Education for Afghans -
Issues Confronting the Assistance Community

Islamabad, 30 April 1998

Discussion Document

April 1998

By

Hans Zomer
Education Research Consultant

INTRODUCTION

This discussion document has been written in preparation for a workshop, organised by Save the Children USA and UNICEF, in Islamabad, Pakistan on 30 April 1998.

The objectives of the workshop are:
A.   To identify and discuss key education policy issues confronting the assistance community in the education sector.
B.   Based on the issues identified, help clarify objectives and principles and identify appropriate strategies to achieve maximum impact in the education sector.
C.   To agree upon steps to be taken to strengthen assistance to the education sector.

In order to fulfil the objectives, SC-US and UNICEF contracted two consultants. An Education Policy Consultant to follow-up on the workshop by writing an education policy paper and a Education Research Consultant to make an inventory of current assistance to education for Afghans and to analyse the information obtained. This discussion document has been written by the Education Research Consultant.

After a short introduction to Afghanistan and its political context, in particular the nature of the Taliban movement, ...

....

As it is a discussion document, I have tried to be brief and clearly highlight the issues for discussion. For greater detail of topics mentioned, I refer to the documents listed in the bibliography.

Finally, a word about the statistics in this document: All figures should be interpreted with great caution. There is very little by way of reliable data. Many figures stem from different and therefore uncompatible sources. Government data are most likely unreliable.

AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan is a poor country at war. Just before it was dropped from the listings of the UN's Human Development Report (1997 edition), statistics indicated the dire state of the country: Afghanistan has the world's largest collection of land mines (over 10 million), the highest infant mortality rate in Asia, and the lowest literacy rate of the continent. While around 85% of the population depends on agriculture for its livelihood, food production has fallen to 60% of the level of 1979.

DATA ON AFGHANISTAN

Population	22.6 Million
Urban Population	18 %
Children under 5	3.6 Million
Major Ethnic and Linguistic Groups	Pushtun (38%), Tajik (25%), Uzbek (6%) and Hazara (19%)
Languages	Dari Persian, Pashtu and Uzbek
Religions	Sunni Islam (84%), Shi'a Islam (15%)
Population Annual Growth	1.5 %
Life Expectancy	45 years
Infant Mortality	165 per 1000 live births
Under Five Mortality	257 per 1000 live births
Maternal Mortality	1700 per 100,000 live births
% of Literate Adults	Male: 47% Female: 15 %
% of Population with Access to Safe Drinking Water	Urban: 39 % Rural: 5 % Total: 12 %

Sources:
- CIA, "The 1997 World Factbook", as quoted by CARE
- UN, "Afghanistan Consolidated Appeal 1998"
- UNICEF, "The State of the World's Children", 1997

Afghanistan is a complicated mixture of peoples, who differ from each other by language, ethnicity, religion, economic activity and who are separated by mountains and deserts.[1]

Although ethnic, religious and linguistic differences are seen as the cause for division, they mainly reflect the more immediate cause: the failure of the Afghan state.

"No government since the foundation of modern Afghanistan in the mid-eighteenth century has come into existence on the basis of a direct popular mandate."[2] Successive governments tried to "modernise" the country, often steam-rolling over traditional patterns of social organisation.[3] While dissent and resentment were being mobilised, there was no outlet for dissatisfaction through the political system. To many, violence seemed the only option.

---

[1] These divisions came to the fore when the Islamic resistance succeeded in throwing out the Soviet forces (1989) and their successor communist government (1992). Rather than bringing peace, the Mujahideen's victory thrust the country into a complicated civil war where tribal, religious and ethnic differences were used by various warlords in their efforts at gaining control.

[2] Amin Saikal, "The Rabbani government, 1992-1996" in: William Maley (ed.), "Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban" (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1998), p. 30.

[3] The state in Afghanistan has been solidly based on the 19th century European-style nation-state, with an over-centralised bureaucracy. The combination with Afghanistan's traditional political culture (kinship groups with a high degree of local autonomy) has turned the state into a tribal-oriented machinery to extract wealth and to redistribute it to those favoured by the rulers. See among others M. Nazif Shahrani, "The state and community governance" in: William Maley (ed.), "Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban" (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1998)

It is no surprise that, in a country where politics has always relied on personalised and "clientelists" relations, a sustained period of war has led to the fragmentation of government along ethnic, linguistic but above all personality lines. The resulting chaos of "absence of central government and, in most places, of effective provincial or local government..." has made "the arenas of governance. fundamental ones: citizen to citizen, community to community, region to region."[4]

At present, there is no effective national government. Local, personalised decision-making is the norm in Afghanistan.

Is there a tension between the UN's efforts at brokering agreements with the authorities and the ability of NGOs to come to working arrangements with local commanders?

TALIBAN

The Taliban movement is a heterogeneous grouping of fighters, mullahs, unemployed and religious fanatics. The majority of their militia have little experience of life in the city, let alone of administering a nation. Those of the movement who have administrative authority have often become more willing to compromise their ideals to suit the realities of being in government.

The Taliban are a movement, not a coherent government. The ideology of the Taliban movement is a mixture of rural Pashtun values, religious fundamentalism and totalitarian political thinking.

The Taliban are traditionalists in the sense that they advocate village values, but village values "as interpreted by refugee camp dwellers or madrassa students most of whom have never known ordinary village life.... "[5] They are fundamentalists in their interpretation of Islamic government as the application of Sharia law. Their philosophy is a narrow anti-Shiite and anti-Western interpretation of the faith, completely focused on the Sharia. Finally, the Taliban movement is a totalitarian movement. The Taliban try to find an ideological justification for un-paralleled state influence in people's lives. Most of the Taliban's "laws" have never been written down, creating a sense that the law binds the people, but not the state.

Taliban influence,[6] however, is not as profound as is reported in the media. Although the Taliban have a largely rural background, the movement has little control over rural areas. Because the militia feel most challenged and resisted in the cities especially Kabul, their rule is therefore most ferocious there. The Taliban image in the international media stems mainly from their behaviour in the cities and from their surprising decisions, such as the ban on girls' education. Reality is, however, not as black and white.[7]

NORTHERN ALLIANCE

---

[4]   Dr. Paula Newberg, as quoted in Sarah Russell, "Brining PEACE to Afghanistan" in: "Aina, UN Afghanistan magazine" (United Nations) Spring 1997, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 11.

[5]   "...This accounts for their ability to do things which would be unthinkable in a typical Afghan village - for example beat up women from a stranger's family....", from: William Maley, "Interpreting the Taliban" in: William Maley (ed.), "Fundamentalism Reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban" (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1998), p. 20.

[6]   The Taliban now control about two-thirds of Afghanistan - equivalent to about 60% of the population. Only the Central and Northern Areas are not under their control. These regions are divided between 3 major groups, coordinated through the High Council for the Defence of the Country, or the Northern Alliance.

[7]   The SCA (Swedish Committee for Afghanistan) activities show that notwithstanding the formal ban, girls education is still possible, with the consent of Taliban authorities.

- Who?
- More tolerant towards edu: Dept. of Edu's are still running.
- University in Mazar is functioning
- New university been opened in Bamyan.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

In the 1970s and '80s, much of the international assistance had negative consequences for the building of peace in Afghanistan.

During the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, humanitarian assistance seemed to be a supplement to military aid. Most of the international NGOs directed their work towards support for the refugees during the war, while the assistance inside Afghanistan increased the power and influence of many of the warlords. "As a result the humanitarian assistance became highly political duing the Soviet invasion .... Peace and human rights were hardly mentioned during these years ...."[8]

To what extent does the international assistance to Afghanistan suffer from its own history of support to the Mujahideen?

Even though world-wide interest in long-standing complex emergencies such as the one in Afghanistan is low, international financial assistance has remained at high levels.[9]

UN Appeals 1996 - Income & Requirements
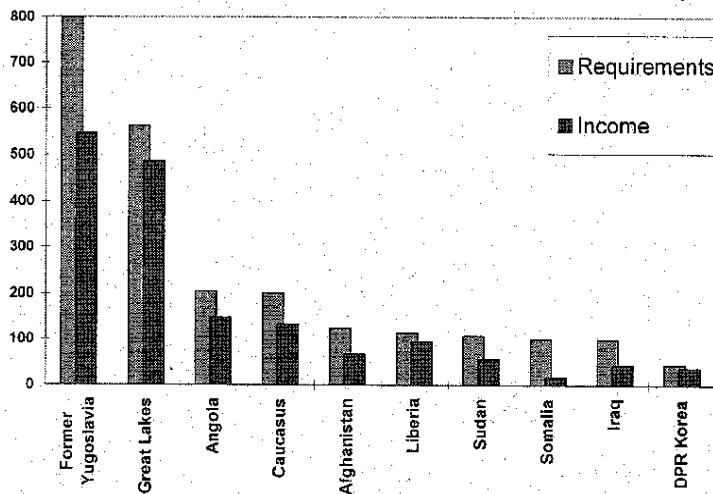

Figure 1: UN Appeals 1996

Source: DHA Humanitarian Report 1997

In the 1990s, international aid to the people of Afghanistan makes up the second largest sector in the country's economy.

---

[8]   Quote from S. Barakat, M. Ehsan & A. Strand, "NGOs and peace-building in Afghanistan." Workshop report, 3-7 April 1994 (Peshawar: NCA, NRC & Responding To Conflict, 1994), p. 12-13. Some of the textbooks provided in this period seem to promote violence rather than seek non-violent ways of problem solving.

[9]   The 1996 appeal for Afghanistan received 53% of requirements, as opposed to 69% for Former Yugoslavia, 82% for the Great Lakes, 51% for Sudan and 17% for Somalia.

