooms, low levels of education
and high levels of poverty can generate a strong sense of grievance. Nigeria’s oil-rich Niger
Delta region provides an example. The region has 90% of the country’s oil reserves but also
its highest poverty levels. Unemployment is high as well, while access to good education
and other basic services is limited. One survey of around 1,340 young men in the region
found that more than half had not completed primary school, and over a quarter were neither
in education nor employment (Oyefusi, 2007). Young adults with little or no education were
most willing to join in violent protest or armed struggle. Statistically, a person with primary
schooling in the region was found to be 44% less likely to be involved in armed struggle than
a person with no education (Oyefusi, 2007, 2008).

Schools as a vehicle for social division

Values inculcated in school can make children less susceptible to the kind of prejudice,
bigotry, extreme nationalism, racism and lack of tolerance that can lead to violent conflict.
When the discrimination and power relationships that maintain social, political and economic
exclusion find expression in the classroom, however, education can have the opposite effect.
Schools can act as conduits for transmitting attitudes, ideas and beliefs that make societies
more prone to violence.

Aid to conflict-affected countries – distorted by the security agenda

Development assistance has a vital role to play in conflict-affected countries. It has the
potential to break the vicious circle of warfare and low human development in which many
countries are trapped, and to support a transition to lasting peace. Several problems,
however, have weakened the effectiveness of the international aid effort.

The blurring of lines between development assistance and foreign policy goals has far-
reaching implications for education. Involving the military in school construction can put
children directly on the front line. Education is already part of the political battleground in
Afghanistan and other countries. The Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission
(2008, p. 36) reported that in 2007–2008 attendance in school declined by 8% for boys and 11% for girls and concluded that this was ‘arguably linked to increasing insecurity and in particular to threats and attacks against schools and families who send their children there’.

Comprehensive evaluations of projects involving military engagement in aid projects are sparse. While some projects may generate development benefits, others appear to produce poor results at high cost. One example comes from northern Kenya, where building schools has been a key part of the strategy of the US Combined Joint Task Force – Horn of Africa to counter terrorism, mitigate violent extremism, and promote stability and governance. Over half the spending on these projects has been allocated to education. Enrolment has increased in some areas, often benefiting girls in particular. But the overall development impact has been negligible, partly because the costs for administration and classroom construction are far higher than in comparable NGO projects and partly because projects have generally been extremely small in scale (a single classroom or toilet block, for example) (Bradbury and Kleinman, 2010).

**Chapter 4 – Making human rights count**

International human rights provisions should protect children and education from violent conflict. Yet both are subject to widespread attacks, and their attackers enjoy almost total impunity, particularly regarding sexual violence. This chapter documents the scale of human rights violations experienced by vulnerable children. It calls on governments and the international community to provide a more robust defence of children, civilians and schools during conflict. It argues for a fundamental shift in the mindsets and practices that are failing to make education a core part of humanitarian aid, despite evidence that parents and children rate education one of their highest priorities in times of emergency.

**Ending impunity – from monitoring to action**

In 2008, the Security Council adopted Resolution 1820, which recognized the existence of sexual violence as a tactic of war. Building on an earlier statement, Resolution 1325 (United Nations, 2000c), it called for stronger measures to protect civilians, and requested the Secretary-General to produce an annual report on, among other things, actions taken aimed at ‘immediately and completely ceasing all acts of sexual violence and … measures to protect women and girls from all forms of sexual violence’ (United Nations, 2008c, pp. 4–5). The Security Council called for renewed efforts to enforce this injunction in September 2010 (United Nations, 2010k). A breakthrough was also achieved in 2009, with the inclusion of rape and sexual violence under Resolution 1882 in the criteria for listing parties, covered in the report on children and armed conflict (United Nations, 2009i).

The complexity of international human rights provisions can distract attention from a core issue of vital importance to the Education for All agenda. Evidence from conflicts around the world demonstrates that the lines between civilians and combatants are increasingly blurred. Human rights protection is about restoring these lines. It is the armour that should protect children from attack, girls and women from sexual violence, and schools from conflict-related damage.

