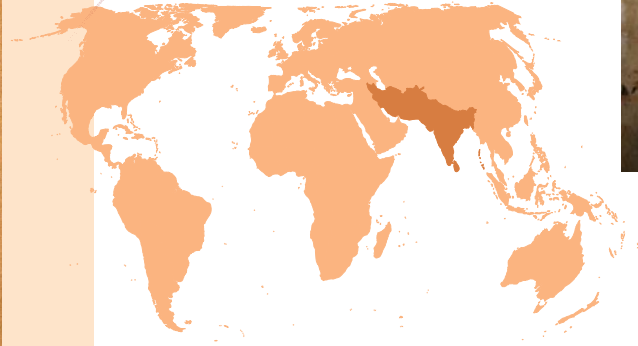
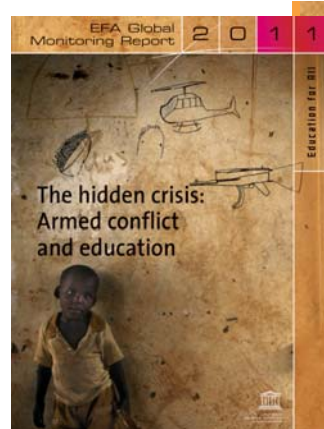


Regional overview: South and West Asia

The past decade has seen marked advances towards Education for All (EFA) in South and West Asia.¹ The region has increased primary enrolment rates despite an increase in the school age population. Gender gaps have narrowed at the primary and secondary levels and more children are moving from primary school to secondary education. Yet major challenges remain. The region is home to 27% of the world's out-of-school children, levels of learning achievement are low, gender disparities are still large, and the learning needs of young children in 2008, adolescents and adults continue to suffer from widespread neglect. The countries of South and West Asia spend, on average, a low share of national income on education, far below the world average. On the other hand, external aid to basic education has increased, despite a stagnation in overall levels.

1. This is according to the EFA classification. See the table at the end for countries in the region.



The 2011 *EFA Global Monitoring Report* puts the spotlight on armed conflict and one of its most damaging yet least reported consequences: its impact on education. Conflict-affected states in South and West Asia have some of the world's worst indicators for education. The Report documents the scale of this hidden crisis in education, looks at its underlying causes and explores the links between armed conflict and education. It also presents recommendations to address failures that contribute to the hidden crisis. It calls on governments to demonstrate greater resolve in combating the culture of impunity surrounding attacks on schoolchildren and schools, sets out an agenda for fixing the international aid architecture and identifies strategies for strengthening the role of education in peacebuilding.

Goal 1: Early childhood care and education

Children's education opportunities are shaped long before they enter primary school. The linguistic, cognitive and social skills they develop through early childhood care and education (ECCE) are the foundations for expanded life chances and for lifelong learning. Indicators of child well-being are low for South and West Asia, although disparities exist between and within countries.

Child mortality rates are falling, but remain high. Child mortality is a sensitive barometer of progress towards goal 1. Over the past decade, child mortality rates have fallen in all regions, including South and West Asia. On average, 82 of every 1,000 children born in the region will not reach age 5. There are, however, huge differences in under-5 mortality rates across countries, ranging from 20‰ in Sri Lanka and 28‰ in the Maldives to 235‰ in Afghanistan.