According to UN figures, total international humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan in 1997 amounted to 216,705,006 US$.[10] Any assistance of that magnitude must have a profound impact. However, although much has been achieved, clear indications as to the effects of the efforts are hard to obtain.[11]

Consolidated Appeals for Afghanistan
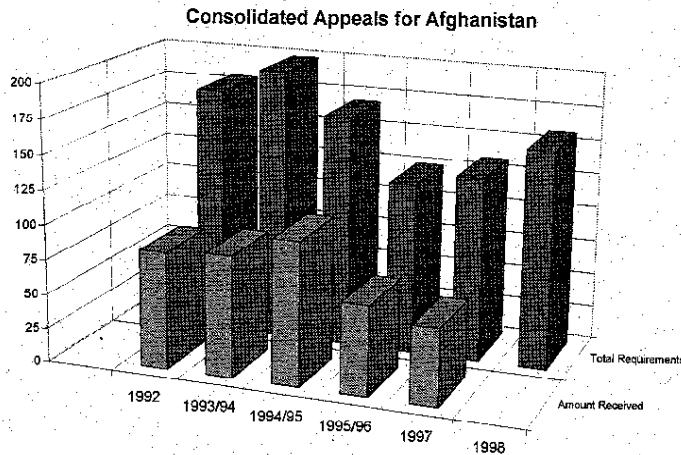
Figure 2: UN Appeals

Source: UN Afghanistan - Consolidated Appeal 1998

Driven by internal reasons, such as the UN reform measures and drops in funding levels, the United Nations organisations have taken steps "to reconsider and re-energise the assistance effort in Afghanistan."[12] During 1997, a Strategic Framework for Assistance to Afghanistan and an accompanying draft Assistance Strategy for Afghanistan have been drawn up. The strategy is based on a number of principles derived from Human Rights declarations and international law, and aims to arrive at a common programme aimed at "empowering Afghans to build sustainable livelihoods."[13]

While coordination efforts through the UN Common Programme for assistance to Afghanistan address the quality of coordination, they do not immediately allow for a proper assessment of the impact of the international assistance.

International aid efforts are obviously hampered by the volatile security situation in the country. For that reason, humanitarian assistance ("saving lives and reducing human suffering"[14]) will remain a priority for all aid agencies. Assessing the quality of such humanitarian assistance is very difficult, particularly in an environment such as Afghanistan, where reliable data are lacking and most of the aid has become politicised.

---

[10]   This amounts to roughly 10 US$ per inhabitant. Source: United Nations, "Afghanistan - Consolidated Appeal 1998" (United Nations, 1998), p. 13

[11]   MRGI lists as the effects of the "aid invasion" of "agencies with different mandates, targets and political background": A dependency syndrome among refugees in Pakistan, the failure of many projects inside Afghanistan, too great influence of expatriate workers and the predominance of political, rather than humanitarian criteria. ("Afghanistan, a nation of minorities" (London: Minority Rights Group International, 1992)

[12]   United Nations, "Afghanistan - Consolidated Appeal 1998" (United Nations, 1998), p. 5

[13]   The most practical expression of these efforts is the introduction of new UN-wide Consolidated Appeals, which also include donor and NGO programmes. Practical spin-offs of these appeals include inter-agency programmes such as PEACE and ProMIS.

[14]   United Nations, "Afghanistan - Consolidated Appeal 1998" (United Nations, 1998), p. 14

Greater coordination is an important first step. But coordination efforts are meaningless without a common analysis.

While the political nature of the assistance will, for quite some time in the future, make a common programme an impossibility, the realities on the ground necessitate much greater common priority setting for the international aid community. The aid community is facing major challenges:

- First, it is unclear to what extent the provision of aid hinders or contributes to a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan. While lasting peace requires "steps to address crucial issues such as poverty, food insecurity, lack of basic social services and economic infrastructures, environmental devastation, and - most important of all - governance"[15], there are many who wonder whether the aid effort so far has contributed to prolonging the war, rather than ending it. On the other hand, making aid conditional to progress at peace talks not only violates a number of humanitarian principles, it also would undoubtedly contribute to the suffering.
- Secondly, the unpredictable and volatile behaviour of the Afghan authorities seriously complicates aid efforts. In most places, the state authority has collapsed, leaving aid agencies with the question of who they should deal with. Normal questions of aid management, such as what role the government institutions should play, are being complicated further by the Taliban's overt infringement of women's rights. At the same time, the Taliban look more likely to expel all UN agencies all together, than that they will compromise on their interpretation of the Sharia.
- Thirdly, a relatively large share of the international assistance is provided through international agencies. While there may be good reasons for this situation, it does raise questions about the sustainability of the development efforts.

The dilemmas and challenges facing the aid community should prompt it to put more effort in joint analysis and policy-making.

Having said that, it is fair to say that the level of coordination already reached by the international aid community is higher than in many other emergency situations around the globe. However, a long-term commitment to coordinated assistance is clearly what is needed to address the complex situation in Afghanistan.

- **Will the international community, with the formulation of a UN common programme, be clearer about the aims and means of its assistance?**

- **Can aid organisations rally the courage to withdraw if meaningful programmes cannot be implemented, or be better implemented by other organisations?**

- **Has the time come for aid organisations to shift from humanitarian thinking to making more long-term plans and commitments?**

THE POLITICS OF EDUCATION

Education per se is a profoundly political issue. Any organisation providing assistance to the education sector in a developing country must be aware of the political implications of its activities.

---

[15] Maurice Dewulf as quoted in "Bringing PEACE to Afghanistan", in: Aina, UN Afghanistan magazine" (United Nations) spring 1997, vol. 1, no. 4, p. 10

Education involves the majority of a country's citizens, all levels of government and the basic values of a society. Education can be an agent of change, as well as confirm existing realities and wisdoms. The way the education sector is organised has profound influence on society.[16] Especially in crisis situations, the budgets of international aid organisations often far outweigh the capacity of local government authorities. Those aid organisations are usually more aware of the constraints of their own decision-making procedures than of the profound impact their support (or lack of support) will have.

> **If primary responsibility for a country's educational policies lies with the government, should external assistance not aim to strengthen government policies and institutions? Should aid agencies educate the government, rather than the people?**

International support does not necessarily have to take the shape of support to schools. There are many places of learning (school, people's homes, mosques and places of work) and many ways of organising education (training, non-formal education, informal education). What is important, however, is the availability, accessibility and quality of the education offered.

The World Bank, which is the major donor in the education sector, has defined the main challenges to the education sector as issues of access, equity, quality, reform and therefore also finance/management. Development NGOs have tended to focus on small-scale initiatives, e.g. producing model schools, whose educational policies and approaches then should be copied elsewhere in the country. But the basic choice for all agencies is whether to prioritise the actual provision of (basic) education, or the support of initiatives by others. Different agencies make different choices.

Educational policies should be based on their political and economic context and reflect the core values of society.

> **Should education aim to preserve a society's prevaling values or challenge them?**

The best way to obtain such policies relevant to society, is to strive to involve local communities (students, parents, elders, religious and political leaders) in the decision-making and to secure a firm linkage between the educational system supported with foreign assistance and the system promoted by the government. But it can be questioned whether the aid organisations should also be the implementors.

While there is a degree of consensus that international support should invest in "software" (teachers, provision of books & material, in-service teacher training, etc.) rather than in buildings, there is no agreement regarding the role of aid agencies.

In practice, such decisions are more determined by internal factors (nationality of the organisation, availability of funds, political background of the organisation) than by critical

---

[16] Louis Dupree stated that in Afghanistan, education can have explosive effects: Universal literacy may increase ethnocentrism and ethnic groups will begin to realise how much they have been exploited
- L. Dupree, Afghanistan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 660, as quoted in: G.A. Eqbal, "Education and social change in Afghanistan" (Muncie: Ball State University, 1978). See also: "Priorities and Strategies for Education - A World Bank Review" (Washington DC: World Bank, 1995)

analysis. If there is no agreement as to the way in which education should be supported, how can there be agreement regarding the values that education should promote?

> **If international support aims to increase enrolment levels, to reduce disparities and to promote meaningful education, should aid organisations opt for scale, or for quality? For immediate impact or for long-term solutions?**

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN

Education has a very long history in Afghanistan, but government involvement with the education sector is a recent phenomenon. Functioning Quranic schools can be found all over Afghanistan, although the quality of education provided is not altogether satisfactory.

The traditional system involves mosque schools and madrassas. Mosque schools or Quranic schools (maktab) can be found in most villages and towns and are typically open to girls and boys, up to the ages of 8 and 12 respectively.[17] Since 1919 many attempts to "modernise" the education sector have been undertaken.[18] A Ministry of Education was created, which established curricula and made primary education compulsory. Education thus became a government responsibility, and the separation between science and religion became a matter of principle.[19]

The modernisation drive in the beginning of the 20th century gave a boost to the education sector.

By 1927, 322 schools had been built, with 51,000 students[20] (a 1000 of which were girls).[21] Others give the following figures:[22]

Year	Schools	Students	Teachers
1933	50	4,591	165
1937	150	17,526	584
1941	321	64,000	2,190
1945	364	93,279	2,546
1946	370	93,342	2,677

However, the schools were academic in approach and only catered for the children of the elite. The education for the masses still took place in the country's mosques.

"Though many private *madrassah* existed within Afghanistan, successive regimes sought to create a network of state religious schools that would undermine the *madrassahs* that were

[17] See A. Skuse, "BBC Radio Education for Afghan Children (REACH) needs assessment report" (London: BBC, 1997, p. 6

[18] Partly in recognition of the poor quality of traditional education, but mainly following the example of nationalist movements in Turkey (Young Turks and Kemal Ataturk), Russia (Communist revolution), Iran (Riza Shah) and India.

