Overview

The Dakar Framework for Action on Education for All (EFA) adopted by governments in Senegal in 2000 set six broad goals and a number of specific targets to meet by 2015. The framework was given the subtitle ‘Education for All: meeting our collective commitments’. Ten years later, the overarching message of the 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report is that governments around the world are falling short of their collective commitment.

That stark finding does not detract from some significant achievements. The number of children out of school is falling, gender gaps are narrowing and more children are moving from primary school to secondary education and beyond. Some of the world’s poorest countries have registered impressive gains, demonstrating that low income is not an automatic barrier to accelerated progress. Yet the gap between the Dakar declaration and delivery remains large, and there are worrying signs that it is widening. On current trends, there could be more children out of school in 2015 than there are today. Without a concerted effort to change this picture, the Dakar promise to the world’s children will be comprehensively broken.

Failure to achieve the goals set at Dakar will have far-reaching consequences. Accelerated progress in education is critical for the achievement of the wider Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in areas such as poverty reduction, nutrition, child survival and maternal health. Moreover, failure to narrow deep national and international divides in opportunity for education is undermining economic growth and reinforcing an unequal pattern of globalization. No issue merits more urgent attention. Yet education has slipped down the international development agenda, barely registering today in the concerns of the Group of Eight (G8) or Group of Twenty (G20).

The 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report is divided into two parts. Part I provides a snapshot of the state of education around the world. It identifies advances, setbacks and a range of policy interventions that could help accelerate progress. Part II turns to one of the greatest barriers facing the Education for All goals: armed conflict in the world’s poorest countries. The Report looks at the policy failures reinforcing that barrier, and at strategies for removing it. It also sets out an agenda for strengthening the role of education systems in preventing conflicts and building peaceful societies.

I. Monitoring the Education for All Goals

Early childhood care and education: boosting health, battling hunger

Education opportunities are shaped long before children enter classrooms. The linguistic, cognitive and social skills they develop in early childhood are the real foundations for lifelong learning. Ill-health, malnutrition and a lack of stimulation undermine those foundations, limiting what children are able to achieve. The irreversible damage inflicted by hunger during the early years continues to erode human potential on a global scale.

Wider health conditions among children can be gauged by looking at child mortality. Death rates are falling – in 2008, 8.8 million children died before the age of 5, compared with 12.5 million in 1990. Yet among the sixty-eight countries with high child mortality rates, only nineteen are on track to achieve the MDG target of a two-thirds reduction from 1990 to 2015. Malnutrition is directly implicated in the deaths of over 3 million children and more than 100,000 mothers.

Governments continue to underestimate the consequences for education of early childhood malnutrition. About 195 million children under 5 in developing countries – a third of the total number – suffer from stunting, or low height for their age, which...
is a sign of poor nutritional status. Many will have experienced chronic malnutrition in the first few years of life, a critical period for cognitive development. Apart from the human suffering involved, malnutrition places a heavy burden on education systems. Malnourished children tend not to reach their potential, physically or mentally. They are less likely to go to school, and once in school they register lower levels of learning achievement. Economic growth is not a panacea for malnutrition. Since the mid-1990s, India has more than doubled average income while malnutrition has decreased by only a few percentage points. About half the country’s children are chronically malnourished and the proportion underweight is almost twice as high as the average for sub-Saharan Africa.

Child and maternal health now has a more prominent place on the international development agenda. The global initiatives on nutrition, child survival and maternal well-being announced at both the G8 summit in 2009 and the MDG summit in 2010 are welcome. However, current approaches fail to recognize the catalytic role that education – especially maternal education – can play in advancing health goals.

Equal treatment in education for girls and boys is a human right, and it is also a means of unlocking gains in other areas. Education improves child and maternal health because it equips women to process information about nutrition and illness, and to make choices and take greater control over their lives.

Evidence from household surveys consistently points to maternal education as one for the strongest factors influencing children’s prospects of survival. If the average child mortality rate for sub-Saharan Africa were to fall to the level for children born to women with some secondary education, there would be 1.8 million fewer deaths – a 41% reduction. In Kenya, children born to secondary education mothers who have not completed primary education deaths – a 41% reduction. In Kenya, children born to secondary education, there would be 1.8 million fewer

Such evidence demonstrates that maternal education is a highly efficient vaccine against life-threatening health risks for children. In 2009, UNAIDS estimated that 370,000 children under 15 years of age became infected with HIV. The vast majority of children contract the virus during pregnancy or delivery, or when breastfed by HIV-positive mothers. The evidence in this Report suggests that many of those infections could have been prevented through education.

Early childhood programmes prepare children for school, mitigate the effects of household deprivation, hal the transfer of educational disadvantage from parents to children and strengthen prospects for economic growth. Yet early childhood policies in many developing countries continue to suffer from insufficient funding, fragmented planning and inequality.

Children from the most disadvantaged households have the most to gain from such programmes, but they are often the least represented. In Côte d’Ivoire, about a quarter of children from the wealthiest households attend pre-school, while the attendance rate for those from the poorest households is close to zero. Countries such as Mozambique have demonstrated that a strengthened commitment to equity can open the doors to pre-school for highly disadvantaged groups.

Universal primary education: missing the targets

The past decade has seen marked advances in primary school enrolment. Many countries that started the decade on a trend that would have left them far short of the target of universal primary education (UPE) by 2015 now have a very real prospect of achieving the goal. However, the pace of advance has been uneven – and it may be slowing. On current trends the world will not achieve the ambition defined in Dakar.

When the framework was adopted there were around 106 million children out of school. By 2008, the figure had fallen to 67 million. Led by a strong drive in India, South and West Asia has halved the size of its out-of-school population. Sub-Saharan Africa has increased enrolment ratios by almost one-third, despite a large increase in the school-age population. Some 43% of out-of-school children live in sub-Saharan Africa and another 27% in South and West Asia, and nearly half live in only 15 countries. Several countries have registered dramatic reductions in out-of-school numbers. From 1999 to 2008, Ethiopia reduced the number of children out of school by about 4 million, and it now has a real prospect of achieving UPE by 2015. Other countries that
started from a low baseline have come a long way, even though several are still some distance from reaching UPE by 2015. The Niger, for example, doubled its net enrolment ratio in less than a decade.

Encouraging though these achievements have been, the world is not on track to achieve UPE by 2015. Trend analysis carried out for this Report looks at progress in enrolment in 128 countries accounting for 60% of all out-of-school children. The headline message is that out-of-school numbers in the second half of the past decade fell at half the rate achieved in the first half. Adjusted to a global scale, this trend, if it continues, will leave as many as 72 million children out of school in 2015 – more than in 2008.

Inequality remains an obstacle to accelerated progress in education. In Pakistan, almost half the children aged 7 to 16 from the poorest households were out of school in 2007, compared with just 5% from the richest households. Several countries that are close to UPE, such as the Philippines and Turkey, have been unable to take the final step, largely because of a failure to reach highly marginalized populations. Gender gaps remain deeply entrenched (see below). In recent years the EFA Global Monitoring Report has argued for the adoption of equity-based targets whereby governments would commit not just to achieving national goals, but to objectives such as halving disparities based on wealth, location, ethnicity, gender and other markers for disadvantage.

Getting into school is just one of the conditions for achieving UPE. Many children start school but drop out before completing a full primary cycle. In sub-Saharan Africa, around 10 million children drop out of primary school each year. This represents a vast waste of talent and is a source of inefficiency in the education system. Poverty and poor education quality, with children failing to achieve the learning levels required for grade progression, both contribute to high dropout levels.

Strategies for improving retention have to be tailored to countries’ specific needs. Some countries, including Ethiopia, Malawi and the Philippines, have high concentrations of pupils dropping out in grade 1, while in others, including Uganda, the problem occurs in both grades 1 and 6. Rapid increases in enrolment, which often follow the withdrawal of user fees, can lead to acute classroom overcrowding and poor education quality. Malawi and Uganda have struggled to convert surges in enrolment into high levels of progression in the early grades. The United Republic of Tanzania has achieved better results through sequenced reforms, increased investment and the allocation of more experienced and better qualified teachers to early grades. The age at which children enter school also matters. Late entry by over-age children is strongly associated with dropout. Another approach in Colombia is a rural school programme which reduced dropout rates by improving the quality and relevance of education.