The special tribunals established following the conflicts in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia passed sentences against individuals found guilty of crimes against humanity and war crimes, including rape and crimes of sexual violence (United Nations, 2010i). At the Special Court on Sierra Leone, several former state and non-state parties, including the former Liberian president, Charles Taylor, are facing charges ranging from acts of terrorism against civilians to rape, looting, abduction and the recruitment of child soldiers. The ICC is actively prosecuting a number of cases involving attacks on children, abduction and sexual violence. In 2010, the ICC issued warrants for the arrest of the Sudan’s President Omar al-
bashir, along with another political leader and a military commander in the janjaweed militia, for crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide linked to activities in darfur, including systematic and widespread rape (international criminal court, 2010a).

as of may 2010, the office of the prosecutor had issued eight arrest warrants for charges related to sexual violence and rape (women's initiative for gender justice, 2010). theicc has been particularly active in the democratic republic of the congo. the case of one former militia leader, thomas lubanga dyilo, is the first to be brought before theicc that concerns child soldiers. two other militia commanders have been charged with the commission of war crimes, including the use of children in hostilities and attacks on civilians, as well as murder, rape and sexual slavery (cicc, 2010; united nations, 2010b). there is some evidence from the democratic republic of the congo that militia leaders are concerned about avoiding citation by theicc. 5. it is not clear if the leaders of the militia in the eastern democratic republic of the congo that carried out an attack in july-august 2010, including the rape of some 300 young girls and women, were aware of theicc cases. but their superiors have since handed over to the united nations one of the commanders alleged to be responsible, possibly to forestall action (rice, 2010).

while each of these processes may seem far removed from the daily realities of schoolchildren and civilians in conflict-affected areas, they are in fact directly relevant. to the extent that they are enforced and seen by potential human rights violators as a threat to impunity, security council resolutions, monitoring and judicial precedents can help re-establish the boundaries between civilians and combatants. they make it less likely that young girls will be subject to sexual violence, that schoolchildren will be abducted to serve as soldiers and that schools will be attacked. the problem is that enforcement mechanisms remain far too weak to deliver results.

nowhere is impunity more evident than in the area of sexual violence and rape. the secretary-general has been particularly forthright in his assessment of the international community’s limited response to sexual violence. ‘in no other area is our collective failure to ensure effective protection for civilians more apparent … than in terms of the masses of women and girls, but also boys and men, whose lives are destroyed each year by sexual violence perpetrated in conflict’ (united nations, 2007, p. 12).

even a cursory reading of country reports presented to the security council reveals a consistent pattern of human rights abuse. while women and girls are disproportionately affected, in some countries men and boys have also been targeted (johnson et al., 2010; russell, 2007). reports by the working group on children in armed conflict point to near total impunity for perpetrators, systematic under-reporting and, in many cases, a flagrant disregard on the part of many governments for delivering protection. in eastern chad, cases have been reported of officers and soldiers of the national army committing rape and gang rape targeting children (united nations, 2008a). in 2007, a united nations high level mission to the sudan noted that ‘rape and sexual violence are widespread and systematic’ throughout darfur, and more recent reports have documented continued sexual violence by members of the sudanese armed forces and rebel movements (unhcr, 2007b, p. 2). these are not isolated events but part of a wider culture of impunity (box 6).

that culture appears in particularly stark form in the democratic republic of the congo, where the plight of girls and women has been described as ‘a war within a war’. government security forces and armed militias are all implicated. one particularly brutal episode, conducted on the eve of the tenth anniversary of resolution 1325, in july-august 2010, saw over 300 girls and women raped in one violent episode by armed militiamen in the east of the country (rice, 2010). the overall level of sexual violence in conflict-affected areas of the democratic republic of the congo can only be guessed at. in 2005, the reported incidence of rape in south kivu province reached up to forty cases per day (united nations, 2010f). to
Box 6: Glimpses of sexual terror in conflict zones

If there is one word that summarizes the central finding of United Nations monitoring reports on sexual violence and rape in conflict-affected countries, that word is ‘impunity’. Beyond the direct personal responsibility of those involved, the degree of impunity raises also questions about the ‘superior responsibility’ of political and military leaders. The following excerpts from United Nations’ reports highlight the scale of the problem.