[19] See G.A. Eqbal, "Education and social change in Afghanistan" (Muncie: Ball State University, 1978)

[20] Idem.

[21] The first school for women was opened in 1923. See: "The status of education in Afghanistan - Volume I" (UNO/ESSP, 1994), p. 13

[22] "The status of education in Afghanistan - Volume I" (UNO/ESSP, 1994), p. 13

beyond their own control...."[23] Thus, while the state tried to build up a system of formal education, local communities continued to sponsor their own religious institutions.[24]

By the 1970's, free and compulsory primary education (grades 1-8) - provided by the state - had been established. According to the Ministry of Education, by 1972 Afghanistan had 3,984 schools; 21,920 teachers; 760,491 students and 9000 students in higher education. There was now a system in place with schools on village level (grade 1-3)[25], primary schools (grade 1-6), lower secondary schools (grade 7-9), higher secondary schools (grade 10-12), colleges and universities, as well as a number of vocational schools.[26]

In 1970 still about 90% of the population was illiterate. A government system was in place, but it was hardly effective. [27]

Number of schools in Afghanistan
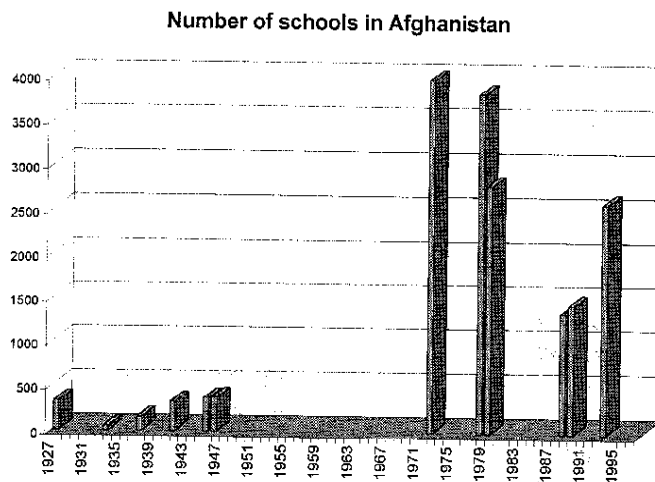
Figure 3: Number of schools[28]

The state management was so bad, that it did a lot to foster deep distrust of the entire government system. Throughout the 20th century, the state developed into a over-centralised bureaucracy, dominated by tribal affiliations. Worse than simply ignoring the traditional structures of "civil society" (kinship relations), it was in direct opposition to the traditional culture.

In rural areas, all government agents, including teachers, were seen as a source of abuse and corruption, not as providers of useful services.

---

23   A. Skuse, "BBC Radio Education for Afghan Children (REACH) needs assessment report" (London: BBC, 1997), p. 7

24   "'Modern' education had been introduced early in the century (1904) with the inauguration of the Habibia school in Kabul and proceeded to slowly develop into a fully-fledged secular education system that had little or no connections with the Qur'anic education system that it sought to replace." A. Skuse, "BBC Radio Education for Afghan Children (REACH) needs assessment report" (London: BBC, 1997), p. 9

25   The large majority of these schools used local mosques or houses as classrooms.

26   In 1972 there were 36 of these schools, 12 of which were in Kabul; A total of 8680 students attended.

27   Instruction was based on "rote learning with little attention given to realistic preparation for productive life in Afghan society." Sayers ....,?????? as quoted in A. Skuse, "BBC Radio Education for Afghan Children (REACH) needs assessment report" (London: BBC, 1997), p. 8

28   The figures in this table are not compatible. The data come from different sources. The table is merely intended to show trends.

In 1975 the government launched a major reform of its educational policies aimed at providing
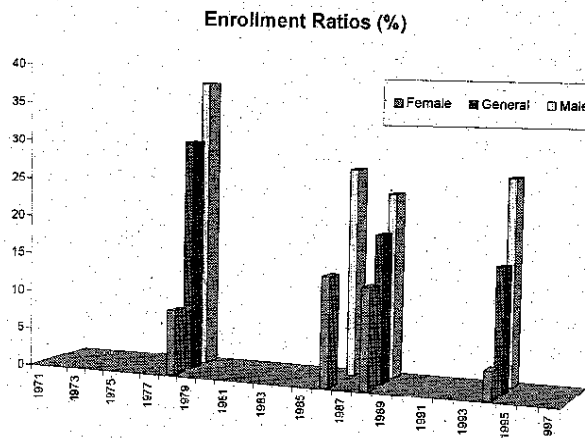
Enrollment Ratios (%)

Figure 4: Enrollment rates[29]

universal primary education. The system now consisted of village schools (grade 1-3), primary schools (1-8), secondary schools (9-12) and post-secondary schools (grade 13 and further). However, the system still suffered from a lack of trained teachers, inadequate financing, shortage of building and materials and low attendance rates: In 1980, only 2% of the country's GDP was spent on education (figure for 1986: 1.8%).
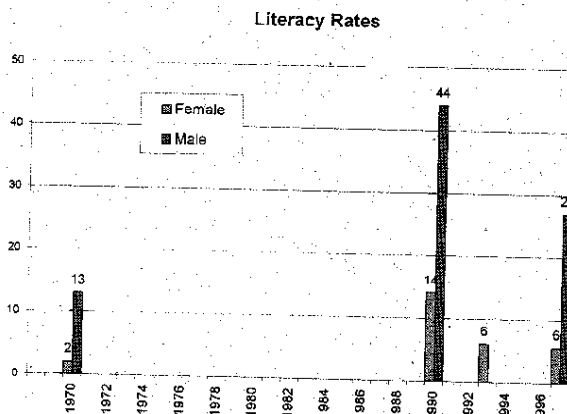
Literacy Rates

Figure 5: Literacy Rates[30]

Various sources.

Before the Communist take-over, the education system reached approximately one-third of the target age group. The blatant indoctrination by the Communists increased negative attitudes towards education, especially education for girls.

Many teachers were expelled and schools were closed.[31] When the Soviet forces left Afghanistan in 1989, the educational services were in ruin. A 1991 estimate by UNESCO put the number of destroyed schools at 2000, while "2,000 teachers had died and 15,000 had left the profession. Nearly two-thirds of the building available for primary, secondary and

---

29   The figures in this table are not compatible. The data come from different sources. The table is merely intended to show trends.
30   The figures in this table are from different sources, and are therefore not directly compatible. The table is meant as an indicator of trends.
31   According to government sources, by 1978 already, the "rebels" had destroyed 1,874 schools and a further 1,000 schools were closed because the teachers could not reach them.

vocational education had been destroyed or needed repair."[32] Enrolment had dropped from 30% in 1978 to 19% in 1988.[33] However, there was still a clear demand on the part of the Afghan population for culturally-sensitive, formal education system.
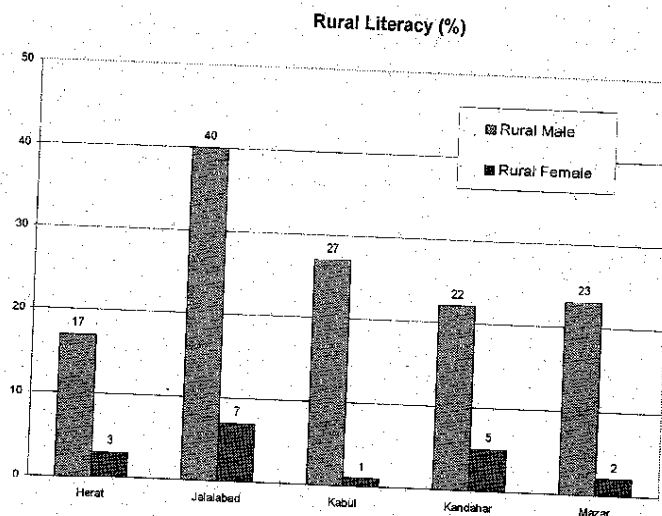
EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN - 1990's

Afghanistan has one of the lowest literacy rates in the world.

The status of the education system in Afghanistan is deplorable. A 1995 UN estimate puts the rate of literate Afghani women at 7%. Over 90% of all women never received any formal education. Other figures speak of 48% of the population who never received any formal education. Only 11% of all children has been educated beyond primary level (from the mosque school).[34]
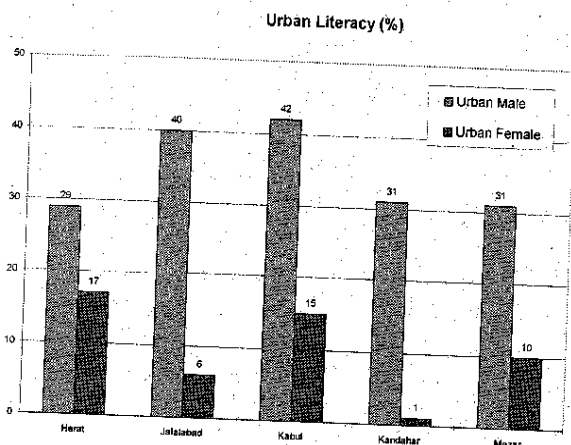
Figure 6: Urban Literacy

Source: CIET, 1997

Figure 7: Rural Literacy

---

[32] J. Allen, "Basic education for all - the Afghan experience" (Paris: UNESCO, 1994), p.1. In Kabul, 55% of all schools was destroyed, in Balkh 73% and in Herat 70%. See: G.M. Shrestha, "Status of primary education in Afghanistan" (Kabul: UNICEF, 1989), p. 1-2

[33] 1978: 37.8% of boys and 8.4% of girls; 1988: 24% of boys and 13% of girls.

[34] BBC figures.