This Report identifies several successful approaches to reducing dropout through cash transfers linked to attendance in school and safety nets that enable vulnerable households to withstand economic shocks such as drought, unemployment or illness. One example is Ethiopia’s Productive Safety Net Programme that provides cash or food transfers to poor households, enabling many parents to keep their children in school longer.

Youth and adult learning: skills for a fast-changing world

The commitment made in Dakar to address ‘the learning needs of all young people’ combined a high level of ambition with a low level of detail. Monitoring progress is difficult because of the absence of quantifiable goals.

Most rich countries are close to universal secondary education, with a large share of the population – about 70% in North America and Western Europe – progressing to the tertiary level. At the other end of the spectrum, sub-Saharan Africa has a gross enrolment ratio at the secondary level of just 34%, with only 6% progressing to the tertiary level. However, the region is starting to catch up from this very low starting point. Since 1999, enrolment ratios have more than doubled in Ethiopia and Uganda, and quadrupled in Mozambique. With primary school enrolment ratios increasing across the developing world, demand for secondary education is growing. Technical and vocational enrolment is also increasing, though data constraints make it difficult to draw comparisons across regions. The number of adolescents out of school is falling, but in 2008 they still totalled around 74 million worldwide.

Inequalities within countries mirror the international divide in secondary education. Attendance and completion rates are strongly associated with wealth, gender, ethnicity, location and other factors that can lead to disadvantage. In Cambodia, 28% of people aged 23 to 27 from the wealthiest 20% of households have completed secondary school, compared with 0.2% for the poorest households. Through second-chance programmes, young people who failed to complete primary education can acquire the skills and training needed to expand their livelihood choices. One successful model is that of the Jóvenes programmes
in Latin America, targeted at low-income households, which combine technical and life-skills training. Evaluations point to significantly improved employment and earning opportunities.

Although most developed countries have high levels of secondary and tertiary enrolment, they also face problems linked to inequality and marginalization. Almost one student in five in OECD countries fails to graduate from upper secondary school. Risk factors for early dropout include poverty, low levels of parental education and immigrant status.

Rising youth unemployment, exacerbated by the global financial crisis, has prompted several OECD countries to attach greater priority to skill development. The United Kingdom’s 2008 Education and Skills Act makes education and training compulsory for those under 18, with options in full-time and part-time education, apprenticeships and company-based training. Second-chance opportunities aimed at getting young people with low skills back into education and training are also being strengthened. Although programmes in this area have a mixed record, some have achieved striking results. Community colleges in the United States and ‘second-chance schools’ in European Union countries have a strong track record in reaching disadvantaged groups.

**Adult literacy: political neglect holds back progress**

Literacy opens the doors to better livelihoods, improved health and expanded opportunity. The Dakar Framework for Action includes a specific target for adult literacy: a 50% improvement by 2015. That target will be missed by a wide margin, reflecting a long-standing neglect of literacy in education policy.

In 2008, just under 796 million adults lacked basic literacy skills – around 17% of the world’s adult population. Nearly two-thirds were women. The vast majority lived in South and West Asia and sub-Saharan Africa, though the Arab States also registered high levels of adult illiteracy.

Just ten countries account for 72% of the total number of illiterate adults. Performance in these countries has been mixed. Brazil was able to reduce its illiterate adult population by 2.8 million from 2000 to 2007, and China has maintained strong progress towards universal adult literacy. In India, literacy rates are rising, but not fast enough to prevent the number of illiterate adults from increasing by 11 million in the first half of the past decade. Both Nigeria and Pakistan have registered slow progress.

Trend analysis shows there is a considerable distance between the commitment made at Dakar in 2000 and the rate of progress since then. Some countries with large illiterate populations, including China and Kenya, are on track to meet the commitment. But at current rates of progress, other major countries that account for a significant share of the world’s illiterate population will fall far short. Bangladesh and India will get no more than halfway to the 2015 target, while Angola, Chad and the Democratic Republic of the Congo will fall even further short.

Lack of political commitment is widely cited as a reason for slow progress in literacy – and rightly so. At the international level, there has been little meaningful change over the past decade. Literacy does not figure on the MDG agenda, and the United Nations Literacy Decade (2003–2012) has neither significantly raised awareness of the problem nor galvanized action. Major international conferences have facilitated exchanges of ideas and a great deal of dialogue, but have not established credible platforms for action. There is no critical mass of leadership championing literacy on the international stage.

When political leaders do acknowledge the need to tackle illiteracy, swift progress is possible. Since the late 1990s, several countries in Latin America and the Caribbean have started to attach more weight to adult literacy. The Ibero-American Plan for Literacy and Basic Education for Youth and Adults (PIA) has set the ambitious goal of eradicating adult illiteracy by 2015. Drawing on innovative programmes in countries including the Plurinational State of Bolivia, Cuba and Nicaragua, PIA aims to provide three years of basic education to 34 million illiterate adults. Also eligible for support are 110 million functionally illiterate young adults who did not complete primary education.
Achieving a breakthrough in literacy will require national governments to take more responsibility for planning, financing and delivery, working through a range of partnerships. When this happens, gains can be rapid. The progress achieved in Egypt since the creation in the mid-1990s of the General Authority for Literacy and Adult Education underlines what can be achieved through integrated strategies that incorporate recruitment and training of literacy instructors, effective targeting and commitment to gender equity.

**Gender parity and equality: a web of disadvantage to overcome**

Gender parity in education is a human right, a foundation for equal opportunity and a source of economic growth, employment creation and productivity. Countries that tolerate high levels of gender inequality pay a high price for undermining the human potential of girls and women, diminishing their creativity and narrowing their horizons. Although there has been progress towards gender parity, many poor countries will not achieve the target without radical shifts of policy and priorities in education planning.

Progress towards gender parity at the primary school level continues to gather pace. The regions that started the decade with the largest gender gaps – the Arab States, South and West Asia and sub-Saharan Africa – have all made progress. Yet the distance still to be travelled should not be underestimated. Fifty-two countries have data in which the ratio of girls to boys in primary level enrol more boys than girls at the start of the primary cycle. In Mali, the gross intake rate at grade 1 is 102% for boys and 89% for girls. Unless such imbalances change during primary school (through lower dropout rates for girls), the result is a permanent gender bias in the primary system, which in turn feeds into secondary education.

Once children are in school, progression patterns vary. In Burkina Faso, about 70% of boys and girls entering school reach the last grade, and in Ethiopia girls are slightly more likely to reach the last grade. So in these countries the policy focus has to be on removing the barriers to gender parity in the initial intake. In Guinea, by contrast, survival rates for girls in school are far lower than for boys. Where there are gender disparities in dropout rates, governments need to create incentives, such as cash transfers or school feeding programmes, for parents to keep children in school.

Gender disparities in secondary education are in most cases traceable back to primary school. In most countries, girls who have completed primary education have the same chance as boys of making the transition to secondary education, though once in secondary school girls are usually more likely to drop out. In Bangladesh, there is a small gender disparity in favour of girls at the point of transition from primary to secondary school. However, the secondary completion rate for boys is 23% compared with 15% for girls.

Disadvantages associated with wealth, location, language and other factors magnify gender disparities. While gaps in school attendance between wealthy girls and boys are often small, girls from households that are poor, rural or from an ethnic minority are typically left far behind. In Pakistan, women aged 17 to 22 average five years of schooling, but for poor women from rural areas the figure declines to just one year while wealthy urban women receive on average nine years of education.