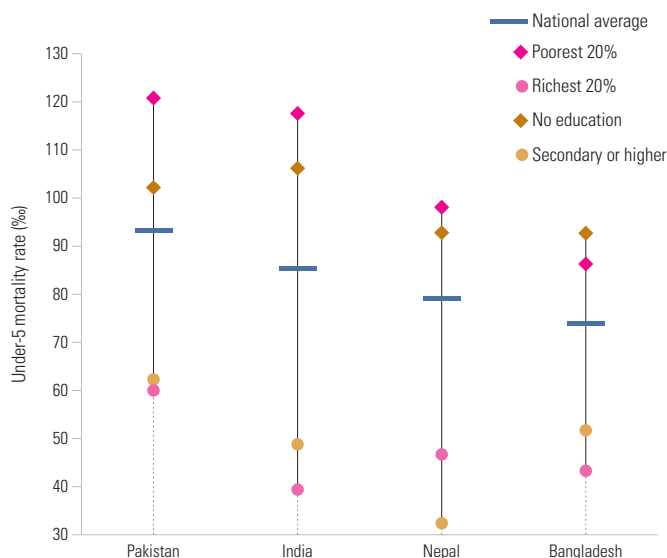
Education saves lives. The risk of childhood death is closely linked to household wealth and maternal education. In India and Nepal, under-5 mortality rates are nearly three times as high among children of mothers with no education as among those having mothers with some secondary education (Figure 1). More educated women have better access to reproductive health information, and are more likely to have fewer children and to provide them with better nutrition, all of which reduce the risk of child mortality.

Malnutrition is a major barrier to achieving EFA. Poor nutrition prevents children from developing healthy bodies and minds. A sharp rise in food prices in 2008 combined with the global recession continues to undermine efforts to combat hunger in several countries in South and West Asia. Just above 40% of children under age 5 in the region are affected by moderate or severe stunting (short for their age). The prevalence is particularly high in Afghanistan, India and Nepal, where between 48% and 59% of children suffer from stunting.

Participation in pre-primary education is far from universal. In 2008, more than 42 million children were enrolled in pre-primary education in South and West Asia, an impressive increase of 21 million since 1999. However, the regional gross enrolment ratio (GER) of 42% indicates that a majority of children in the region were still excluded from pre-primary education in 2008. The rate of progress in increasing enrolment in pre-primary education has been uneven over time. For example, in India and the Islamic Republic of Iran, pre-primary enrolment rates grew faster in the first half of the decade than they did after 2004 (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Children of mothers who attended secondary school have a lower risk of dying

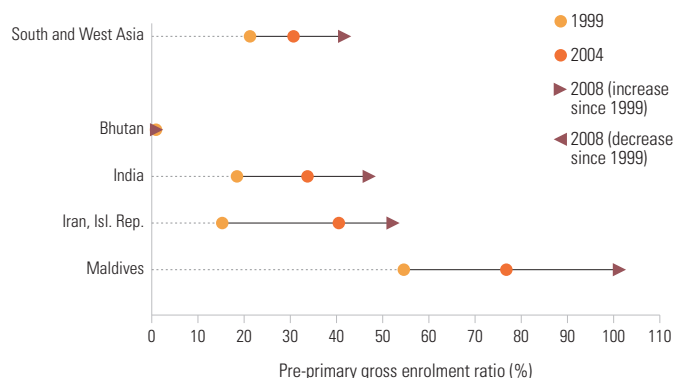
Under-5 mortality rate, by mother's education and wealth, selected countries, 2005-2007



Note: Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified. Source: ICF Macro (2010).

Figure 2: Pre-primary participation has increased significantly in several countries

Pre-primary gross enrolment ratio in South and West Asia, selected countries, 1999, 2004 and 2008



Sources: EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011, Annex, Statistical Table 3B; UIS database.

Children living with high levels of poverty are in greatest need of ECCE, yet they are the least likely to attend such programmes. In Bangladesh, the average attendance rate in pre-school programmes was about 15%, but children from the wealthiest homes were 1.4 times as likely as poor children to attend an early learning programme.