Afghanistan. ‘Available information points to sexual violence, including that against children, as a widespread phenomenon … The general climate of impunity and the vacuum in rule of law has adversely affected the reporting of sexual violence and abuse against children.’ (United Nations, 2010b, p. 14)

Central African Republic. ‘Incidents of rape and other grave sexual violence are a critical concern in the Central African Republic, although such incidents are severely under-reported … All parties to the conflict are responsible for rapes and other grave sexual violence … There remains a high level of impunity for such crimes against children.’ (United Nations, 2008a, p. 5)

Chad. ‘Rape and other grave sexual violence are common … Because of the taboo surrounding sexual crimes … perpetrators are rarely, if ever, brought to justice. The climate of impunity and stigmatization of girls and women who have been raped discourages victims from reporting cases to authorities.’ (United Nations, 2009e, p. 10)

Côte d’Ivoire. ‘The prevalence of rape and other forms of sexual violence remains the most urgent concern … with no substantial improvement … The situation is … aggravated by the continued impunity of perpetrators.’ (United Nations, 2010b, p. 18)

Democratic Republic of the Congo. ‘Sexual violence against children continued to be a widespread phenomenon… In Oriental Province and the Kivus, of 2,360 cases that were reported to have been committed against children, 447 have been attributed to security forces and armed groups.’ (United Nations, 2010b, p. 19)

Sudan. ‘In Darfur, cases of rape and sexual violence against children were often allegedly committed by men in uniform and attributed to military, police personnel, armed-group factions and militia men … The persistent allegations indicate that sexual violence remains a major concern in Darfur, taking into consideration that many cases remain unreported owing to stigma and fear.’ (United Nations, 2010b, p. 31)

Source: [Box 4.2 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.]

put that figure into context, it is some fifteen times higher than the reported rape incidence level in France or the United Kingdom (UNODC, 2010b). Moreover, only a small fraction of cases is reported. A conservative estimate is that unreported rape in conflict-affected areas of the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo may be ten to twenty times the reported level. That would translate into 130,000 to 260,000 incidents in 2009 alone. Of the reported rapes, one-third involve children (and 13% are against children under the age of 10). Only a tiny fraction of reported cases result in prosecution: in 2008, for example, just twenty-seven members of the Democratic Republic of the Congo’s armed forces were convicted of rape (Dammers, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2009d).

Cultures of impunity are reflected in the response of many governments to the evidence provided in United Nations reporting. While authorities in the Democratic Republic of the Congo have prosecuted several individuals, the government has appointed ‘known perpetrators of grave crimes against children’ to senior military positions (United Nations, 2010b, p. 9). In the Sudan, state and non-state parties negotiating with the United Nations on the release of child soldiers are actively recruiting children from refugee camps, displacement centres and the general population (United Nations, 2010b). Similarly, the United Nations has presented evidence that militias linked to the governments of the Central African Republic and Chad are involved in the recruitment of child soldiers and in systematic sexual violence (United Nations, 2010b). One reason for the sense of impunity captured in UN reports is weak enforcement. While ‘naming and shaming’ may generate some incentives to comply with international law, it is a limited deterrent. Governments and armed
insurgent groups continue to violate the human rights of children and to blur the lines between combatants and civilians, partly because they do not anticipate paying a price for their actions. The ICC should constitute one of the strongest sources of human rights protection in conflict-affected states, but its overall impact remains limited. While the Court’s existence may have a deterrent effect, the Rome Statute’s promise to bring to justice those most responsible for ‘unimaginable atrocities that deeply shock the conscience of humanity’ has yet to be realized.

Without its own police force, the effectiveness of the ICC depends on the willingness of signatory states to the Rome Statute to make arrests and initiate action. Many states have demonstrated limited support. Moreover, while the ICC has the potential to provide technical expertise and legal teeth for the United Nations monitoring exercises, there has been no systematic attempt to build cooperation, or to initiate prosecutions through the Security Council.

The grave implications of sexual violence and rape for education in conflict-affected countries have not been sufficiently recognized. Sexual violence in conflict is an extreme form of collective violence. It is aimed not just at harming individuals, but also at destroying the self-esteem, security and futures of those affected, and at tearing the fabric of community life (United Nations, 2010j). Over and above the ordeal itself, the stigmatization and social taboos associated with rape result in many girls being abandoned by their families, and women by their husbands. Victims are punished twice over: they become social outcasts, while their violators go free. Many of the victims are schoolgirls. The debilitating effects of sexual violence on individuals, communities and families inevitably spill over into education systems. Robbing children of a secure home environment and traumatizing the communities that they live in profoundly impairs prospects for learning. Other consequences have more direct effects on education. Girls subjected to rape often experience grave physical injury – with long-term consequences for school attendance. The psychological effects, including depression, trauma, shame and withdrawal, have devastating consequences for learning. Many girls drop out of school after rape because of unwanted pregnancy, unsafe abortion and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV and AIDS, as well as other forms of ill health, trauma, displacement or stigma (Human Rights Watch, 2009d; Jones and Espey, 2008).