Women continue to face high levels of disadvantage in pay and employment opportunities, diminishing the returns they can generate from education. At the same
time, education can play a role in breaking down labour market disadvantages. Policies ranging from offering financial incentives for girls’ education to developing girl-friendly school environments, improving access to technical and vocational programmes, and providing non-formal education can overcome the gender disadvantages that limit the development of women’s skills.

The quality of education: inequalities hamper progress

The test of an education system is whether it fulfils its core purpose of equipping young people with the skills they need to develop a secure livelihood and to participate in social, economic and political life. Many countries are failing that test and too many students are leaving school without acquiring even the most basic literacy and numeracy skills.

International learning assessments reveal marked global and national disparities in learning achievement. The 2006 Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) assessed the reading skills of grade 4 students in forty countries against four benchmarks. In wealthy countries such as France and the United States, the vast majority of students performed at or above the intermediate benchmark. By contrast, in Morocco and South Africa, both middle income countries, over 70% scored below the minimum benchmark.

Absolute levels of learning achievement are exceptionally low in many developing countries. In India, one survey in 2009 found that just 38% of rural grade 4 students could read a text designed for grade 2. Even after eight years of school, 18% of students were unable to read the grade 2 text. In 2007, the Southern and Eastern Africa Consortium for Monitoring Educational Quality (SACMEQ) assessments highlighted acute deficits in learning achievement in low income countries. In Malawi and Zambia over a third of grade 6 students were unable to read with any fluency.

Have the sharp increases in enrolment in many countries compromised the quality of education? That question has been at the centre of an ongoing debate. Given that many of the new entrants to school come from households characterized by high levels of poverty, poor nutrition and low levels of parental literacy – all characteristics associated with lower achievement – it might be assumed that there is a trade-off between enrolment and learning levels. In fact, the evidence is inconclusive. Data from the SACMEQ assessments show that in a number of countries there has been no such trade-off. In Kenya and Zambia, large increases in enrolment between 2000 and 2007 had no significant effect on test scores. And the United Republic of Tanzania recorded improvements in average levels of learning while almost doubling the number of children enrolling in primary school.

Learning achievement is associated with factors such as parental wealth and education, language, ethnicity and geographic location. In Bangladesh, for example, over 80% of students reaching grade 5 pass the Primary School Leaving Examination, but although virtually all students in one subdistrict in Barisal pass, fewer than half in a subdistrict in Sylhet succeed. Therefore, where a child goes to school in Bangladesh clearly matters for his or her chances of passing the national test. 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.

Governments in the poorest countries face immense challenges in raising the average level of learning in their education systems. Policies that focus on achieving system-wide improvements without aiming to reduce inequalities between students are unlikely to succeed.

Concentrations of social disadvantage in school intake are strongly linked to lower levels of school performance – but schools also generate inequalities. In most countries, the quality of schools serving different socio-economic groups varies considerably. Narrowing these differences is a first step towards improving average levels of learning and reducing learning inequalities. The wide variations in school quality between and within countries make it difficult to draw universally applicable lessons. However, it is possible to identify some factors that appear to have significant effects across a range of countries.
Teachers count. Attracting qualified people into the teaching profession, retaining them and providing them with the necessary skills and support is vital. Ensuring that teacher deployment systems distribute teachers equitably is also a key to achieving more equitable learning outcomes. Another pressing concern is recruitment. If universal primary education is to be achieved, another 1.9 million teachers have to be recruited by 2015, more than half of them in sub-Saharan Africa.

Real teaching time matters. Teacher absenteeism and time spent off task during lessons can significantly reduce learning time as well as widen learning disparities. One survey in two Indian states found that regular rural government teachers were absent at least one day a week. Addressing employment conditions of teachers and strengthening school governance and accountability can raise learning achievement and reduce inequality.

Early grades are critical. Class sizes often shrink as children progress through the education system, with students in the later grades receiving more focused tuition. In Bangladesh, the average class size in the final primary grade at both government and non-government schools is thirty pupils – about half the first-grade average. A more equal distribution of teaching resources across grades and a greater focus on ensuring that all students acquire foundational skills for literacy and numeracy are crucial.

The classroom environment is important. Poorly equipped classrooms and students without textbooks and writing materials are not conducive to effective learning. In Malawi, average primary school class sizes range from 36 to 120 pupils per teacher. In Kenya, the proportion of children with their own mathematics textbook ranges from 8% in North Eastern Province to 44% in Nairobi.

To counteract the disadvantages that marginalized children bring with them into the classroom, schools need to provide additional support, including extra learning time and supplementary resources. Government resource allocation can play a key role in narrowing learning gaps. In India, per-pupil allocations from the central government have been substantially increased to the districts with the worst education indicators. The additional resources have helped fund extra teachers and narrow gaps in infrastructure. Remedial education programmes can also make a difference. In Chile, the Programa de las 900 Escuelas provided the poorest-performing schools with additional resources to improve learning, including weekly workshops to strengthen teaching skills, out-of-school workshops for children, and textbooks and other materials. The programme improved grade 4 learning levels and narrowed learning gaps.

National learning assessments also have a role to play. For example, early grade reading assessments can identify children who are struggling and schools and regions that need support. Making the results of learning assessments accessible to parents can help communities hold education providers to account, and enable the education providers to understand underlying problems.

Financing Education for All: looking for a breakthrough

Increased financing does not guarantee success in education – but chronic underfinancing is a guaranteed route to failure. The Dakar Framework for Action recognized the importance of backing targets with financial commitments. The record on delivery has been variable. Many of the world’s poorest countries have increased spending on education, though some governments still give far too little priority to education in national budgets. While aid levels have increased, donors have collectively failed to honour their pledge to ensure that ‘no countries seriously committed to education for all will be thwarted in their achievement of this goal by a lack of resources’. Looking ahead to 2015, there is now a danger that the after-effects of the global financial crisis will widen an already large gap between Education for All requirements and real financing commitment.

Domestic financing is increasing, but there are marked differences across and within regions

Even in the poorest countries, domestic revenue and public spending by governments – not international aid – form the bedrock of investment in education. Many of the world’s poorest countries have stepped up their investment. Low income countries as a group have increased the share of national income spent on education from 2.9% to 3.8% since 1999. Several states in sub-Saharan Africa have posted particularly large increases: the share of national income spent on education has doubled in Burundi and tripled in the United Republic of Tanzania since 1999.

On a less positive note, some regions and countries have continued to neglect education financing. Among world regions, Central Asia and South and West Asia invest the least in education. In general, the share of GNP allocated to education tends to rise with national income, but the pattern is erratic. While Pakistan has roughly the same per capita income as Viet Nam, it
allocates half the share of GNP to education; similarly, the Philippines allocates less than half the level of that of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Overall financing trends are dictated by economic growth, levels of revenue collection and the share of national budgets allocated to education. Stronger economic growth from 1999 to 2008 raised education investment in most developing countries. The rate at which economic growth is converted into increased education spending depends on wider public spending decisions. In more than half the countries with available data, real growth in education spending has been higher than economic growth. For example, Ghana, Mozambique and the United Republic of Tanzania have increased education spending faster than economic growth by strengthening revenue collection and increasing the share of the budget allocated to education. Other countries have converted a smaller share of the growth premium into education financing. In the Philippines, real spending on education increased by 0.2% annually from 1999 to 2008 while the economy grew by 5% a year. As a result, the already low share of national income invested in education by the Philippines has fallen over time. National resource mobilization efforts have a critical bearing on prospects for achieving the Education for All goals. In the United Republic of Tanzania, increased financing has helped reduce the out-of-school population by around 3 million since 1999. While Bangladesh has achieved a great deal over the past decade in education, its progress is held back by low levels of revenue collection and the small share of the national budget allocated to education.

There is considerable scope for the poorest developing countries to both step up their resource mobilization efforts and attach more weight to basic education. The 2010 EFA Global Monitoring Report estimated that they could raise another US$7 billion for basic education from domestic financing, bringing the overall level to around 0.7% of GNP.