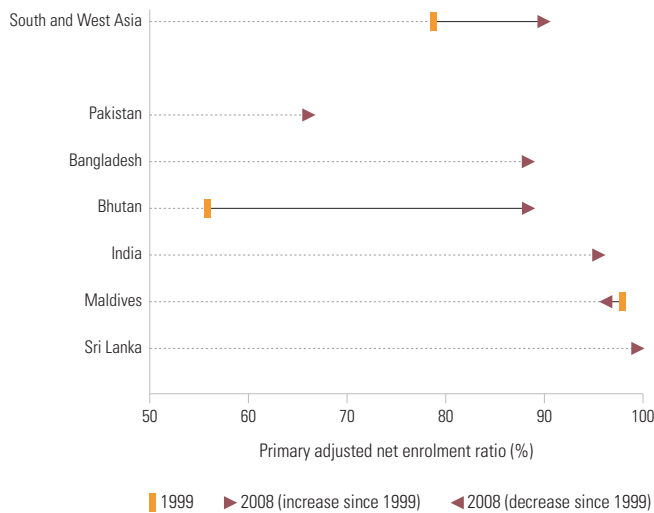
Goal 2: Universal primary education

The past decade has been one of rapid progress towards the goal of universal primary education (UPE). Many countries in South and West Asia have registered important advances. But the pace of progress has been uneven, and the region as a whole is not on track to achieve UPE by 2015.

Strides towards UPE have been impressive. From 1999 to 2008, an additional 39 million children enrolled in primary education in South and West Asia. Despite a small increase in the school age population, the region has increased the primary adjusted net enrolment ratio (ANER)² by 14% since 1999 to reach an average of 90% in 2008. Progress towards UPE was particularly high in Bhutan, whose primary ANER increased by more than thirty-three percentage points between 1999 and 2009. Yet the situation remains critical in several countries in the region, including Pakistan with an ANER of 66% in 2008 (Figure 3).

2. The primary ANER measures the proportion of children of primary school age who are enrolled either in primary or secondary school.

Figure 3: Some countries are still far from universal primary education
Primary education adjusted net enrolment ratio, selected countries, 1999 and 2008



Source: EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011, Annex, Statistical Table 5 (website).

Numbers of children out of school are declining, but at varying speeds. Some 18 million children of primary school age in South and West Asia – nearly 59% of them girls – were not enrolled in school in 2008. That was nearly 19 million less than in 1999. However, declines in the number of children out of school in the region have slowed, and in recent years the number has been rising: by 2008 it was 637,000 more than in 2004. Several countries with large out-of-school populations have registered slippage in the rate of progress over time, including India and Pakistan. In India, the out-of-school number fell by an average of 3.2 million annually from 2000 to 2004 but rose by 171,000 annually from 2004 to 2007. The number in Pakistan declined by an annual average of 351,000 from 2001 to 2004, but by only 102,000 a year from 2004 to 2008.

Along with gender, wealth and household location strongly influence the out-of-school profile. In Pakistan, 49% of the poorest children aged 7 to 16 were out of school in 2007, compared with 5% of children from the wealthiest households. Location and gender reinforce the disparities – poor rural girls were 21 times less likely to be in school than wealthy urban boys.

Many children in the region will remain out of school in 2015.

Trend analysis can provide plausible scenarios for the numbers of children out of school in 2015. In Pakistan, a continuation to 2015 of the trend from 1999 to 2009 would see the country's out-of-school number fall by one-fifth to 5.8 million by 2015. India would see an impressive 86% decline to 752,000 by 2015. However, between 2004 and 2007, the out-of-school-number increased in India. If this more recent trend continued, the number would reach 7.2 million by 2015.

Fewer than 80% of children starting school are of the right age. Getting children into primary school at the right age, ensuring that they progress smoothly and facilitating completion are key elements to advance towards UPE. Many countries in South and West Asia are struggling to get children into primary school at the official starting age. In 2008, only 78% of children starting school in the region were of official primary school age, and the figure was as low as 41% in Bhutan in 2006.

Progress in survival to the last grade of primary school is mixed. Once children are enrolled at the right age, the challenge is to get them through school. The challenge is particularly acute in South and West Asia, where less than two-thirds of children starting primary school survive to the last grade. Country-level data point to a mixed record in school retention. India and Nepal have improved their survival rates only marginally since 1999, while Bhutan registered an increase of nine percentage points to reach 90% in 2008.

Tackling school dropout requires action on several fronts.

The scale of the dropout problem is not widely recognized. Dropout profiles vary enormously by country. In Bangladesh, India and Nepal, with dropout rates between 13% and 15% in the first grade, children have trouble negotiating their way through the early grades. Evidence from many countries shows that the risk of primary school dropout increases with age, though the strength of the association varies.