Sexual violence also creates a wider atmosphere of insecurity that leads to a decline in the number of girls able to attend school (Jones and Espey, 2008). Parents living in conflict-affected areas may prefer to keep their daughters at home rather than let them run the risk of a journey to school. Moreover, the direct and indirect effects of widespread sexual violence continue long after conflicts end. Many countries that have emerged from violent conflict – including Guatemala and Liberia – continue to report elevated levels of rape and sexual violence, suggesting that practices which emerge during violent conflict become socially ingrained in gender relations (Moser and McIlwaine, 2001; TRC Liberia, 2009). Monitoring systems for rape and other sexual violence are among the weakest in the international system. Part of the problem can be traced to gender inequalities that restrict the ability of women to report sexual violence. Women’s access to justice is often limited in many countries by a failure to establish and protect wider social and economic rights. Attitudes that play down the significance of the crime among police forces, the judiciary and even the family are part of the problem. Moreover, some countries do not have well-defined laws on rape. Even if the laws are in place, women and the parents of young girls may be unable to afford the costs associated with bringing a case. And some countries – including Côte d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Sudan – have actively weakened legal protection by granting amnesties that provide immunity for perpetrators of sexual violence, even though this contravenes international law (United Nations, 2009h). Perhaps the single greatest source of under-reporting, though, is the combined effect of stigmatization and fear on the part of victims.
Current international arrangements compound the problem of under-reporting. There is no international system in place that comprehensively and systematically documents evidence of rape and other sexual violence in conflict-affected countries. Instead, United Nations agencies and others assemble a fragmented patchwork of information, often in a haphazard and anecdotal fashion. While the MRM does document evidence on sexual violence and will in future years name perpetrators, it too operates from a limited evidence base. In addition, its mandate limits its focus to victims under 18 – an arbitrary cut-off point for dealing with rape and sexual violence. Another problem is that the MRM takes a highly conservative approach to reporting on levels of sexual violence. Gaps in coverage of the Optional Protocol of the Convention on the Rights of the Child are also hampering efforts to strengthen protection. Countries covered in the 2010 report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict that have not ratified include the Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Haiti, Myanmar, Pakistan and Somalia (United Nations, 2010b). All have reported cases of under-age recruitment, violence against civilians, attacks on schools, and

Special contribution: Time to close the gap between words and action

The United Nations was created to save future generations from the scourge of war. Today I am still struck by the force of the language in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Preamble speaks of ‘barbarous acts’ which have ‘outraged the conscience of mankind’ — and it holds out the promise of a future to be lived in freedom from fear.

We cannot help but wonder how the framers of the Universal Declaration would view the widespread and systematic sexual violence and rape that accompanies so many armed conflicts today. Is there a starker example of the type of ‘barbarous act’ that the UN aimed to consign to history? Sexual violence is not incidental to conflict, or some form of collateral damage. It is a widely and deliberately used weapon of war designed to punish, humiliate, terrorize and displace people caught up in conflicts over which they have no control. These people have a right to expect us to promote and help protect their rights.

UNESCO’s EFA Global Monitoring Report enhances our understanding of the noxious impact of sexual violence and rape by reminding us of its additional impact on education — a connection that has been neglected for far too long. Children living with the psychological trauma, the insecurity, the stigma, and the family and community breakdown that comes with rape are not going to realize their potential in school. That is why it is time for the Education for All community to engage more actively on human rights advocacy aimed at ending what the UN Secretary General has described as “our collective failure” to protect those lives destroyed by sexual violence.

We already have the road map to guide our actions. Security Council Resolution 1820 was a historic response to the heinous reality of sexual violence. The challenge is to turn that resolution into practical action – to close the gap between words and action. That challenge starts at the national level, where the international community needs to step up its support for the development of justice systems that are based on the rule of law, and are accessible to women.

But the international community must also start sending clearer and stronger signals to those responsible for preventing sexual violence and protecting vulnerable people. Governments around the world must give serious consideration to the creation of a high-level international commission to investigate evidence of widespread and systematic rape, to identify those responsible, and to work with the International Criminal Court in bringing to justice those responsible.

Above all, we cannot carry on as we are. Sixty-five years after the UN Charter came into being, the lives and education of millions of children in conflict-affected areas are disrupted by the threat of sexual violence. Far from living free from fear, these children live every day in fear of rape journeying to school, collecting water, and in their villages.