**International aid – falling short of the pledge**

Overall aid to basic education has almost doubled since 2002, helping to deliver some important gains. In countries including Bangladesh, Cambodia, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal and the United Republic of Tanzania, aid has played a key role in supporting policies that have accelerated progress. While aid pessimists question the value of development assistance, results on the ground tell a more positive story. However, donors have fallen far short of the commitments they made at Dakar and at international summits since then.

Aid to education is inevitably influenced by overall aid levels and the wider aid environment. In 2005, pledges made by the Group of Eight and the European Union for 2010 amounted to US$50 billion, half of it earmarked for sub-Saharan Africa. The projected shortfall is estimated at US$20 billion, with sub-Saharan Africa accounting for US$16 billion.

Donors have a variable record with respect to international targets and the various benchmarks which have been adopted. Within the G8, Italy, Japan and the United States continue to invest very low levels of gross national income (GNI) in aid. Italy cut its spending by one-third in 2009, from a low base, and appears to have abandoned its EU commitment to reach a minimum aid-to-GNI level of 0.51%. Fiscal pressures have created uncertainty over the future direction of aid. However, several donors, including France, the United Kingdom and the United States, increased aid spending in 2009.

Recent aid data on education point in a worrying direction for the Education for All agenda. After five years of gradually increasing, aid to basic education stagnated in 2008 at US$4.7 billion. For sub-Saharan Africa, the region with the largest Education for All financing gap, disbursements fell by 4%, the equivalent of a 6% drop in aid per primary school age child. A levelling off of aid in one year does not in itself signal a trend. But there is little room for complacency, as the external financing gap to meet the Education for All goals in low income countries is estimated at US$16 billion a year.

Given the scale of this financing gap, there is clearly a case for reconsidering priorities in the education sector. If all donors spent at least half their aid to education at the basic level, they could mobilize an additional US$1.7 billion annually. However, there is little evidence to suggest that major donors are rethinking the balance
between aid for basic education and higher levels of provision. Several major G8 donors, including France, Germany and Japan, allocate over 70% of their aid to education to post-basic levels. Moreover, a large proportion of what is counted as aid takes the form of imputed costs – in effect, a transfer of resources to education institutes in donor countries. In France and Germany, imputed costs account for well over half of aid to education. Whatever the resulting benefits for foreign students in French and German higher education systems, this clearly does little to close the deep financing gaps in the education systems of poor countries.

Looking beyond aid quantity, there are continuing concerns about aid effectiveness. In 2007, less than half of overall aid was channelled through national public financial management systems; just one in five donor missions was coordinated; and only 46% of the development assistance scheduled for delivery in a given year was actually disbursed during that year. These outcomes fall far short of the target levels adopted by donors in the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. There are direct implications for education. For example, gaps between aid commitments and disbursements hamper effective planning in areas such as classroom construction and teacher recruitment.

The financial crisis – painful adjustments in prospect

The impact of the global financial crisis on prospects for achieving Education for All continues to be widely neglected by donors, international financial institutions and other agencies. In the face of increased poverty and vulnerability, and with national financing efforts constrained by mounting fiscal pressures, aid is crucial to protect what has been achieved and put in place the foundations for accelerated progress.

The 2010 EFA Global Monitoring Report urged governments and international financial institutions to assess the implications of crisis-related budget adjustments for Education for All financing. It also highlighted the poor state of real-time information on what these adjustments might mean for the targets set in Dakar. That picture has not changed. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has pointed out that most of the developing countries it supports have not cut priority basic service budgets. Encouraging as that may be, it does not address the question of whether planned expenditure is consistent either with pre-crisis plans or with Education for All financing requirements. Moreover, national and international reporting systems continue to hamper a proper assessment of budget adjustments.

While the financial crisis was caused by the banking systems and regulatory failures of rich countries, millions of the world’s poorest people are struggling to cope with the after-effects. Slower economic growth, intersecting with higher food prices, left an additional 64 million people in extreme poverty and 41 million more people malnourished in 2009, compared with pre-crisis trends. Prospects for education will inevitably suffer. There is already evidence of stress on household budgets leading to children being withdrawn from school. And increased child malnutrition will affect school attendance and learning outcomes.

Fiscal pressures pose another threat to progress towards the Education for All goals. The failure of UN agencies, the World Bank and the IMF to assess the implications of fiscal adjustments for the Education for All goals remains a source of concern. Part of the problem is a lack of systematic budget monitoring. Building on research conducted for the previous Report, the 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report attempts to partially fill the information gap. Drawing on a survey that covers eighteen low income countries and ten middle income countries, this Report looks at real spending in 2009 and planned spending in 2010. Among the results:

- Seven low income countries including Chad, Ghana, the Niger and Senegal made cuts in education spending in 2009. Countries reporting cuts have some 3.7 million children out of school.
- In five of these seven low income countries, planned spending in 2010 would leave the education budget below its 2008 level.
- While seven lower middle income countries maintained or increased spending in 2009, six planned cuts to their education budgets in 2010.
Looking ahead to 2015, fiscal adjustments planned for low income countries threaten to widen the Education for All financing gap. IMF projections point to overall public spending increases for low income countries averaging 6% annually to 2015, while the average annual spending increase required to achieve universal primary education is about 12%.

Five recommendations on financing

The financing environment for national governments and aid donors is likely to be more difficult over the next five years than it has been over the past decade. A big push towards the targets set in 2000 will require decisive action. This Report recommends five broad approaches.

- Reassess financing requirements in the light of the financial crisis. Planning for the Education for All targets has to be based on detailed national estimates. The IMF and the World Bank, working with governments and UN agencies, should assess the shortfall between current spending plans and financing requirements for Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals. They should also critically evaluate the alignment between these financing requirements and fiscal adjustment programmes.

- Deliver on the 2005 commitments. Donor governments should act immediately to fulfil the commitments made in 2005 and make new pledges for the period to 2015. In the first half of 2011, all donors should submit rolling indicative timetables setting out how they aim to make up any shortfalls, including the US$16 billion delivery deficit for sub-Saharan Africa.

- Make basic education a high priority. Donors frequently underline the importance of developing country governments aligning public spending priorities with their Education for All commitments. They need to observe the same principle. If all donors spent at least half of their aid on education at the basic level (the current average is 41%) they could mobilize an additional US$1.7 billion annually.

- Launch a new global financing initiative, the International Finance Facility for Education (IFFE). The Education for All partnership needs to recognize that even if the 2005 commitments are met and donors attach greater priority to basic education, the effort will still deliver much too little, much too late. Under the International Finance Facility for Immunisation, donor governments have mobilized resources by selling bonds, using the revenue to front-load spending that saves lives, and repaying the interest over a longer period. The case for extending this model to education is simple and compelling: children cannot afford to wait for vaccinations, and they cannot afford to wait for education. Donor governments should raise around US$3 billion to US$4 billion between 2011 and 2015 through an IFFE bond issue, with part of the revenue channelled through the reformed Fast Track Initiative.

- Mobilize innovative finance. Education for All advocates should work with wider constituencies in making the case for a global levy on financial institutions, including those proposed by the ‘Robin Hood tax’ campaign, and they should ensure that education is included in revenue allocation plans as part of a wider MDG financing strategy. Given the scale of the financing gap, there is a need for other innovative financing proposals that focus on education. The 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report makes the case for a mobile phone levy applied across the EU as a 0.5% charge on revenue from mobile subscriptions. Such a levy could mobilize an estimated US$894 million annually.

II. The hidden crisis – armed conflict and education

The United Nations was created above all to end the ‘scourge of warfare’. For the architects of the new system, the aim was to prevent a return to what the Universal Declaration of Human Rights described as ‘disregard and contempt for human rights’ and ‘barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind’. Sixty-five years on, the scourge of warfare continues. Its most virulent strains are found in the world’s poorest countries. And it is destroying opportunities for education on an epic scale.