However, (admittedly old) comparisons with Pakistan do not show a totally dismal picture:

	YEAR	AFGHANISTAN	PAKISTAN
Total expenditure on education (% of GNP)	1980	2.0	2.0
Expenditure on education % of govt. spending	1980	12.7	5.0
	1987	4.0	-
Primary education expenditure per pupil	1980 *	24.6	28.1
Primary school pupils in private schools	1980	0.0	0.0
	1987	0.0	0.0
Average annual growth in primary enrollment	75 - '80	7.3	0.5
	80 - '87	ca. 7.9	4.0
Student/teacher ration in primary schools	1980	32.0	36.0
	1987	37.0	43.0
Years in primary school cycle	-	8.0	5.0
Gross enrollment ratio (% in schools)	84 - '86	male: 27	male: 51
		female: 14	female: 28
Secondary school gross enrollment ratio	84 - '86	male: 10	male: 26
		female: 15	female: 11
Adult literacy rate		male: 39	male: 40
		female: 8	female: 19
Total fertility rate	1988	6.90	6.40
* US$ 1985			
Source: UNESCO			

Figure 8: Comparison Afghanistan & Pakistan

Furthermore, as a result of the history described above, education in Afghanistan is extremely politicised.

1. **Secular vs. religious**: First, there was the tension between "modern", secular education policies and the traditional, community education through Quranic schools; While there is a vast system of local mosque schools, 20th-century Afghan governments have tried to discredit this system and build up a parallel, western-oriented secular school system.

2. **Centralised system**: Secondly, there is the tension between the political (tribal) ends of the centralised state and the pluralist make-up of Afghan society; The Afghan state has been over-centralised, while the population's main loyalty is directed towards smaller units. The bureaucratic nature of state government has only exacerbated the antipathy towards state institutions.

3. **Elitist**: Thirdly, there is a tension between the elitist nature of the state educational system and the need for basic education for the masses; While the formal education system boasted universities and technical colleges, the vast majority of Afghans had no or little access to basic education.

4. **Access**: Fourthly, there are major differences in the availability of schooling between the different groups in society: urban/rural, boys/girls as well as between different regions and age groups.

5. **Bad reputation:** And finally, there is the legacy of government indoctrination through school curriculum and the resulting discrediting of formal education.

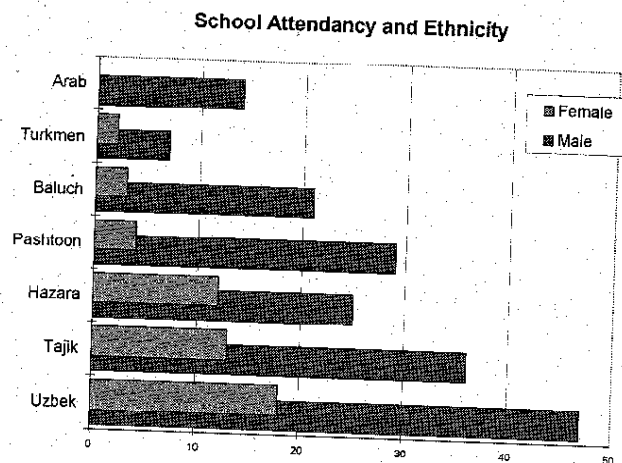**School Attendancy and Ethnicity**

Figure 9: % of children aged 7-12 in school

Source: CIET, 1997

One of the most contested issues in schooling in Afghanistan has been girls' education.

The first girls' schools faced serious opposition and were closed down after a number of years. Only under King Mohammad Zahir Shah did female education gradually become a more accepted phenomenon. However, the new Taliban authorities have banned all female education again. Although the ban now applies to all areas under Taliban control, its effects are felt most strongly outside the Southern, Pashtun areas, where girls' education was extremely limited before the ban. Especially the cities of Herat and Kabul, where girls' enrolment was traditionally high, have suffered under the ban.[35]

In most areas, the Taliban claim that the reason for the closure is the lack of security for girls travelling to and from school.[36] Following UNICEF's suspension of support to formal education in areas where girls are banned from going to school, UN agencies and NGOs have tried to put pressure on the Taliban by stopping their support and by negotiating. The Taliban have stressed that the ban is temporary, as they are not against education per se. According to them, girls' education is "not currently being approved because of a lack of resources, stationary, schools and security".[37] However, the ban seems to take on permanent features. In the areas controlled by the Northern Alliance, in contrast, girls' education continues relatively undisturbed.

The ban on girls' education has been a major bone of contention between the Taliban and the international aid community. However, the Taliban are more likely to expel the

---

[35] A 1994 study by the University of Nebraska at Omaha (UNO) examined school enrolment rates in 28 of the 29 provinces in Afghanistan. Overall, 15.96% of school-age children were found to be in school: 3.75% of girls and 26.85% of boys. Female enrolment was above 10% in only five provinces: Badakhshan, Baghlan, Herat and Nimroz.

[36] The ban also applies to female teachers. This affects education for girls and boys, as in places like Kabul and Herat, women made up the majority of teachers in primary schools.

[37] Minutes of a UN/NGO meeting with Mullah Mohammad Hassan, Governor of Kandahar, 13 May 1997.

14

aid organisations than to compromise on what they see as essential elements of the Sharia.

The Taliban appear to be more concerned about the application of the Sharia in all its details, than with the effects their activities will have on the government's acceptance in the world. The movement has never defined itself as an organisation aimed to bring welfare to the people.[38] The Taliban are the more likely winners in what is now widely perceived as a power struggle between the international community and the Taliban.

> The question, then, is whether the "principled approach" to girls' education will show any results in the near future. Would the Afghan women be better helped with a less political and less confrontational approach?

In recent times, aid organisations have started to realise that external pressure, as applied by the UN, is less likely to succeed than demands from local communities on their own authorities.

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Community support is crucial for a successful educational policy.

"Community support of education is a widely heralded strategy for improving the availability and quality of schooling. However, poverty and the competing financial demands on villagers severely limit the feasibility of this option in Afghanistan. Villagers are willing but unable to supplement or to off-set the loss of outside support for education."[39]

> Should support for educational activities be provided through integrated community development initiatives?

The data in the ACBAR database (see Annex 3) show that a large number of NGO projects involve the (re)construction of school buildings. The majority of these projects are not embedded in community development schemes by the same agencies. NGO support has focused on rebuilding physical infrastructure, paying/supplementing teacher salaries, supplying textbooks and stationary and providing teacher training. (UNHCR and WFP have been involved in the reconstruction of schools). As a result, a large number of projects involve construction activities.[40]

---

[38] Rather, it is an attempt to cleanse Afghan society from "evil". The question is whether Evil includes micro-level issues such as inappropriate beards and women travelling?

[39] "The status of education in Afghanistan"; Volume 2 (UNO/ESSP, 1994), p. 16

[40] Many of these construction projects are sponsored by the UNHCR.
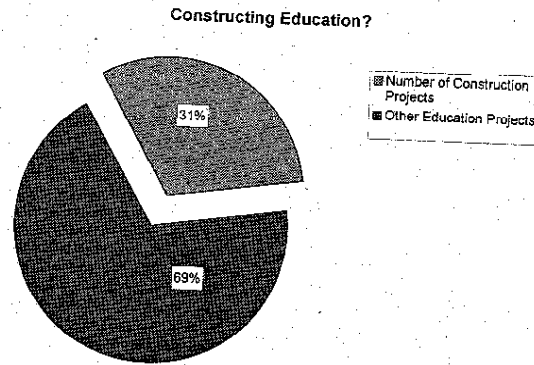
Figure 10: Number of construction projects in education sector

In contrast, only very few agencies support existing madrassas or limit themselves to the supply of books and materials to existing schools.

Agencies supporting madrassas

Agency	Province
LDI	Ghazni, Wardak, NWFP (Pak)
ISRA	Kunar, Laghman, Nangarhar
NPO	Laghman
HCI	Laghman
IIRO	Laghman, NWFP (Pak)
AICC	Nangarhar
LBI	Nangarhar
ARDA	Nangarhar
MF	Nangarhar
MAI	NWFP (Pak)
AWRC	NWFP (Pak)
WRC	NWFP (Pak)

Source: ACBAR, 1997

Why are so few agencies supporting Quranic education?

GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

Both in the North and in Taliban areas a Ministry of Education exists, with Departments in each of the 29 provinces. However, government employees receive low salaries, which are often not paid for months at a time. For all practical purposes, the links between provincial education departments with the Ministry of Education have been broken; the Departments function independently. The finances available for education are used for paying teachers' salaries.

Government Expenditure on Education[41]		
Year	Amount in Afs.	Amount in Dollars
1979	220 million	-
1985	2.7 billion	-
1989	3.3 billion	-
1992	4.5 billion	2.3 million
1993	22.9 billion	11.5 million
1994	23 billion	6.5 million
1995	27 billion	5.7 million

Source: Min. of Education, Afghanistan.

At present, there is not sufficient governmental capacity in the education sector. And very few aid organisations have committed to improving this situation.

Yet, the aid organisations play a major role in education in Afghanistan.

It is estimated that currently 60-80% of the education coverage is being provided or supported by NGOs.[42]

In 1996, 1200 schools were managed by various agencies. The Swedish Committee for Afghanistan (SCA) is the biggest player, with its support of 642 schools. The Afghan Development Association (ADA) supports 122 schools.

Figures for 1990 hint at similar figures:

Estimates of Education System in 1990	
Schools under government administration	600
Schools supported by agencies	1837

How long can NGOs and UN agencies continue to support the educational system?

TRENDS IN DONOR BEHAVIOUR

While over the period 1988-1991 total funds for assistance to Afghanistan increased, the share (and total amounts) going to education declined.[43]

---

[41] It has been suggested that government figures are inflated.