We have the power to change this state of affairs. Let’s use it.

Mary Robinson
Co-Chair of the Civil Society Advisory Group to the UN on Women, Peace and Security
widespread and systematic rape and other sexual violence. Ratification of the protocol would require national legislation to strengthen protection in these and other areas.

Overturning the culture of impunity identified in United Nations reports will require national and international action on several fronts. Key requirements for more effective protection include more comprehensive monitoring, improved coordination across agencies and strengthened enforcement mechanisms. In terms of rape and other sexual violence, two actions are particularly important:

Build on the Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism. The MRM was a milestone in international reporting on children caught up in armed conflict. The inclusion of parties responsible for killing and maiming, along with rape and other sexual violence, in the annexes reported to the Security Council, will make coverage more comprehensive. However, the reporting system should attach equal weight to all six grave violations of human rights covered, with a separate annex identifying those responsible for violations in each category. The Security Council should also extend coverage to more than the current twenty-two countries. The reporting systems for the MRM should be strengthened through increased resourcing and improved coordination between agencies.

Criminalize rape and sexual violence. The steady stream of reports and vast body of evidence documenting widespread and systematic sexual violence, impunity from prosecution, and either active collusion or inaction on the part of political and military leaders responsible for prevention, protection and prosecution demand a more robust response. This is an area in which strengthened enforcement should be seen not just as a priority in its own right, but also as a condition for extending the chance of a good quality education to millions of young girls living with the trauma or threat of sexual violence.

Given the scale of the problem, the consistent pattern of neglect and the degree of current impunity, this Report proposes the creation of an International Commission on Rape and Sexual Violence to document the scale of the problem in conflict-affected countries, identify those responsible, and report to the Security Council. The ICC should provide legal and technical advice to the proposed commission. In cases where governments have been unable – or unwilling – to challenge cultures of impunity surrounding widespread and systematic sexual violence, either the Security Council should refer the country to the ICC or the court’s prosecutor should initiate investigation and prosecution.

Providing education in the face of armed conflict

Providing education in the face of violent conflict is not easy. Insecurity hinders access to schools and people uprooted by violence are often harder to reach and support. Yet communities across the world are demonstrating through their own actions that the right to education can be protected. Moreover, they are sending the international aid community a signal that development assistance has a role to play in keeping open the doors to education opportunity.

In the Sudan, blue-beret missions have included accompanying women and girls on trips to collect water and firewood, attend school and carry out agricultural work. In the town of Goma in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, United Nations peacekeepers have helped facilitate safe access for girls on their journey to school, when rape of minors is the most common. Extensive guidelines have been drawn up to expand this role, while peacekeeping mission mandates are attaching more weight to civilian protection, including protection against sexual violence (UNIFEM and DPKO, 2010).
Why have so many United Nations resolutions on rape and sexual violence delivered such limited results? This question is as important for the Education for All partnership as it is for the wider human rights community. Perhaps no single issue is doing more to hold back progress in education or to reinforce gender-based inequalities in schooling.

Women and girls have a legal right to protection from sexual violence and mass rape. Yet across large areas of conflict-affected countries that right counts for little, because governments and armed groups tolerate, perpetrate or facilitate sexual terror, making a mockery of the United Nations system and committing with full impunity war crimes and crimes against humanity. The international community’s response to date has been to document in fragmented fashion evidence of the crimes, issue condemnations and adopt Security Council resolutions whose writ does not apply where it counts: namely, on the front lines of the rape wars now being conducted against people like the 16-year-old girl from Côte d’Ivoire cited above. Action is needed in four areas:

Create an International Commission on Rape and Sexual Violence

More and better data are needed on the level and intensity of sexual violence in conflict-affected countries, and not just for children under the age of 18. As a first step, an International Commission on Rape and Sexual Violence should be established to document the scale of the problem, identify perpetrators and assess government responses. The Under-Secretary-General for UN Women should head the commission, with national review exercises coordinated through the Office of the Secretary-General’s Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict. The ICC should be involved from the outset in a technical and advisory capacity. Current UN reporting arrangements systematically fail to evaluate the role and responsibilities of governments, political leaders and senior military leaders with respect to rape and other forms of sexual violence.