The impact of armed conflict on education has been widely neglected. This is a hidden crisis that is reinforcing poverty, undermining economic growth and holding back the progress of nations. At the heart of the crisis are widespread and systematic human rights violations which fully deserve to be called ‘barbarous acts’. No issue merits more urgent attention on the international agenda. Yet, far from outraging the conscience of humankind and galvanizing an effective response, the devastating effects of warfare on education go largely unreported. And the international community is turning its back on the victims.
The 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report turns the spotlight on the hidden crisis in education. It documents the scale of the crisis, traces its underlying causes and sets out an agenda for change. One key message is that business-as-usual approaches undermine any prospect of achieving either the Education for All goals or the wider MDGs.

Not all of the links between armed conflict and education operate in one direction. While education systems have the potential to act as a powerful force for peace, reconciliation and conflict prevention, all too often they fuel violence. This was something the architects of the United Nations understood. They saw that the Second World War, whatever its immediate causes, had been made possible above all by failures of mutual understanding. UNESCO traces its origins to an effort to address those failures. Its 1945 constitution recognized that, throughout history, ‘ignorance of each other’s ways and lives’ had driven people to violence, and that a lasting peace could only be built on education: ‘since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed.’ Yet all too often education systems are used not to promote mutual respect, tolerance and critical thinking, but to reinforce the disrespect, intolerance and prejudice that push societies towards violence. This Report identifies strategies for addressing these problems and unlocking the full potential of education as a force for peace.

Every armed conflict is different – and has different consequences for education. Yet there are recurrent themes. This Report identifies four systemic failures in international cooperation that are at the heart of the ‘hidden crisis’.

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

- **Failures of provision.** Parents and children affected by armed conflict demonstrate extraordinary resolve in trying to maintain access to education in the face of adversity. Their efforts are not matched by the international community. Education remains the most neglected area of an underfinanced and unresponsive humanitarian aid system.

- **Failures of early recovery and reconstruction.** Peace settlements provide post-conflict governments and the international community with a window of opportunity to put in place recovery and reconstruction strategies. All too often, they do not act in time. Part of the problem is that post-conflict countries are left in a grey area between humanitarian aid and long-term development assistance. When it comes to conflict-affected states, the international aid architecture is broken.

- **Failures of peacebuilding.** Education can play a pivotal role in peacebuilding. Perhaps more than in any other sector, education can provide the highly visible early peace dividends on which the survival of peace agreements may depend. Moreover, when education systems are inclusive and geared towards fostering attitudes conducive to mutual understanding, tolerance and respect, they can make societies less susceptible to violent conflict.

Each of these failures is deeply embedded in institutional practices. Yet each is amenable to practical and affordable solutions identified in this Report. The key ingredients for change are strong political leadership, strengthened international cooperation and the development of multilateral responses to one of the greatest development challenges of the early twenty-first century.

**Armed conflict is a major barrier to the Education for All goals**

When governments adopted the Dakar Framework for Action in 2000, they identified conflict as ‘a major barrier towards attaining Education for All’. Evidence presented in this Report suggests that the height of the barrier was underestimated and that insufficient attention has been paid to strategies for removing it. Conflict-affected developing countries are heavily concentrated in the lower reaches of the league tables for the Education for All goals.
Child mortality rates are twice as high as in other developing countries, reflecting higher levels of malnutrition and associated health risks.

Around 28 million children of primary school age in conflict-affected countries are out of school. With 18% of the world’s primary school age population, these countries account for 42% of the world’s out-of-school children.

Enrolment rates in secondary school are nearly one-third lower in conflict-affected countries compared with other developing countries, and far lower still for girls.

The youth literacy rate for conflict-affected countries is 79%, compared with 93% for other developing countries.

There is evidence that violent conflict exacerbates disparities within countries linked to wealth and gender. Conflict-affected areas often lag far behind the rest of the country. In the Philippines, the share of young people in the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao with less than two years of education is more than four times the national average.

Most fatalities associated with armed conflict occur away from battle zones, resulting from disease and malnutrition. These twin killers have claimed the vast majority of the 5.4 million lives that have been lost during the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, host to the world’s deadliest conflict. Nearly half the victims were children under the age of five. The sickness and hunger underlying these headline figures have had debilitating consequences for education.

Children, civilians and schools are on the front line

Today’s armed conflicts are fought overwhelmingly within countries, rather than across borders, and many involve protracted violence. The EFA Global Monitoring Report identifies forty-eight armed conflict episodes between 1999 and 2008 in thirty-five countries. Forty-three of the conflicts took place in low income and lower middle income developing countries. While the intensity, scale and geographic extent of the violence vary, protracted armed conflicts are common. On average, conflicts in low income countries last twelve years, and the average rises to twenty-two years in lower middle income countries.

Indiscriminate use of force and the deliberate targeting of civilians are hallmarks of violent conflict in the early twenty-first century. In most conflicts, it is far more dangerous to be a civilian than a combatant. Education systems have been directly affected. 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 Afghanistan and Pakistan, insurgent groups have repeatedly attacked education infrastructure in general, and girls’ schools in particular. Security fears have resulted in the closure of over 70% of schools in Helmand province of Afghanistan. In Gaza, in the occupied Palestinian territory, Israeli military attacks in 2008 and 2009 left 350 children dead and 1,815 injured, and damaged 280 schools. Schools and teachers have also been targeted by insurgents in Thailand’s three southernmost provinces. The use of child soldiers is reported from twenty-four countries, including those in the Central African Republic, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Myanmar and the Sudan.

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

It is not just the human costs and the physical damage to school infrastructure that hurt education. Armed conflict is also undermining economic growth, reinforcing poverty and diverting resources from productive investment in classrooms into unproductive military spending. This Report identifies twenty-one of the world’s poorest developing countries that spend more on military budgets than primary education – in some cases, much more. With some of the world’s worst education indicators, Chad spends four times as much on arms as on primary schools, and Pakistan spends seven times as much. If the countries devoting more to military budgets than to primary education were to cut the former by just 10%, they could put a total of 9.5 million additional children in school – equivalent to a 40% reduction in their combined out-of-school population.
Military spending is also diverting aid resources. Global military spending reached US$1.5 trillion in 2009. If aid donors were to transfer just six days’ worth of military spending to development assistance for basic education, they could close the US$16 billion external financing gap for achieving the Education for All goals, putting all children into school by 2015.

National governments and aid donors should urgently review the potential for converting unproductive spending on weapons into productive investment in schools, books and children. All countries have to respond to security threats. However, lost opportunities for investment in education reinforce the poverty, unemployment and marginalization that drive many conflicts.

**Displaced populations are among the least visible**

Mass displacement is often a strategic goal for armed groups seeking to separate populations or undermine the livelihoods of specific groups. At the end of 2009, UN data reported 43 million people displaced globally, though the real number is almost certainly higher. Recent estimates suggest that almost half of refugees and internally displaced people (IDPs) are under 18. While flows of refugees reported crossing borders have been declining, displacement within countries has been rising.

Displacement exposes people to the risk of extreme disadvantage in education. Data from a United Nations survey paint a disturbing picture of the state of education in refugee camps. Enrolment rates averaged 69% for primary school and just 30% for secondary school. Pupil/teacher ratios were very high – nearly one-third of camps reported ratios of 50:1 or more – and many teachers were untrained. In some camps, including those hosting Somali refugees in northern Kenya, parents were concerned that the scarcity of secondary education opportunities exposed youth to the risk of recruitment by armed groups. School attendance rates for displaced populations are desperately low in countries such as the Central African Republic, Chad and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Refugees also face wider problems that harm education. Many countries do not allow refugees access to public education and basic services. Under Malaysian law, refugees are not distinguished from undocumented migrants. In Thailand, a long-standing refugee population from Myanmar has no entitlement to state education. More generally, restrictions on refugee employment reinforce poverty, which in turn dampens prospects for education. And difficulty obtaining refugee status leads many to go underground. Living in urban settlements, lacking employment rights and denied access to local schools, their children have few opportunities for education. In other contexts, conflict has left a legacy of unequal treatment. Palestinian children going to school in East Jerusalem suffer disadvantages in education financing, as well as reported harassment from security forces. Shortages of classrooms and concerns over education quality have pushed many Palestinian children into private sector education, imposing a considerable financial burden on poor households.