[42] ODA estimates, 1995

[43] A 1994 UNDP report on development cooperation to Afghanistan mentioned an increase in total external assistance for Afghanistan from 1990 to 1991of 64.5% (1990: 167.1 million US$, 1991: 274.99 million US$). Major bilateral donors were the then "Former USSR", the USA, Canada and India, while the main multilateral donors were UNOCHA, WFP and UNDP. Most of the money was spent on "humanitarian aid and relief" (44 million), agriculture and "area development" (13.5 and 8.3 million resp.). "Human resources" received a total of 17,009 US$ (USSR: 68 million; USA: 57 million; UNOCHA: 28 million; WFP: 24 million; UNDP: 16 million). The share for education was: 1988: 41%, 1989: 49%, 1990: 25%, 1991: 6%.

Source: "Development cooperation - Afghanistan (Islamabad: UNDP, 1994)

Total Assistance (US$)
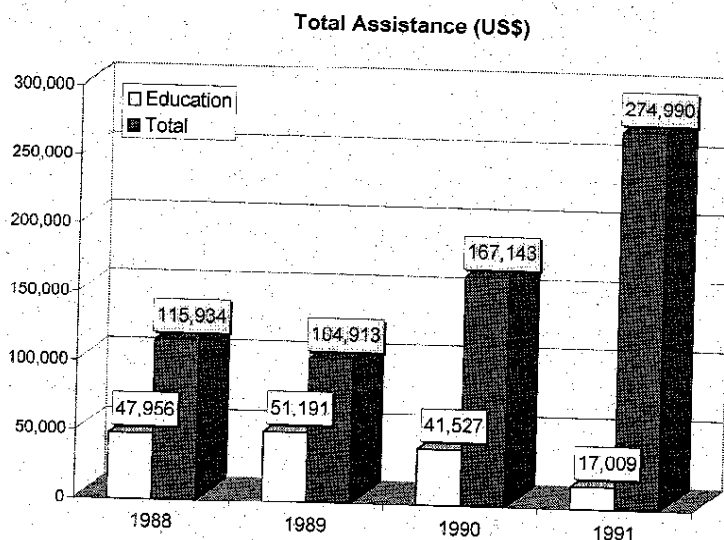
Source: UNDP, 1994

Also in later years, UN appeals prioritised other areas over education.[44] The 1998 Appeal totals 157 million US$, but the amount requested for the education sector is only four percent (4%) of the total appeal.

REGION	AGENCY	PROJECT	AMOUNT ($)
Nation-wide	UNDP	BBC Radio programmes	2,500,000
	UNESCO	Refugee education	350,000
	GTZ/AG BASEd	Education material	546,000
	SCA	Primary education	520,000
Centre	AAEA	School reconstruction	230,135
	Aschiana	Training of street children	347,035
	ICC	Establishment of primary schools	30,000
	NPO/RRAA	Construction of 2 high schools	128,000
	SAB	In-service teacher training	265,000
	SC-USA	Primary education	300,000
East	ICC	Establishment of primary schools	30,000
	NPO/RRAA	Construction of 2 high schools	66,000
	SAB	In-service teacher training	765,000
North	NPO/RRAA	Constructin of 4 primary schools	119,075
South	SWABAC	Rehabilitation of education system	290,000
West	IAM	Training of physiotherapists	23,795
		TOTAL	6,510,040

---

[44] For instance, the appeals for the coordination of international aid was greater than for education: 3.3 million US$ as compared to 910,895 US$ for education in1995. The figures for 1994 are 3.7 million and 800,000 respectively.

On the NGO side, ACBAR figures indicate that 94 agencies were involved in implementing 670 education projects in 1996. Annexes 1 and 2 list those agencies by relative importance.[45] In contrast, in the health sector, 74 agencies implemented 1577 projects and in the agriculture
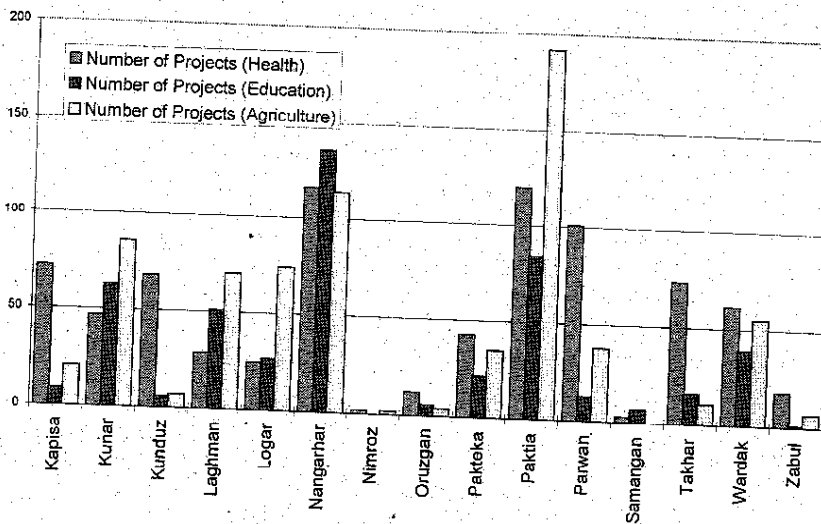

Number of Education, Health & Agriculture Projects
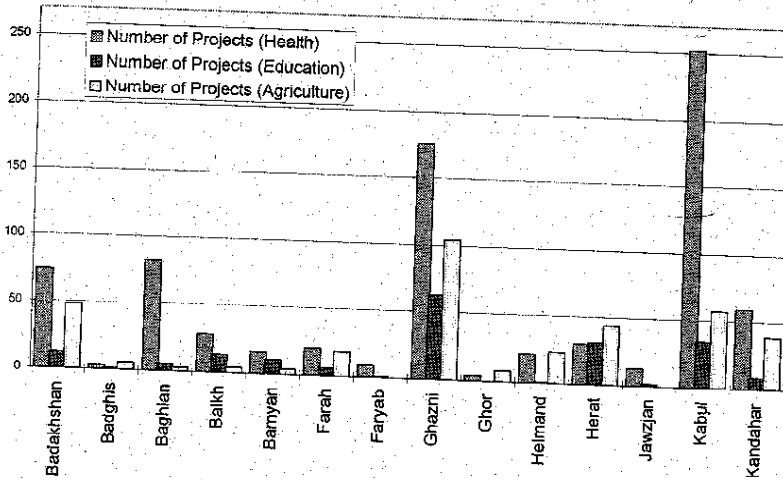
Figure 11: Number of NGO projects

Source: ACBAR, 1997

sector, NGOs implemented 1073 projects.[46]

Number of Education, Health & Agriculture Projects

Figure 12: Number of NGO projects - part II

Source: ACBAR, 1997

---

[45] Annex 1 shows the percentage of each NGOs budget that goes to education; Annex 2 shows the total amounts of money going to education.

[46] An average of 9 projects per education NGO and 21 projects per health NGO. These figures merely refer to the number of projects in the ACBAR database. They do not take account of the status of the project (proposed or discontinued) nor of the quality and size. The number of health projects is inflated due to the large number of discontinued SCA health projects.

The education sector is characterised by a large number of agencies, many implementing only a small number of projects.

Together, the agencies spent over 12 million US$ on education in 1996.[47] The money came from various donors, mainly in (Northern) Europe.

Donors: Number of Projects
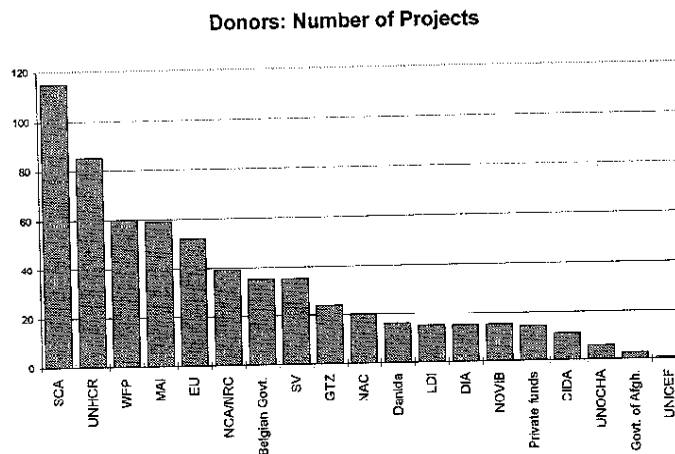
Figure 13: Donors in the education sector

Source: ACBAR, 1997

REGIONAL SPREAD

Furthermore, the external assistance to education is extremely concentrated. More than half of all education projects in the ACBAR database are implemented in only four provinces.[48]