Lowering the risk of dropout requires a broad set of policies aimed at reducing underlying vulnerabilities, including poverty-related factors and problems linked to the quality of education. Alternative pathways into education for older children can help lower dropout rates. In Bangladesh, the non-formal programme run by BRAC, a non-government organization (NGO), provides an effective route into the formal education system through learning centres that operate over three to four years and cover the primary school curriculum. The rate of dropout from the programme is much lower than the national average and over 90% of BRAC school graduates move into the formal system.

It is crucial to ensure that education is affordable. The elimination of formal school fees is important, but not enough on its own. Parents in Bangladesh are not required to pay tuition fees in government primary schools. Nevertheless, in 2005, the average household spent the equivalent of about US\$20 per child for primary schooling, equivalent to about 5% of annual income per capita.

Goal 3: Youth and adult learning

The skills developed through education are vital not just for the well-being of young people and adults, but also for employment and economic prosperity. Notwithstanding an increase in secondary school enrolment in recent years, most countries in South and West Asia struggle to expand appropriate learning and life-skills programmes.

Secondary school participation has expanded, but the level of unmet needs is high. Despite a 33% increase in total secondary school enrolment since 1999, more than 31 million adolescents were still outside the education system in 2008. On average, half the children in the region participated in secondary education in 2008, pointing to a high level of unmet need. Participation levels were particularly low in some countries, including Afghanistan with a secondary GER of 29% and Pakistan with 33%. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Maldives had ratios at or above 80% in 2008.

Secondary school attendance and completion are strongly influenced by poverty, location and gender. Second-chance programmes can provide a skills development lifeline to youth and adults who missed out on earlier opportunities, but the availability of such programmes remains scarce in the region. Their record is mixed; in some cases, graduates gain few employable skills. However, experience shows that when courses are properly resourced and designed to generate skills that employers need, much can be achieved.

Participation in tertiary education has grown but remains modest. In an increasingly knowledge-based global economy, higher education systems play a vital role in skills development. In South and West Asia, about 21 million students were enrolled in tertiary education in 2008, nearly twice as many as in 1999. However, the region's tertiary GER remained low at 13%, half the world average of 26%. And the gap between South and West Asia and other regions in terms of tertiary enrolment ratios has widened.

Goal 4: Adult literacy

Literacy opens doors to better livelihoods, improved health and expanded opportunity. It empowers people to take an active role in their communities and to build more secure futures for their families. South and West Asia is unlikely to reach the literacy target set for 2015. It will take decisive action by governments in the region to raise its literacy profile, particularly for women.

The number of illiterate adults continues to rise. In 2008, more than 412 million adults were illiterate in South and West Asia – 38% of the region's adult population. While the average adult literacy rate increased from 47% in 1985–1994 to 62% in 2005–2008, it rose too slowly to counteract the effects of population growth. The upshot is that the absolute number of adults lacking basic literacy and numeracy skills increased by almost 4%. In India, despite an increase in the literacy rate, the number of illiterate adults rose by 10.9 million between 2001 and 2006.

The regional adult literacy average masks important disparities between countries. The Maldives has an adult literacy rate of 98%, and that of Sri Lanka is 91%. By contrast, Bangladesh, Bhutan and Pakistan have adult literacy rates between 53% and 55%.

Gender disparities in adult literacy are still very marked in South and West Asia. On average in 2008, the literacy rate for women was 51% while that for men was 73%. In Bhutan, Nepal and Pakistan, women's literacy rates were less than two-thirds as high as men's.

Many countries in the region are unlikely to achieve the literacy goal. Projections based on demographic and school participation data suggest that Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka, the only countries in the region with the necessary data, will fall far short of achieving the goal by 2015. At their current rates of progress, Bangladesh and India will get no more than halfway to the 2015 target. However, the recent experience of Nepal shows that literacy policy can be effective. Strong commitment and coordination by the government and a number of programmes tailored to particular groups increased Nepal's adult literacy rate from 49% in 2001 to 58% in 2008.