**The reverse cycle – education’s influence on violent 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:

- **Limited or poor quality provision, leading to unemployment and poverty.** 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. The ‘youth bulge’ adds to the urgency of building a bridge from education to employment: over 60% of the population in some countries, including Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone, is under 25, compared with less
than 25% in many OECD countries. In Rwanda, unemployed, undereducated rural male youth figured prominently among the perpetrators of the 1994 genocide.

• Unequal access, generating grievances and a sense of injustice. Inequalities in education, interacting with wider disparities, heighten the risk of conflict. In Côte d’Ivoire, resentment over the poor state of education in northern areas figured in the political mobilization leading up to the 2002–2004 civil war. School attendance levels in the north and north-west in 2006 were less than half as high as in the south. Perceptions that the education of local populations is suffering because of unfair patterns of resource allocation have been a factor behind many conflicts in places ranging from Indonesia’s Aceh province to Nigeria’s oil-rich Niger Delta region.

• The use of school systems to reinforce prejudice and intolerance. In several armed conflicts, education has been actively used to reinforce political domination, the subordination of marginalized groups and ethnic segregation. The use of education systems to foster hatred and bigotry has contributed to the underlying causes of violence in conflicts from Rwanda to Sri Lanka. And in many countries, schools have become a flashpoint in wider conflicts over cultural identity. In Guatemala, the education system was seen as a vehicle for cultural domination and the suppression of indigenous languages, fuelling wider resentments that led to civil war.

**Aid to conflict-affected countries**

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 skewing of aid towards a small group of countries identified as national security priorities has led to the relative neglect of many of the world’s poorest countries. Development assistance flows to twenty-seven conflict-affected developing countries have increased over the past decade, reaching US$36 billion a year in 2007–2008. However, Iraq received over one-quarter of the total, and Afghanistan and Iraq together accounted for 38% of the total. Afghanistan received more aid than the combined total disbursed to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Liberia and the Sudan.

Aid to basic education reflects the wider allocation pattern. Transfers to Pakistan alone represented over twice the amount allocated to the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Sudan. While aid for basic education has increased more than fivefold in Afghanistan over the past five years, it has stagnated or risen more slowly in countries such as Chad and the Central African Republic, and declined in Côte d’Ivoire.

Aid volatility is another concern. With weak public finance management systems, conflict-affected developing countries need a predictable flow of development assistance. Yet aid flows to countries such as Burundi, the Central African Republic and Chad are characterized by high levels of uncertainty. Several countries have experienced two year cycles in which aid to education doubled and then dropped by 50%.

The blurring of lines between development assistance and foreign policy goals has far-reaching implications for education. While there are good reasons to integrate aid into a wider policy framework encompassing diplomacy and security, there are also concerns that development goals have been subordinated to wider strategies such as winning over the ‘hearts and minds’ of local populations in which education has figured prominently. The growing profile of the military in delivering aid has fuelled these concerns. In Afghanistan, almost two-thirds of US education aid in 2008 was channelled through a facility operating under military auspices. Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan and Iraq operate across the civilian-military divide to deliver aid in insecure areas. Comparable practices are also used in the Horn of Africa.

There is a strong case for increasing aid to conflict-affected states. That case is rooted primarily in the imperative to advance the MDGs. Donors also have a self-interest in combating the poverty and instability that make many conflict-affected states a threat to regional and international peace and stability. Yet there are also dangers associated with current approaches to aid delivery. If aid is used, or perceived, as part of a counter-insurgency strategy or as an element in the wider national security agenda of donor countries, it can expose local communities and aid workers to elevated risk. The disturbing increase in attacks on humanitarian aid workers in recent years is one indicator of this: over the past three years, more than 600 aid workers have been killed, seriously wounded or kidnapped. Direct or even indirect military involvement in classroom construction is likely to heighten the risk of attacks on schools. The use of private contractors with a remit covering security and development is another risk factor.
With several major donors – including the United Kingdom and the United States – having announced significant increases in support for countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan, it is important that aid policies address a number of questions. These include the criteria for country selection, the rationale behind the weighting of different countries, the development goals to be pursued and the aid delivery mechanisms to be used. One critical requirement is the establishment of operational guidelines prohibiting direct military involvement in school construction.

Responding to failures of protection

In 1996, Graça Machel presented her report on children and armed conflict to the United Nations General Assembly. The report condemned the ‘unregulated terror and violence’ inflicted on children and called on the international community to end what it described as ‘intolerable and unacceptable’ attacks on children. Fifteen years on, the unregulated terror continues – and the international community continues to tolerate indefensible attacks.

Much has changed since the Machel report. The United Nations has established a monitoring and reporting mechanism (MRM) that identifies grave human rights violations against children in six key areas. Several UN Security Council resolutions have been passed aimed at strengthening protection against rape and other sexual violence in conflict-affected countries. Yet it is hard to escape the conclusion that human rights provisions and Security Council resolutions offer limited protection where they are most needed: namely, in the lives of the children and civilians on the front line. Weak coordination between UN agencies and under-resourcing contribute to the problem. Within the MRM system, reporting of attacks against schools is particularly limited, with many incidents going unreported. Nowhere are these problems more evident than in the area of rape and other sexual violence. As Michelle Bachelet, executive director and Under-Secretary-General of UN Women, told the UN Security Council in October 2010: ‘activities have lacked a clear direction or time-bound goals and targets that could accelerate implementation and ensure accountability’, and ‘evidence of their cumulative impact is inadequate’.

The aggregate effect of these failures is to reinforce the culture of impunity described in the UN’s own reporting systems. This Report calls for reforms in three key areas.

- **Reinforce the MRM system.** The monitoring and reporting mechanism has to provide a more comprehensive account of the scale and scope of human rights violation against children, with persistent offenders named and reported to the Security Council. All UN agencies should cooperate more closely in collecting, verifying and reporting evidence. In countries that systematically fail to act on national action plans to stop human rights abuses, punitive measures should be applied on a targeted and selective basis as a last resort. In areas where the level of human rights violation may warrant consideration as a war crime or crime against humanity, the Security Council should be more active in referring cases to the International Criminal Court (ICC).

- **Strengthen reporting on education.** International reporting on human rights violations relating to education is poorly developed. What is needed is a systematic and comprehensive reporting system documenting attacks on schoolchildren, schools and teachers, and it should be extended to include technical and vocational institutes and universities. As the lead United Nations agency on education, UNESCO should be mandated and resourced to lead in the development of a robust reporting system.

- **Act decisively on rape and other sexual violence during conflict.** As a first step, the Security Council should create 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 Commission should be headed by the executive director of UN Women. The remit of the commission would include detailed investigation in countries identified in UN reports as centres of impunity. The ICC should be involved in the work of the commission from the outset in an advisory capacity. In particular, the ICC should assess the responsibilities of state actors in relation to potential war crimes and crimes against humanity, not just by virtue of their role as perpetrators or co-perpetrators, but in failing to discharge their responsibility to protect civilians. While the proposed commission would report to the Security Council, evidence would be handed to the ICC, which would assess the case for prosecution.

- **Support national plans for ending human rights violations.** Donors should step up efforts to support national plans and strategies aimed at strengthening the rule of law. Such plans and strategies need to include clear time-bound targets for protection, prevention and prosecution. One promising initiative is the International Violence Against Women Act introduced in the US Congress. This would authorize the State Department to adopt plans to reduce sexual violence in up to twenty countries.
Failures of provision – fixing the humanitarian aid system

Humanitarian aid is intended to save lives, meet basic needs and restore human dignity. In order to fulfil these roles, it should provide an education lifeline for children living in conflict-affected areas. Three-quarters of humanitarian aid goes to countries affected by conflict, yet little of that aid is directed to education, partly because many humanitarian workers do not view education as ‘life-saving’. The result is that communities struggling against the odds to maintain opportunities for education are getting little support. Displaced populations also face grave difficulties in education.