Agencies & Education Projects
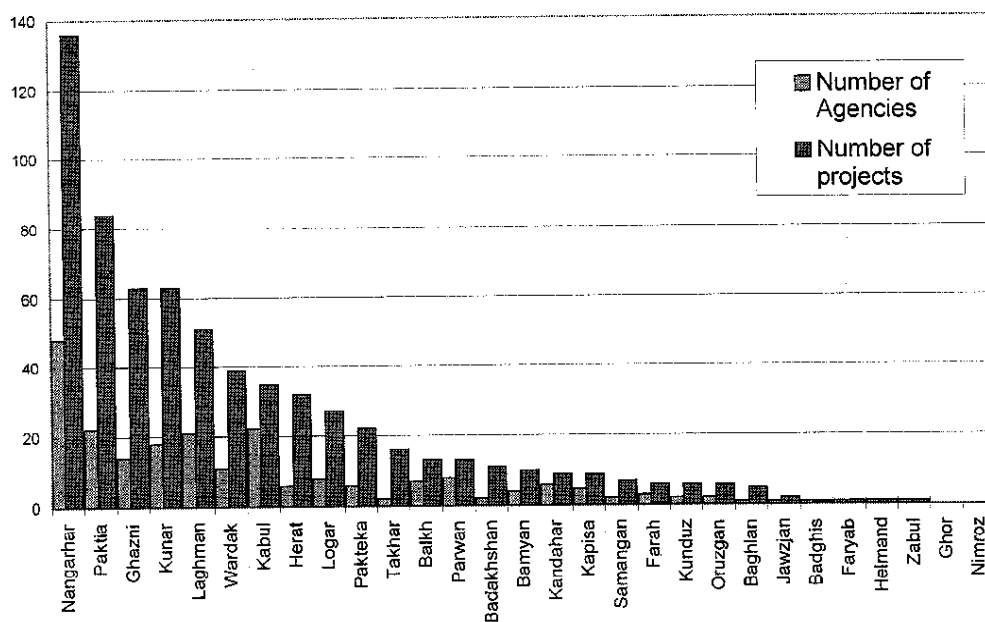
Figure 14: Agencies and Education Projects

Source: ACBAR, 1997

NGO Construction Projects in Education
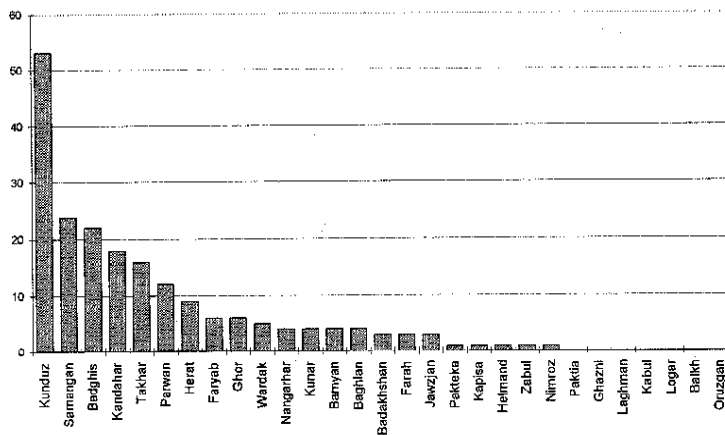
Figure 15: Regional spread of construction projects

Source: ACBAR, 1997

What are the reasons for the regional concentration of international assistance to education?

ASSISTANCE TO REFUGEES

ANNEX 1

The big players in education

Source: ACBAR, May 1997

Percentage of 1996 Budget going to Education

Over 25%		Under 25%	
AG BAS-Ed	100	CCA	21
Caritas	100	IRC	20
AITM	100	GAA	20
BAT	100	MPA	20
UNO/EPA	100	BURC	20
AWEC	100	ADS	20
ADARA	100	ORA Int.	16
ASWCNA	100	IIRO	15
SAA	95	LBI	15
AIL	85	NCA	13
BEFARe	78	ARO	13
ARLO	68	ISRA	12
MRCA	50	Ockenden	11
ARDO	50	CHA	11
ROAOW	50	ARCS	10
ARDU	50	ERU	10
LDI	49	KNF	10
NSP/GTZ	47	MAWA	10
Shuhada	45	JIFF	10
SAB	40	AABRAR	10
ACT	37	RADA	10
AWRC	36	SWARO	10
SCA	35	AMA	10
SC-US	33	KPRO	10
ADA	33	IAM	8
NAC	28	CRAA	8
PSD	26	ARDA	7
HCI	25	AHSAO	6
		CoAR	5
		AMRAN	2
		IAHC	2
		CARE Int.	1
		NPO/RRAA	1

The big players in education

Source: ACBAR, May 1997

NGO Education budgets (dollars)

SCA	2,715,650	AWEC	44,800
SC-US	869,550	ORA Int.	44,320
IRC	801,330	AIL	39,313
IIRO	780,000	ADARA	39,300
LDI	755,188	KNF	34,590
ADA	706,860	ARDO	31,000
NAC	684,320	ROAOW	29,000
GAA	600,000	MAWA	27,000
NCA	566,131	ASWCNA	26,350
SAB	520,000	MPA	24,000
NSP/GTZ	470,000	ARDU	22,500
BEFARe	444,600	AWRC	15,826
Shuhada	211,028	NPO/RRAA	14,189
AG BAS-Ed	200,000	ARLO	12,818
ISRA	184,668	BURC	10,000
MRCA	165,000	JIFF	10,000
SAA	152,000	AABRAR	9,500
LBI	117,750	ARDA	9,394
IAM	104,000	ARO	8,678
ARCS	90,000	RADA	7,345
CoAR	87,500	SWARO	5,000
CARE Int.	75,812	AMA	4,710
HCI	75,000	AMRAN	3,890
PSD	72,670	AHSAO	3135
CCA	59,430	ACT	2,960
Ockenden	57,794	IAHC	2,000
Caritas	53,350	CRAA	1,600
AITM	52,000	ADS	1,400
CHA	50,842	KPRO	1,200
BAT	50,000		
ERU	50,000		
UNO/EPA	50,000		

These figures have been calculated on the basis of the total budgets and percentages mentioned in the ACBAR Directory of Humanitarian Agencies Working for Afghans, May 1997.

PROVINCE	AGENCY	SECTOR
Badakhshan	SCA	• Primary & Literacy
	NAC	• Construction
Badghis	SCA	• Primary
Baghlan	SCA	• Primary
Balkh	NPO	• Secondary
	SC-US	• Literacy
	PRB	• Construction
	SCF-UK	• ?
	OV	• Furniture
	START	• English & computer
	GP-UK	• English
Bamyan	MAI	• Primary
	SCA	• Primary
	SO	• Literacy
	WRF	• Construction
Farah	ADA	• Primary & Construction
	VARA	• Construction
	DACAAR	• Construction
Faryab	MAI	• Primary
Ghazni	MAI	• Primary
	NAC	• Prim., Secondary, & Teacher training
	SCA	• Primary, Literacy & TT
	CoAR	• Primary, Secondary & Construction
	PSD	• Primary & Sec.
	LDI	• Madrassa
	SO	• Primary, Secondary & Construction
	SOS-PG	• Teacher Training
	BDA	• Construction
	START	• Construction
	CAWC	• Construction
	GRSP	• Construction
	RDA	• Construction
	AFS	• Construction
Ghor	-	-
Helmand	HAFO	• Construction
Herat	DACAAR	• Primary, Secondary & Construction
	SCF-UK	• TT & Construction
	CHA	• University, English, Computer & TT
	ARDU	• Construction
	NPO	• Construction
	OMAR	• Mine awareness
Jawzjan	MAI	• Primary
Kabul	MAI	• Primary
	SCA	• Primary & Construction

PROVINCE	AGENCY	SECTOR
Kabul	ARLO	• Secondary
	LDI	• Primary, Secondary & Arabic
	ADARA	• Teacher Training
	AITM	• Teacher Training
	ARCON	• University
	MSOA	• University
	RDA	• Construction
	ARR	• Construction
	HCI	• Construction
	LRO	• Construction
	WFWP	• Construction
	NCRA	• Construction
	IAM	• English
	GAA	• Furniture
	ADS	• Disabled
	ASHIANA	• Street children
	TDH	• Street children
	SC-US	• Mines awareness
	OMAR	• Mines awareness
Kandahar	ADA	• Primary & Construction
	SOS-PG	• Teacher training
	RDA	• Construction
	HAFO	• Construction
	HI	• Mines awareness
	OMAR	• Mines awareness
Kapisa	SCA	• Primary & Construction
	MAI	• Primary
	MAWA	• Construction
	GAF	• Construction
	PDA	• Construction
Kunar	ARLO	• Primary
	MAI	• Primary
	MF	• Primary
	AMA	• Primary
	ISRA	• Primary & Madrassa
	WRC	• Madrassa
	SCA	• Primary & Literacy
	AG	• Primary, Literacy & Out of School
	BASEd	• Teacher training
	SOS-PG	• Construction
	AINA	• Construction
	RAH	• Construction
	RDA	• Construction
	IHSAN	• Construction
	WRC	• Construction
	ARDO	• Construction
	SRDA	• Construction
	AURC	• Construction
	MARUF	• Construction
	NAC	

ANNEX 3

Assistance to education, by province (Includes projects proposed during 1996)