The ICC should determine, on the basis of current evidence and new evidence collected by the proposed commission, whether state actors are implicated in activities that may be construed as war crimes or crimes against humanity, either through direct acts, as indirect perpetrators, or under the doctrine of ‘superior responsibility’ for failing to prevent acts of violence.

Country coverage for the commission’s work should be determined on the basis of a review of the current evidence. Priority should be assigned to states with high levels of sexual violence and reported impunity, identified through the MRM and other reports to the Security Council. These countries include Afghanistan, the Central African Republic, Chad, Côte d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Myanmar and the Sudan. The international commission should include legal, health and statistics professionals, and should work with United Nations country teams. The mandate should include collecting quantitative and qualitative data and assessing the measures put in place for prevention, protection and punishment. The commission’s reports and recommendations could be submitted to the Security Council as part of the reporting process on resolution 1820 from 2012.

The case for creating a high level commission is not just to improve the quality of evidence and the standard of monitoring, but to achieve change. Part of the commission’s mandate would be to identify strategies for more effective coordination across UN agencies in collecting evidence. The commission would also play a role in supporting the development of time-bound national strategies and action plans for prevention, protection and prosecution, and in galvanizing support for those strategies across the UN system. However, the primary purpose of the commission should be to deliver results in one key area: stopping the culture of impunity. To this end, it should seek to identify the actors responsible for acts of commission, and the state and non-state actors responsible for acts of omission, including political leaders and government actors failing to act on their responsibility to protect and prevent widespread and systematic rape and other forms of sexual violence. Evidence should be referred directly to the International Criminal Court for investigation, either directly or through the Security Council.

Box 7: Ending sexual violence and rape in conflict-affected countries: an approach to end impunity

I was just walking not far from my house and a man, I didn’t know him … he raped me. He didn’t say anything, he was dressed all in black and he raped me and he left. I started to cry and I went home but I didn’t tell anybody. I was scared because I was alone.

– Interview by Human Rights Watch (2010a, p. 38)
Provide international support for national action plans

All governments in conflict-affected states should be called upon to develop national plans for curtailing sexual violence, drawing on best practice. Donors and United Nations agencies should coordinate efforts to back these plans by providing financial and technical support for capacity-building.

Emphasis should be placed on the development of effective and accountable institutions that empower women through practical actions. Plans should include not only measures for bringing perpetrators to justice, but also strategies for strengthening laws and the judicial system. International agencies and donors could do far more to support national action in these areas. One promising initiative is a bipartisan bill in the US Congress, the International Violence Against Women Act, which would require the State Department to adopt a plan to reduce violence against women in up to twenty target countries.

Strengthen United Nations coordination to combat sexual violence

The United Nations Entity on Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women — UN Women — should be mandated, resourced and equipped to coordinate action across the United Nations system and oversee enforcement of Security Council resolutions. UN Women should consolidate all monitoring activity, providing a basis for more consistent and comprehensive reporting on the prevalence of sexual violence, and on government and United Nations measures to strengthen protection and combat that violence. One recommendation proposes the creation of ‘women’s protection advisers’ in the field to monitor sexual violence, as called for in Resolution 1888 (United Nations, 2009j, 2010j).

There is a need for greater cooperation between United Nations agencies under a strengthened system-wide action plan. The United Nations network Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, which is coordinating action across thirteen agencies, is starting to deliver results. It is currently providing integrated support in five conflict settings: Chad, Côte d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia and the Sudan (United Nations, 2010j). The United Nations is also well placed to support the development of more responsive reporting and investigative arrangements. In Liberia, an all-female Indian police unit operated under the umbrella of the United Nations peacekeeping force to interview victims and investigate claims of sexual violence (UNIFEM and DPKO, 2010).

Involve the International Criminal Court

The Rome Statute, which created the ICC, set a new direction by embedding the explicit criminalization of rape and sexual violence in international humanitarian law. Yet the potential for the ICC to proactively prevent and prosecute gender crimes has not been fully developed.

The ICC could play an extended role in two key areas. First, given the mandate of the Rome Statute, there is a case for developing a more aggressive preventative mechanism in the ICC. Such a mechanism could inform United Nations, regional and national efforts to document levels of rape and other sexual violence, establish benchmarks for combating impunity, provide training, and strengthen the role of women in local and national leadership positions.

Second, although the ICC is an independent organization and not part of the United Nations system, it could play a far more active role in enforcing Security Council Resolutions. Proceedings by the ICC can be initiated by states, by its prosecutor or by the Security Council. In cases where there is evidence from current reporting systems that governments are failing in their responsibility to tackle impunity, the Security Council should refer the state in question to the ICC for investigation.