Education is the poor neighbour of a humanitarian aid system that is underfinanced, unpredictable and governed by short-termism. It suffers from a double disadvantage: education accounts for a small share of humanitarian appeals, and an even smaller share of the appeals that get funded. The EFA Global Monitoring Report’s best estimate is that in 2009, humanitarian aid for education amounted to US$149 million – around 2% of total humanitarian aid. Just over one-third of requests for aid to education receive funding. The chronic underfinancing behind these data leaves children in conflict areas and displaced populations out of school.

Shortfalls in funding requests for education are just part of the problem. The requests themselves appear to be disconnected from any credible assessment of need or demand on the part of affected populations. In Chad, the 2010 humanitarian appeal for education amounted to just US$12 million for a country with an estimated 170,000 IDPs and 300,000 refugees, with reported school enrolment rates below 40% for displaced children. The humanitarian aid request for education in the Democratic Republic of the Congo totalled just US$25 million (of which only 15% had been delivered by the middle of 2010). This was for a country with a displaced population in excess of 2 million, and where around two-thirds of children in some conflict-affected areas are out of school.

The vagaries of annual budgeting compound the problems of education financing during emergencies. This is especially true in situations of long-term displacement. In Kenya, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other agencies have been unable to embark on multiyear planning in education for the increasing flow of refugees from Somalia. And in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, schools serving displaced children are threatened with closure because of shifting donor priorities and short-term budgeting.

Forced displacement is a direct threat to education, both for people categorized as refugees and for IDPs. Refugees have well-defined legal entitlements to basic education. In practice, though, those entitlements are often difficult to claim. Several countries treat refugees as illegal immigrants, effectively stripping them of international protection. Some countries have provided high levels of support for refugees, often placing the domestic education system under considerable strain. One example is Jordan, which allows Iraqi refugee children to use the state education system.

IDPs have fewer rights to formal protection than refugees. No UN agency is directly mandated to advance their interests. And they are often invisible in national planning and donor strategies. Yet there are practical measures that can be adopted to keep the door to education open for IDPs. In Colombia, the 1997 Law on Internal Displacement and subsequent actions by the Constitutional Court have strengthened IDP entitlements to education. The Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, adopted at a 2009 African Union summit in Kampala, Uganda, provides strong legal protection for IDP education. This is a model that could be adopted by other regions, though only two African governments have so far ratified the convention.

This Report sets out a broad agenda for improving the provision of education to people caught up in or displaced by armed conflict. Among the key elements are:

- **Change the humanitarian mindset.** The humanitarian aid community needs to rethink the place of education on its agenda. All the agencies involved in the Education for All partnership need to press for greater priority to be accorded to education in financing requests and delivery.
Gear finance towards needs. An expanded and more flexible financing framework is required for humanitarian aid. Increased financing for pooled funds could be used to meet shortfalls between education financing requests and aid delivery. They could also provide a more predictable flow of funds to ‘forgotten emergency’ countries and forgotten sectors such as education. This Report recommends that multilateral pooled funding mechanisms – such as the Central Emergency Response Fund and Common Humanitarian Fund – should be scaled up from their current annual financing level of around US$730 million to about US$2 billion.

Conduct credible needs assessments. The starting point for the effective provision of education to conflict-affected communities is a credible assessment of needs. Current arrangements fall far short of the credibility test for both refugees and displaced people. Humanitarian aid requests for education are at best weakly related to levels of need. Assessments undertaken in refugee camps do not provide a systematic overview of financing and other requirements for achieving the Education for All goals, while the needs of refugees living outside camps are widely ignored. Assessments made for IDPs vastly underestimate real needs. This Report recommends that the education cluster, the inter-agency group within the humanitarian system responsible for coordinating requests, should work alongside specialized agencies with expertise in data collection, development of core indicators for education and the estimation of financing requirements for achieving specific targets.

Strengthen financing and governance arrangements on displacement. The artificial distinction between refugees and IDPs is a barrier to more effective action. UNHCR’s mandate has to be strengthened so that the agency provides more effective protection for all refugees and IDPs. Given UNICEF’s capacity and track record in supporting education in conflict-affected countries, and UNHCR’s limited capacity in the sector, they should have a twin mandate on education. Refugee host countries should consider adopting rules that facilitate access to public education systems, and wealthy countries should agree to more equitable global burden-sharing arrangements. Countries with large internally displaced populations should follow the example of Colombia in entrenching the rights of IDPs in national legislation. Regional bodies should consider adopting a version of the African Union’s Kampala Convention – which should be ratified as soon as possible by at least fifteen countries so that it becomes law.

Reconstructing education – seizing the peace premium

Post-conflict reconstruction in education poses immense challenges. Governments have to operate in an environment marked by high levels of political instability and uncertainty, and low levels of capacity. Rebuilding a broken school system in the face of chronic financing deficits and teacher shortages poses particularly acute problems. Yet success in education can help underpin the peace, build government legitimacy and set societies on course for a more peaceful future. Donors have a vital role to play in seizing the window of opportunity that comes with peace.

People whose lives have been shattered by armed conflict emerge from the violence with hope and ambition for a better future. They expect early results – and governments need to deliver quick wins to underpin the peace. Drawing on the experience of a wide range of conflict-affected countries, this Report identifies strategies that have delivered early results. Withdrawing user fees, supporting community initiatives, providing accelerated learning opportunities and strengthening the skills training component of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes are all examples. In Rwanda, DDR programmes facilitated
a return to education for former combatants, many of whom took up opportunities for vocational training.

Classroom construction can also unlock new opportunities. In Southern Sudan, an ambitious classroom construction programme facilitated an increase in the number of children in primary school from 700,000 in 2006 to 1.6 million in 2009. To deliver early results, the emphasis has been on the provision of low-cost, semi-permanent structures, with plans to replace them with more permanent structures in the near future.

Moving beyond quick wins requires the development of more robust national planning and information systems. Countries that have made the transition from conflict into longer-term recovery, such as Ethiopia, Mozambique, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, have forged partnerships with donors aimed at developing and implementing inclusive education sector strategies that set clear targets, backed by secure financing commitments. Educational management information systems (EMIS) are a key element because they give governments a tool to track resource allocation, identify areas of need and oversee teacher remuneration (the single biggest item in the education budget). By 2006, four years after the end of Sierra Leone’s civil war, the country had put in place the framework for an EMIS.

Predictable and sustained donor support is crucial to facilitating the transition from peace to reconstruction in education. Aid effectiveness in this area has been severely compromised by a divide between humanitarian aid and development assistance. Donors often see post-conflict states as weak candidates for long-term development assistance, either because of concern over the risk of renewed conflict or because post-conflict countries are unable to meet more stringent reporting requirements. The upshot is that many such countries are left to depend on limited and unpredictable humanitarian aid.

The contrasting experiences of Liberia and Sierra Leone are instructive. Following the end of the Liberian civil war, the country remained heavily dependent on humanitarian aid. Such support accounted for almost half of the aid the country received in 2005–2006. In the same period, humanitarian aid made up just 9% of Sierra Leone’s larger aid financing envelope. While just one factor, the more secure financial base for education planning in Sierra Leone helped to facilitate more rapid progress.

Given that donor perception of risk is one of the barriers reinforcing the humanitarian-development divide, an obvious response is to share risk. Pooling resources and working cooperatively enables donors to spread risk and secure wider efficiency gains in areas such as fiduciary risk management, start-up costs and coordination. National pooled funds demonstrate the potential benefits of cooperation. In Afghanistan, thirty-two donors channelled almost US$4 billion through the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund from 2002 to 2010. Education has been a significant part of the portfolio. Significant results have been achieved not just in getting more children – especially girls – into school, but also in building national planning capacity.