PROVINCE	AGENCY	SECTOR
Kunduz	SCA	Primary, Literacy & Construction
	ADS	Disabled children
Laghman	MAI	Primary
	SCA	Primary, Literacy & Construction
	NPO	Primary, Secondary, Madrassa, Literacy, English, Construct. & Stationary
	ISRA	Primary & Madrassa
	SOS-PG	
	HCI	
	IIRO	Teacher Training
	APWO	Islamic school
	ARC	Islamic school
	MARUF	Construction
	WRC	Construction
	AFRAN	Construction
	DACAAR	Construction
	EMAR	Construction
	ADCO	Construction
	IHSAN	Construction
	RDA	Construction
	START	Construction
	BDA	Construction
	AREA-2	Construction
	MADERA	Construction
		Construction
		Construction
Logar	ISRA	Primary
	MAI	Primary
	SCA	Primary, Literacy & Construction
	IRC	Teacher training & Supplies
	AITM	Teacher training
	SOS-PG	Teacher training
	ARDO	Construction
	RAH	Construction
Nangarhar	MAI	Primary
	NPO	Courses, Secondary & supplies
	SCA	Literacy & TT
	AGBASEd	Literacy & TT
	AABRAR	Literacy
	LBI	Madrassa
	ISRA	Madrassa
	AICC	Madrassa, language & computer
	SOS-PG	Teacher training
	IRC	Teacher training
	ACDO	TT, construction & sign language
	ADS	Disabled children
	OMAR	Mines awareness
	IHSAN	Construction
	BCURA	Construction
	NCRA	Construction
	NERO	Construction
	DACAAR	Construction
	WRO	Construction
	MAWA	Construction
	APWO	
Nangarhar (contnd.)	HCI	Primary
	IIRO	Primary
	SAA	Primary
	MF	Primary, Secondary & Madrassa
	ARDA	Primary, Madrassa & Construction
	SERVE	Teacher training & deaf children
	AREA-2	English
	SRDA	Dari & Pashtu
	CRAA	Supplies
	ARDO	Construction
	SJAWO	Construction
	WRC	Construction
	AMRAN	Construction
	MARUF	Construction
	AURC	Construction
	MSSAA	Construction
	SAVE	Construction
	YARA	Construction
	AAEA	Construction
	AGHCO	Construction
	PDA	Construction
	SGRO	Construction
	SRDA	Construction
		Construction
Nimroz	-	-
Oruzgan	ADA	Primary & Construction
	SOS-PG	Teacher training
Pakteka	SCA	Primary & Construction
	MAI	Primary
	LDI	Secondary
	IRC	Supplies & TT
	NPO	Supplies
	PRS	Construction
Paktia	SCA	Primary
	MAI	Primary
	LDI	Secondary
	ARLO	Primary, Secondary & Construction
	ISRA	Prim. & Construction
	AGBASEd	Primary, Literacy, TT & out of school
	ACDO	Literacy
	AMRAN	Literacy
	IRC	TT & Supplies
	NPO	Supplies
	AITM	TT
	ESAR	Construction
	DACAAR	Construction
	MARUF	Construction
	ARADA	Construction
	AAA	Construction
	BCURA	Construction
	RDA	Construction
	HCI	Construction
	BDA	Construction
	EMAR	

Agencies and their activities in education (inside Afghanistan)

Source: ACBAR, 1997

Primary Education	ADA, AG-BASEd, AMA, ARDA, ARLO, CoAR, DACAAR, HCI, IIRO, ISRA, LDI, MAI, MF, NAC, NPO, PSO, SAA, SCA, SO
Secondary Education	ARLO, CoAR, CCA, DACAAR, LDI, MF, NAC, NPO, PSD, SO
Tertiary Education	ARCON, CHA, MSOA
Literacy	AABRAR, ACDO, AG-BASEd, AMRAN, NPO, SCA, SC-US, SO
Language courses	AICC, AREA-2, CHA, GP-UK, IAM, LDI, NPO, START, SRDA
Madrassa / Quranic Education	AICC, ARDA, HCI, IIRO, ISRA, LBI, LDI, MF, NPO,
Teacher Training	ACDO, ADARA, AG-BASEd, AITM, CHA, IRC, NAC, SCA, SCF-UK, SERVE, SOS-PG
Construction	AAA, AAEA, ACDO, ACLU, ADA, ADCO, AFRAN, AFS, AGHCO, AINA, AMRAN, APWO, ARADA, ARC, ARDA, ARDO, ARDU, AREA-1, AREA-2, ARLO, ARR, AURC, BCURA, BDA, CAWE, CoAR, DACAAR, EMAR, ESAR, GAF, GRSP, HAFO, HCI, IHSAN, ISRA, LRO, MADERA, MARUF, MAWA, MSSAA, NAC, NCRA, NERO, NPO, PDA, PRB, PRS, RAH, RDA, RBS, SAVE, SCA, SCF-UK, SGRO, SJAWO, SO, SRDA, START, VARA, WFWP, WRC, WRO, WRF, YARA
School Supplies	CRAA, GAA, IRC, NPO, OV
Disabled	ACDO, ADS, SERVE
Mines Awareness	HI, OMAR, SC-US
Other	AG-BASEd, AICC, Ashiana, CHA, NPO, START, TDH
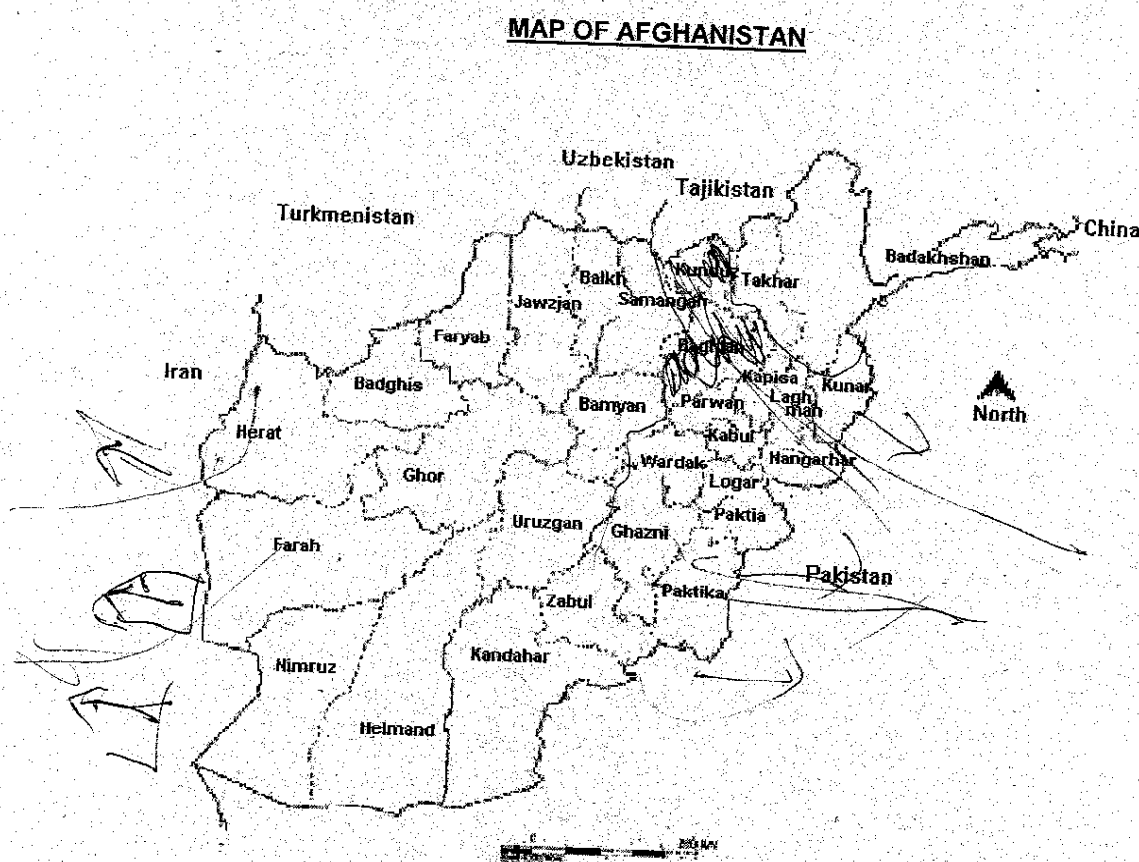
MAP OF AFGHANISTAN

LIST OF DOCUMENTS USED

On Afghanistan:

- -----, "Directory of humanitarian agencies working for Afghans" (Peshawar: ACBAR, 1997)
- -----, "Afghanistan, a nation of minorities" (London: Minority Rights Group International, 1992)
- M. Keating, "Aid and public concern: who needs help?", in: "Crosslines" (Geneva: ICHR), vol. 5, no. 4, issue 30-32, 1997
- W. Maley (ed.), "Fundamentalism reborn? Afghanistan and the Taliban" (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1998)
- H. Zomer, "When God needs a gun - The Taliban of Afghanistan" (WWW: One World News Service, 1998)

On Education:

- -----, "Framework for Educational Rehabilitation in Afghanistan for 1995-96" (Peshawar: 11 NGOs, UNHCR & UNICEF, 1994)
- -----, "Priorities and Strategies for Education - A World Bank Review" (Washington DC: World Bank, 1995)
- -----, "Summary of the Database of NGO Activities" (Peshawar: ACBAR, 1997)
- -----, "ACBAR education sub-committee school database" (Peshawar: ACBAR, 1997)
- -----, "Database of NGO Activities" volume I, II & III (Peshawar: ACBAR, 1997)
- -----, "The status of education in Afghanistan" - Volume 1 & 2 (UNO/ESSP, 1994)
- J. Allen, "Basic education for all - the Afghan experience" (Paris: UNESCO, 1994)
- Dr. Lynn Carter, "Assessment of current activities and priorities in primary education and teacher training for Afghans" (UNICEF internal document, 1988)
- J.K. Conway, "The politics of women's education - Perspectives from Asia, Africa and Latin-America" (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1995)
- G.A. Eqbal, "Education and social change in Afghanistan" (Muncie: Ball State University, 1978)
- G.M. Shrestha, "Status of primary education in Afghanistan" (Kabul: UNICEF, 1989)
- A. Skuse, "BBC Radio Education for Afghan Children (REACH) needs assessment report" (London: BBC, 1997
-

On NGO activities:

- -----, "Program profile Afghanistan" (WWW: CARE, 1998)
- -----, "Annual report 1996, NCA Afghanistan program" (Peshawar: NCA, 1997)
- S. Barakat, M. Ehsan & A. Strand, "NGOs and peace-building in Afghanistan" Workshop report, 3-7 April 1994 (Peshawar: NCA, NRC & Responding To Conflict, 1994)

On United Nations activities:

- -----, "1996 Consolidated Annual Report on Humanitarian Assistance to Afghanistan" (United Nations, 1997)

- -----, "Afghanistan - Consolidated Appeal for Assistance 1997 - Volume I" (United Nations, 1997)