Effective and affordable policies and programmes exist.

Effective literacy programmes tend to combine strong leadership with clear targets backed by financial commitments, and teach relevant skills using appropriate methods and language of instruction. Expanding literate environments by increasing exposure to books, newspapers and other media is also essential. In India, an NGO called Nirantar began producing a weekly newspaper, *Khabar Lahariya*, in 2002. It is circulated in 400 villages in rural Uttar Pradesh and now has 25,000 readers. Another NGO in India, PlanetRead, provides same-language subtitling for film songs broadcast on television. A randomized evaluation covering 13,000 people from 2002 to 2007 showed the practice had considerable impact. Among illiterate adults, 12% of the show's viewers became fluent readers, compared with 3% of non-viewers.

Goal 5: Gender parity and equality

South and West Asia is edging towards gender parity in school enrolment, but gender disparities to the advantage of boys and young men are still marked in the region.

Gender parity in primary education has yet to be achieved in most countries: Over the past decade, South and West Asia has seen strong progress towards gender parity in primary education. The regional ratio of girls to boys – that is, the gender parity index (GPI) – in primary GERs increased from 0.83 in 1999 to 0.96 in 2008. So far, among the eight countries with data, gender parity has been achieved in Bhutan, India and Sri Lanka. Bangladesh, with a GPI of 1.06, and the Islamic Republic of Iran, at 1.40, had more girls than boys enrolled in primary school. In Afghanistan, the Maldives and Pakistan, girls' primary enrolment was below that of boys in 2008, with a low of 0.66 in Afghanistan.

Of the three countries in the region not yet at gender parity at the primary level and with enough data for a projection to 2015, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan are moving in the right direction, while the Maldives is moving away from the target. Although unlikely to reach the target, Pakistan has nonetheless made substantial progress, with the primary GPI rising from 0.68 in 2000 to 0.83 in 2008.

Policies aimed at overcoming gender disparities are most likely to succeed when they are part of an integrated strategy. Bhutan has cut the number of children out of school, and dropout rates have declined more rapidly for girls than boys: 95% of girls starting primary school in 2008 were expected to reach the final grade. To address gender disparity, Bhutan has adopted a multipronged strategy including classroom construction, teacher redeployment and the establishment of community schools. Infrastructure investment has been backed by targeted school health and nutrition programmes and the expansion of non-formal education. The number of learners in non-formal centres tripled from 2000 to 2006, with 70% of participants being young women.

Progress towards gender parity in secondary education is good. At the secondary school level, South and West Asia has moved closer to gender parity, reporting an increase in the regional secondary GPI from 0.75 in 1999 to 0.87 in 2008. Three countries had GPIs of less than 0.90 in 2008, with Afghanistan recording a low of 0.38. Only the Islamic Republic of Iran has achieved gender parity at the secondary level, but Bhutan has a good chance of doing so by 2015. Projections indicate that Bangladesh and Pakistan are not only off track to achieve the gender parity goal by 2015, but are moving away from the target.

Goal 6: The quality of education

Getting children into school is a necessary but insufficient condition for achieving Education for All. What children learn in the classroom is what ultimately counts. Levels of learning achievement are low in many countries in South and West Asia, pointing to the major challenge of improving the quality of education.

Levels of learning achievement are low, with wide disparities within countries. Recent learning assessments in the region draw attention to serious problems in education quality. One nationwide survey of rural India in 2009 found that only 38% of grade 4 students could read a text designed for grade 2 students. Even after eight years of school, 18% of students were unable to read these texts. A similar assessment in rural areas of Punjab and Sindh provinces in Pakistan in 2008 found that only 35% of grade 4 students could read a text designed for grade 2 students, while in mathematics, 61% of grade 4 students could subtract two-digit numbers but only 24% could divide a three-digit number by a single-digit number.