Action in each of these areas may seem far removed from the traditional Education for All agenda. Viewed from a different perspective, it might be argued that the Education for All agenda would itself be part of the wider culture of impunity if it failed to address the widespread sexual violence and rape that undermines education opportunities for many girls, reinforces gender disparities and causes millions of schoolchildren to live in fear.

Sources: [Box 4.3 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] Clinton (2009); Dallman (2009); Dammers (2010); Human Rights Watch (2010a); International Criminal Court (2010b); United Nations (2009h, 2010i); United States Congress (2010).
Chapter 5 – Reconstructing education – seizing the peace premium

When fighting stops, education can play a key role in restoring hope and normality, building confidence in the state and laying the foundations for peace. But the divide between short-term humanitarian aid and long-term development aid undermines reconstruction efforts. Opportunities to deliver an early peace premium through education are being lost. This chapter sets out an agenda for fixing the aid architecture. It also makes the case for integrating education into the wider peacebuilding agenda. Policy reform in areas such as curriculum and language of instruction can help unlock education’s potential to build more peaceful, tolerant and inclusive societies.

Starting early, and staying the course

National planning has been central to Afghanistan’s progress in education. Despite decades of civil war and instability, Afghanistan has seen remarkable achievements in education. In 2001, just 1 million primary school age children were enrolled, with girls accounting for a tiny fraction. By 2008, 6 million children were in school, including 2.3 million girls. The number of classrooms in the country has tripled and teacher recruitment has increased (Mundy and Dryden-Peterson, forthcoming; Sigsgaard (forthcoming); UIS database).

Box 8: Afghanistan’s community schools — delivering education in conflict zones

Afghanistan’s insecure provinces are often inaccessible to international NGOs, yet have urgent needs in education. Several organizations have responded by scaling up support for community-based schools. Many of these schools date from the 1990s, when they emerged as a response by village councils to the collapse of the state and the enforcement of official Taliban strictures against girls’ education. Typically there are no school buildings because classes take place in homes and mosques. Teachers are recruited by the local community.

NGOs have adapted their systems to this model by working through village councils. Because it is often impossible to visit schools in highly insecure areas, the groups frequently manage projects remotely using mobile phones, local staff and local partners. Responsibility for the day-to-day running of schools is effectively transferred to local staff and school management committees on which village elders and parents are represented.

Community school systems have many advantages. Because they are located in villages, and children have shorter distances to travel, there are fewer security threats. This partially explains their success in increasing enrolment, particularly for girls. The direct involvement of the community itself also offers advantages. Local leaders are well placed to assess the security risks associated with receiving support from NGOs. Their involvement also provides a form of protection against attack. However, community school models are not without disadvantages, including a lack of quality controls and the danger that security risks may be transferred from the NGO to the community.

There are no simple solutions to these problems. Several donors and NGOs are working with the Ministry of Education in an effort to integrate community schools into the national system. Adherence to national standards can strengthen quality, prevent gender discrimination, build a less fragmented education system and ensure that education helps build peace.

Sources: [Box 4.7 in EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011.] Burde and Linden (2009); Glad (2009); Harmer et al. (2010).

Strongly performing post-conflict countries have attached considerable weight to the development of more inclusive education systems. There has been an emphasis in many cases on targeting interventions at particular groups and regions that have been badly affected by conflict, partly to pre-empt a return to violence.

- A cash transfer programme introduced in Mozambique in 1990 was aimed at improving the nutritional status of those living in urban areas who had been displaced or disabled by the civil war, with a focus on early childhood and pregnant women. By 1995, it had
reached 80,000 households, contributing significantly to food security and poverty reduction (Datt et al., 1997; Samson et al., 2006).

• In Sierra Leone, the national poverty reduction strategy included a programme to address problems facing displaced people and returning refugees in areas cut off by conflict. Education plans paid particular attention to advantaged groups – notably girls – and needy parts of the country (Holmes, 2010).

• In Nepal, the post-conflict education strategy included stipends for girls and low-caste, indigenous and disabled children, creating incentives for their parents to send them to school (Holmes, 2010; Vaux et al., 2006).

• In 2002, Cambodia introduced a scholarship programme for girls and ethnic minorities from the poorest households, increasing enrolment by at least 22% (Holmes, 2010).

References