- -----, "Afghanistan - Consolidated Appeal 1998" (United Nations, 1998)

- -----, "Afghanistan - Consolidated Appeal 1998, Compendium of Project Proposals" (United Nations, 1998)

- -----, "Development cooperation - Afghanistan" (Islamabad: UNDP, 1994)

- -----, "Humanitarian Report 1997" (New York & Geneva: UNDHA, 1997)

- Aina, UN Afghanistan magazine" (United Nations) spring 1997, vol. 1, no. 4 & autumn 1997, vol. 1, no. 6

ANNEX 8

Agencies and their donors (for education projects only)[1]

Source: ACBAR Database of NGO Activities, February 1997

AGENCY	DONORS	AGENCY	DONORS
AABRAR	Multiple	IRC	SV, IRC
ADA	GTZ, NCA/NRC, SAFE, EU	ISRA	ISRA
ADARA	CIDA	LBI	LBI
ADS	Multiple	LDI	LDI
AG BAS-Ed	GTZ/NSP	LRO	WFP
AICC	Private, LBI	MADERA	EU/WFP, WFP/UNHCR
AITM	UNOCHA, UNHCR, SC-US IRC, ADA	MAI	MAI
AMA	AMA	MARUF	WFP/UNHCR
AMRAN	UNHCR, Private	MAWA	CIDA
ARDA	AAA	MF	MF
ARDO	UNHCR, WFP	MSOA	MSOA
ARDU	UNHCR	MSSAA	WFP
AREA-1	SCA, MA,	NAC	NAC, OD, WFP, FM, SCA
AREA-2	UNHCR	NPO/RRAA	NCA/NRC, WFP
ARLO	IIRO, UNICEF, HELP, Private, UNOPS, UNHCR	NCRA	UNHCR
		NERO	UNHCR
ASHIANA	Multiple	NPO	NCA/NRC
AURC	UNHCR	OMAR	UNOCHA, NOVIB
BCURA	WFP, UNHCR	OV	OV, UNHCR, UK govt.
BDA	WFP, UNHCR	PDA	UNHCR
CAWC	NOVIC, CIDA	PRB	CIDA
CCA	UEF/NOVIB	PRS	Private
CHA	NOVIB	PSD	NOVIB
CRAA	CARITAS	RAH	WFP, UNHCR
CoAR	EU, NCA/NRC	RDA	WFP
DACAAR	DIA, UNHCR, DANIDA, EU	SAA	SAA
EDS	UNHCR	SAVE	UNHCR
EMAR	UNHCR	SC-US	AustCare, Multiple
ESAR	WFP/UNHCR, Private	SCA	SCA
GAA	German govt.	SCF-UK	SCF, JFS
GP-UK	GP-UK	SERVE	CBM
GRSP	WFP	SGRO	UNHCR, WFP
HAFO	UNDCP	SJAWO	UNHCR
HCI	WFP/HCI, CC	SO	UNHCR, WFP, Private
IAM	UNHCR	SOS-PG	EU/Belgian govt.
IHSAN	UNHCR	SRDA	UNHCR, WFP, SRDA
IIRO	IIRO	START	START, German govt., CIDA
		VARA	WFP
		WFWP	Private
		WRC	UNDCP, UNDP, Private, FAO
		WRF	WFP, UNHCR
		WRO	UNHCR, Afghan govt.
		YARA	UNHCR

---

[1] Includes donors to which funding proposals have been submitted, but not yet approved at the time the database was printed.

In comparison to the assistance to the education sector in Afghanistan, the educational facilities for Afghans in Pakistan are well catered for. A short list of NGO projects in Pakistan is given in Annex 4.

The aid agencies show a clear preference for one province in Pakistan. Out of the 145 NGO education projects in 1996, 137 were implemented in NWFP province. This is understandable, seeing the bulk of refugees in Pakistan resides in that province.

None of the projects involved the construction of schools. In contrast, the gamma of services on offer is markedly wider than in Afghanistan. Whereas NGO projects in Afghanistan tend to concentrate on primary education, literacy courses and secondary education, NGO projects in refugee populations in Pakistan also include computer courses, Arabic classes, video lessons and pre-schools.

Also, in contrast to Aghanistan, the NGO education projects outnumber the health and agriculture projects.

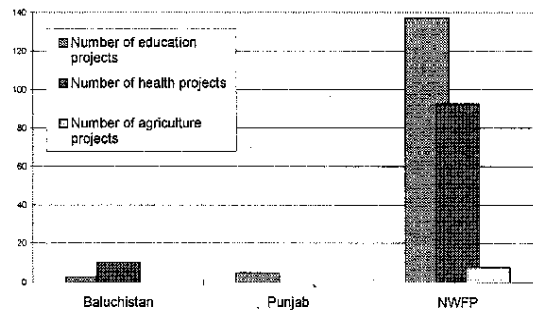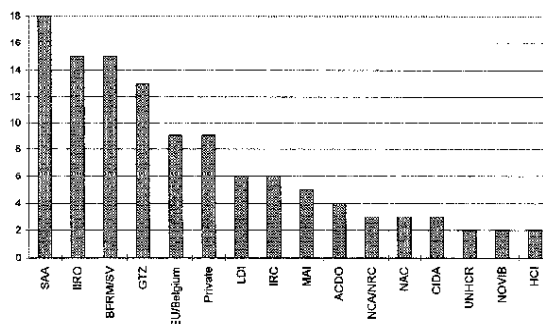NGO Health, Education & Agriculture Projects - Pakistan

Figure 16: Number of NGO Projects for Refugees

Souce: ACBAR, 1997

There is a relatively large number of donors active in the provision of education to Afghans in Pakistan: 39 donors supported 145 education projects.

Donors: Number of Projects Supported (Pakistan)

Figure 17: Donors by number of projects

Assistance to education, by province (Includes projects proposed during 1996)

In Pakistan

PROVINCE	AGENCY	SECTOR
Baluchistan	SC-US	• Literacy / Primary *(handwritten)*
	SO	• Secondary
	SRCDA	• Language
NWFP	AHSAO	• Primary
	HDCAW	• Primary
	OV	• Primary
	SRCS	• Primary
	START	• Primary
	IAAAE	• Primary & Secondary
	SAA	• Primary, secondary, tertiary & training
		• Primary & Arabic
	HCI	• Primary, pre-schools & teacher training
	AIL	
		• Primary, Secondary, Arabic & Quran
	IIRO	
		• Primary, secondary & madrassa
	MAI	
		• Primary & secondary
	NAC	
		• Secondary
	UMCA	• Secondary
	ORA	• Secondary
	MAWA	• Literacy, pre-school, teacher training & Quran
	AWRC	
	AWWD	• English, computer & Quran
	WRC	• Madrassa
	MSOA	• Secondary & university
	LDI	• Secondary, tertiary & madrassa
	BEFARe	• Literacy, teacher training & training
	IRC	
		• Secondary, Supplies & Teacher training
	SOS-PG	
	AITM	• Teacher training
	LBI	• Teacher training
	RBS	• Teacher training
	AICC	• Child to child
	KRCS	• Computer & video
		• Quran & scholarship
Punjab	ACDO	• Secondary
	AWEC	• Secondary, training & English
	IIRO	• Arabic

(Handwritten notes in right margin: "147 dsplc" and "137 in NWFP")

Agencies working for refugees in Pakistan

Source: ACBAR Directory of Humanitarian Agencies Working for Afghans, May 1997

Handwritten margin notes: Saudi Rd Cresent · reduction → IIRO *(do al.)* · Islamic Relief Org.

Budget for Refugee Programs	1995	1996	Budget for Refugee Programs	1995	1996
SRCS	2,500,000	2,500,000	SERVE	470,700	92,800
IRC	2,588,900	2,166,950	SJAWO	96,050	87,550
IIRO (do al.)	5,200,000	2,000,000	SNI	69,300	69,300
SC-USA	1,000,000	1,083,000	UNO/EPA	50,000	50,000
LDI	916,700	909,300	START	51,800	49,500
DACAAR	1,775,000	907,600	WUFA	100,000	48,000
BEFARe	750,000	520,000	AIL		46,250
NAC	456,500	414,100	AG-TTP	105,000	45,000
HealthNet	240,000	400,000	AWEC	44,850	44,800
OV	419,000	389,000	AMA	51,000	44,100
KRCS	675,000	376,500	AWRC	51,600	43,960
NPO/RRAA	146,000	312,100	ECAR	40,000	40,000
MSF	494,850	300,300	AVICEN	200,000	30,000
ICD	450,000	300,000	ARF	50,000	30,000
LBI	345,000	300,000	DS	28,600	28,600
NCA	96,200	265,350	AWWD	153,100	27,200
SAB	102,000	260,000	MAWA	25,000	25,000
JAMS	263,750	257,850	AITM	25,000	22,000
HAF	185,000	240,500	Shuhada	25,000	21,000
Radda Barnan	210,000	209,000	JCE		13,000
HCI	262,600	196,300	RADA	10,000	10,000
ISRA	576,700	190,000	AHSAO	8,600	6,700
ORA Int.	136,400	163,500	DgCAR	2,800	2,800
MCI		151,000	ADS		2,000
MRCA	631,800	150,000	ACDO	15,000	
SAA	140,400	144,400	AGHCO	40,000	
HI	574,300	141,000	ARDCD	2,100	
ADA		137,000	AREA	60,000	
ACLU	163,000	129,000	CARITAS	47,350	
JIFF	100,000	100,000	CRAA	4,000	
			GAF	61,250	
			GP-UK	74,000	
			PRS	26,500	
			SCF-UK	50,000	
			SGAA	209,700	
Subtotal	21,399,100	15,613,750	TOTAL	23,647,400	16,493,310