Disparities in learning achievement are often more marked within developing countries than between countries. In Bangladesh, over 80% of students reaching grade 5 pass the Primary School Leaving Examination. But pass rates vary significantly across the country. In Wazirpur *upazila* (subdistrict) in Barisal district, almost all grade 5 students pass the exam, compared with fewer than half in Jamalganj *upazila* in Sylhet district. Regional disparities are often evident very early in the education cycle. In India, children growing up in the state of Kerala were five times more likely to be able to read a text in their own language by grade 3 than children in Tamil Nadu.

Narrowing learning gaps requires concerted efforts.

To reduce learning disparities, three main messages emerge for education policy-making.

- Schools and teachers matter. To ensure that learning inequalities do not widen, fairer distribution of teachers and learning materials is vital, including across school grades. 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 of fifty-nine pupils. Teaching time also increases in later grades: students in the early grades receive on average two hours a day of instruction, compared with three and a half hours in later grades.
- Progress in education quality depends on having sufficient teachers and ensuring that they are properly trained and supported. Neither of these conditions is met in South and West Asia. An additional 260,000 teachers have to be recruited in the region if UPE is to be achieved by 2015.

- Equal treatment may not be enough. To counteract the disadvantages that marginalized children bring with them into the classroom, additional support is needed. In India, Pratham's remedial programme targeted government school students in grades 3 and 4 who were falling behind. Students were taught basic numeracy and literacy skills by locally recruited tutors during the school day, using a standardized curriculum. A modified version of this successful programme is being rolled out in nineteen states through the Read India programme, which reached some 33 million children in 2008/09.
- Assessments are vital: National learning assessments are an essential component of efforts to improve quality and design strategies to target children at risk. Making the results public may help inform parents and communities of weaknesses in school systems, increasing the pressure on education providers. In its first annual report on the state of education in Bangladesh, the Campaign for Popular Education (CAMPE) revealed that only 30% of students aged 11 and 12 had met the minimum competency levels set out in the national curriculum. The findings have been widely publicized. Apart from informing a dialogue with policy-makers and teachers, they have been used by parents seeking to hold education providers to account.

Financing education

Public spending on education is a vital investment in national prosperity and has a crucial bearing on progress towards the Education for All goals in South and West Asia. Several countries in the region backed up stronger economic growth between 1999 and 2008 with increased commitments to education, but the recent financial crisis had an impact on government spending in education in some countries. Plans by donors and national governments to reduce fiscal deficits in coming years also threaten future increases in education spending required to achieve the EFA goals in the region.

National financing

The financial commitment to EFA is low. Over the past decade, South and West Asia as a whole registered a slight decrease in the commitment to education, with the share of national income invested in education declining from 3.7% in 1999 to 3.5% in 2008. This is far below the world average of 5%.³ The Islamic Republic of Iran, Nepal and Pakistan increased their education financing effort over the period, in Nepal by nearly one percentage point. By contrast, India reduced education spending as a share of GNP from 4.5% in 1999 to 3.2% in 2008.

The period from 1999 to 2008 was marked by high economic growth. The rate at which growth is converted into increased education spending depends on wider public spending decisions. In the Islamic Republic of Iran, Nepal and Pakistan, real growth in education spending has been higher than rates of economic growth. However, Bangladesh, Bhutan and India have converted a smaller share of the growth premium into education financing. In India, real spending on education increased by an average of 1.9% annually between 1999 and 2008 while economic growth averaged 6.9% a year.

The commitment to education varies considerably. There are large variations in the share of national income devoted to education by countries in the region, with percentages ranging from 2.2% in Bangladesh to 8.4% in the Maldives. Countries with similar per capita income allocate different shares of national income to education. For example, Nepal allocates 3.7% while Bangladesh, with a similar level of income per capita, allocates 2.2%.

3. The global and regional values are medians. Only countries that have data for 1999 and 2008 (or closest available year) are used to calculate regional group medians, which therefore differ from median figures reported in the annex table.