Global pooled funding could also play a far greater role in conflict-affected states. The education sector lacks an operation facility comparable to the global funds operating in health. The Fast Track Initiative (FTI) has disbursed US$883 million to thirty countries since its inception in 2002. By contrast, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, established the same year, has disbursed US$10 billion. Ongoing reforms to the FTI are addressing long-standing concerns in areas such as disbursement and governance, addressed in the 2010 EFA Global Monitoring Report and in a major external evaluation. If the reforms were carried through and deepened, the FTI could become the fulcrum of a multilateral financing system capable of addressing the pressing needs of conflict-affected states. However, this requires greater flexibility in the treatment of countries emerging from conflict, many of which have faced problems in receiving financial support. It also requires an expanded resource base; the FTI disbursed US$222 million in 2009, while the external financing gap for low-income countries is estimated at US$16 billion.

The message of this Report is that education should be given a far more central role on the post-conflict reconstruction agenda. The Report recommends action in four key areas.

- **Seize opportunities for quick wins by making education more affordable and accessible.** Abolition of school fees should be seen as an important part of the post-conflict peace dividend. Strengthening skills training and psychosocial support interventions in DDR programmes can help defuse the potential for a return to violence by extending opportunities for former combatants, while accelerated learning programmes offer a way back into education for those who missed out during the conflict years.

- **Build the foundations for long-term recovery.** The development of national capacity for planning, the creation of EMIS mechanisms and the strengthening of teacher payroll systems may seem like technical
Education has suffered from systematic neglect in the wider peacebuilding agenda. That neglect represents a wasted opportunity for conflict prevention and the development of more resilient societies. More than that, it represents a threat. Governments and donors that overlook the role of education in peacebuilding are setting countries on a path to a less secure, potentially more violent future.

Neglect of education is evident in the work of the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, an intergovernmental advisory committee, and the associated Peacebuilding Fund (PBF). The fund has emerged as an important part of the UN’s post-conflict architecture. However, the PBF is very small in financial terms (it has received US$347 million since 2006), and education-specific projects account for just 3% of total funding provided. Another problem is that the PBF primarily supports one-off projects that are weakly integrated into long-term planning processes.

This Report explores a wide array of channels through which education can influence prospects for peace. It emphasizes that there are no blueprints. The starting point, though, is for policy-makers to ascertain how a given policy intervention in education might reinforce grievances associated with armed conflict – and to carefully weigh possible public perceptions of the policy and undertake assessments of possible outcomes in areas such as:

- **Language of instruction.** No issue better demonstrates the tough choices facing post-conflict governments than language policy. In some contexts, such as the United Republic of Tanzania, the use of a single national language as the medium of instruction in schools has helped foster a sense of shared identity. In others it has helped to fuel violence. In Guatemala, where language policy in education was a source of deep resentment for indigenous people, the Commission for Education Reform was created to address grievances, promote dialogue and set a course for the development of bilingual and intercultural education – an approach that may have wider relevance.

- **Reforming the curriculum.** The teaching of subjects such as history and religion has a bearing on susceptibility to violence. In multi-ethnic or multiphath societies, the curriculum helps shape how pupils view themselves in relation to the ‘other’. Dealing with issues of identity confronts education reformers with tough choices and takes time. Cambodia’s education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide. In Rwanda, where the education system is only now addressing the history of the genocide.

Education for All Global Monitoring Report

**Making education a force for peace**

As societies emerge from conflict into a fragile peace and the start of a long peacebuilding journey, education policy provides governments with an opportunity to confront the legacy of the past and to develop an education system conducive to a peaceful future.

The starting point is recognition that education matters. As governments start to reconstruct education systems, they need to assess the post-conflict environment carefully. Legacies of violence and mistrust do not disappear overnight. Governments have to consider how policy choices will be perceived in the light of long-standing rivalries and partially resolved disputes between groups and regions. Conflict-sensitive planning in education is about recognizing that any policy decision will have consequences for peacebuilding – and for the prospect of averting a return to violence. What people are taught, how they are taught and how education systems are organized can make societies more – or less – prone to violent conflict.

Education has suffered from systematic neglect in the wider peacebuilding agenda. That neglect represents a wasted opportunity for conflict prevention and the development of more resilient societies. More than that, it represents a threat. Governments and donors that overlook the role of education in peacebuilding are setting countries on a path to a less secure, potentially more violent future.

- **Increase support for national pooled funding.** This could unlock wide-ranging gains from cooperation between donors. Aid agencies should actively explore the potential for scaling up existing pooled fund arrangements and establishing new funds in countries that have received less attention, including Chad and the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

- **Make the Fast Track Initiative a more effective global pooled fund.** The education sector urgently needs a pooled funding system comparable in scale and efficiency to those operating in the health sector. This Report recommends annual financing for the FTI of around US$6 billion from 2011 to 2013, around one-third of which could come from education bonds as proposed in Chapter 2. Further reforms are needed to extend support to countries emerging from conflict, including the provision of short-term grants to enable quick wins, along with longer-term funds for recovery.

**OVERVIEW**
Irish and British, or just Irish, regardless of their religious affiliation. This is a good example of what Amartya Sen has described as a shift towards multiple identities and away from ‘singular affiliation’ with one group.

- **Devolution of education governance.** Decentralization and devolution are often seen as an automatic route to greater accountability, as well as to peacebuilding. That assessment is overstated. In some countries with highly devolved education systems, the weak role of central government can hamper peacebuilding efforts. One striking example comes from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Under the 1995 Dayton Agreement, a country of around 3.8 million people was left with thirteen education ministries and a segregated school system. The federal government adopted progressive principles on education. However, with a minimal federal state presence, children continue to be taught from three separate curricula that differ for subjects such as history, culture and language, sometimes in ways that reinforce prejudice. Moreover, some schools still carry the names of military figures viewed by some groups as national heroes and others as symbols of hostility.

- **Making schools non-violent environments.** One strategy is unequivocally good for education, for children and for peacebuilding: making schools non-violent places. Challenging the normalization of violence in society relies in part on the effective prohibition of corporal punishment.

Just as every armed conflict reflects a different set of underlying tensions and failures of conflict resolution, so every post-conflict context is marked by different threats and opportunities for education in peacebuilding. Among the approaches proposed in this Report are:

- **Recognize that education is part of the post-conflict environment.** National governments and aid donors need to realize that, whatever their intent, education policy reforms will be rolled out in a political environment shaped by the legacy of conflict. All policy development should entail post-conflict risk assessment.

- **Expand the Peacebuilding Fund.** The Peacebuilding Commission could be far more active in supporting government efforts to integrate education into a wider peacebuilding strategy. Increasing resources available through the PBF to between US$500 million and US$1 billion a year could facilitate more effective exploitation of the window of opportunity provided by peace.

- **Enhance the role of UNESCO and UNICEF in peacebuilding initiatives.** Donors can contribute to conflict-sensitive education planning. The first principle of engagement is ‘do no harm’. That is why any education policy should be subject to a rigorous assessment of potential impacts taking into account not only technical data, but also public perceptions and long-standing grievances. Sustained peacemaking requires more than just planning and financial resources. It also needs dedicated professionals and agencies committed to building capacity and providing technical support in areas ranging from curriculum development to textbook design and teacher training. This is an area in which UNESCO and UNICEF need to play a far more central role – and both agencies should participate more actively in the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission.

Education has a vital role to play in building resilience against violent conflict. Schools in the twenty-first century need above all to teach children what is arguably the single most vital skill for a flourishing multi-cultural society – the skill of living peacefully with other people. Awareness of religious, ethnic, linguistic and racial diversity should not be banished from the classroom. On the contrary, diversity should be recognized and celebrated. But schools and classrooms must above all else be a place where children learn to mingle, share and respect other children. No country can hope to establish lasting foundations for peace unless it finds ways of building mutual trust between its citizens – and the place to start is in the classroom.