Countries face different challenges for increasing investment in education. Government education budgets are determined by domestic resource mobilization and the priority given to education in the national budget. Some countries combine low levels of revenue mobilization with a small budget allocation for education. Education efforts in Bangladesh, for example, are constrained by the fact that it mobilized only 11% of GDP in government revenue and allocated only 17.5% of the national recurrent budget to education in 2008. On the other hand, the Islamic Republic of Iran combined a relatively high revenue-to-GDP ratio (26.5%) with high priority on education in public spending (24.1% of the recurrent budget).

Growing fiscal pressure is a concern for education financing in some countries. Although the impact of the financial crisis and higher food prices on education financing varied among poor countries, some were badly damaged. A recent survey of actual 2009 and planned 2010 spending on education in twenty-eight low and lower middle income countries shows some clear warning signs for a deepening crisis in education financing. Of the eighteen low income countries covered, seven made cuts in 2009. However, Afghanistan, the only country in South and West Asia included in the survey, increased education spending in 2009 by 35%.

International aid financing

The level of aid to education has increased. National policies and financing have been the main source of progress towards the EFA goals. Yet international aid plays a key supplementary role, in particular among the poorest countries in the region. Averaged over 2007 and 2008, international aid for education in the region amounted to US\$1.4 billion, an increase of 60% since 2002–2003. About half of all aid to education in the region was allocated to basic education in 2007–2008.

Aid to basic education continued to expand. Aid disbursements to basic education in South and West Asia increased from an average of US\$506 million in 2002–2003 to US\$767 million in 2007–2008. This translates into US\$4 per primary school-age child in 2007–2008, up slightly from US\$3 in 2002–2003.

Aid and EFA financing requirements are poorly matched. Aid allocations for basic education to countries in the region varied considerably in 2007–2008, ranging from US\$2 per primary school age child in India to US\$111 in Bhutan. The allocation of aid to basic education across countries often appears arbitrary and does not always benefit the countries with the largest education financing requirements. For example, external aid to Afghanistan covered 29% of the country's EFA financing gap in 2007–2008 but only 12% of that in Bangladesh.

The hidden crisis – armed conflict and education

The impact of armed conflict on education has been widely neglected. This hidden crisis is reinforcing poverty, undermining economic growth and holding back the progress of nations. The 2011 *EFA Global Monitoring Report* documents the scale of the crisis, traces its underlying causes and sets out an agenda for change.

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

Poor countries affected by conflict are heavily concentrated among the states farthest from reaching the EFA goals. Violent conflict also exacerbates disparities within countries linked to wealth and gender. And conflict-affected areas often lag far behind the rest of a country.

Violent conflict has interrupted education progress in many countries of South and West Asia. For example, the two decades of conflict in Afghanistan up to 2001 resulted in an average loss of 5.5 years of schooling as progress in education stalled. In Pakistan, some 600,000 children in three districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly North-West Frontier Province) were reported in 2009 to have missed one year or more of school because of conflict and displacement.

Most fatalities associated with armed conflict occur away from battle zones, and result from disease and malnutrition. Conflict-related sickness and hunger 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. Although the intensity, scale and geographic extent of the violence vary, protracted armed conflicts are common.

Indiscriminate use of force and the deliberate targeting of civilians are hallmarks of violent conflict in the early twenty-first century. In Afghanistan, for example, the number of Afghan civilian deaths was almost ten times as high as deaths among coalition forces from 2006 to 2009. This has direct and indirect effects on education.

- Children and schools are on the front line of armed conflicts, with classrooms, teachers and pupils seen as legitimate targets. In Afghanistan, insurgent groups have routinely targeted schools. In 2009, at least 613 such incidents were recorded, up from 347 in 2008. Damage to schools and security fears have resulted in the closure of more than 70% of schools in Helmand and more than 80% in Zabul – provinces with some of the world's lowest levels

of attendance. Insurgent groups in Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas have targeted girls' primary and secondary schools. In one attack, ninety-five girls were injured as they left school. Motives for attacking education infrastructure vary. Schools may be seen as embodying state authority and therefore as a legitimate target, especially when insurgent groups oppose the type of education promoted by governments, as in Afghanistan. The use of schools by armed forces can lead to their being targeted by anti-state groups and abandoned by communities. This has been recently documented in India, where Naxalite insurgents have systematically attacked schools to damage government infrastructure and instil fear in communities in Chhattisgarh state.

- Physical injury, psychological trauma and stigmatization faced by children are sources of profound and lasting disadvantage in education. Evidence from Afghanistan points to conflict-related post-traumatic stress disorder as a frequent source of impaired learning and poor achievement in school.
- The use of child soldiers is reported in twenty-four countries, in every region of the world. The recruitment of child soldiers from schools is common.
- Rape and other sexual violence has been widely used as a war tactic in many countries throughout history, including by the Pakistani military during Bangladesh's war of independence. Insecurity and fear associated with sexual violence keep young girls, in particular, out of school. In Afghanistan, widespread sexual violence against girls and boys has been reported. The poor rule of law in many areas has hindered reporting to authorities. Perpetrators are often linked to local power brokers, including government and elected officials, military commanders and members of armed groups.

For marginalized and vulnerable households, armed conflict can block the path to more secure and prosperous livelihoods. One symptom is an increase in child labour. Internally displaced households in Afghanistan cite child labour as the primary reason for young boys being out of school.

Armed conflict also undermines economic growth, reinforces poverty and diverts national resources from productive investment in classrooms into unproductive military spending. Many of the poorest countries spend significantly more on arms than on basic education. Afghanistan spends four times as much on the military as on primary education, Bangladesh spends 2.2 times as much and Nepal 1.4 times as much. Cutting military expenditure by just 10% could help bring 1.64 million more children into primary school in these three countries. Pakistan, with one of the world's largest out-of-school populations (7.3 million in 2008), spends over seven times as much on arms as on primary schools. The discrepancy between primary education and military

expenditure is so large that just one-fifth of Pakistan's military spending would be sufficient to finance universal primary education.

Diversion of national resources to the military and loss of government revenue mean that armed conflict shifts responsibility for education financing from governments to households. National governments and aid donors should urgently review the potential for converting unproductive spending on weapons into productive investment in schools, books and children.

Displaced populations are among the least visible

Displacement exposes people to the risk of extreme disadvantage in education. Data collected by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in 127 camps around the world in 2008 paint a disturbing picture of the state of education. For the camps in South and West Asia, the average primary GER is 39%. This global snapshot obscures significant differences between camps; in Pakistan, primary GERs range from around zero to almost 120%. Gender disparities are particularly wide in South and West Asia, especially in camps in Pakistan, where four girls are enrolled for every ten boys at the primary level. Quality often suffers: only about half of teachers in camps in Nepal are trained, for example.

The UNHCR snapshot of provision in camps offers a very partial picture. Many refugees live in urban settings. In Afghanistan, squatter areas around Kabul include people who have returned from refugee camps in the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan but have become internally displaced, not yet able to go back to their home area. With returning refugees placing more pressure on already overstretched infrastructure, access to basic services such as health care, water and education is often limited. Many countries do not allow refugees access to these services. More generally, restrictions on refugees' employment reinforce poverty, which in turn dampens prospects for education.

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.

Limited or poor quality provision leads 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 militias.

A 'youth bulge' adds to the urgency of building a bridge from education to employment. Pakistan has one of the world's largest youth bulges, with 37% of the population under 15. Unemployed educated youth figure prominently in some armed conflicts, for example in Pakistan and Sri Lanka. In Sri Lanka, both Sinhala and Tamil militias drew recruits from the ranks of the educated unemployed. Among Tamil youth, frustration linked to unemployment was reinforced by wider grievances, including discrimination in university admission processes. This frustration was among the main factors behind the development of militant Tamil youth movements in the 1970s.

Unequal access generates grievances and a sense of injustice. Inequalities in education, interacting with wider disparities, heighten the risk of conflict. In Nepal, poverty and exclusion, particularly among marginalized castes and ethnic groups in rural areas, were key factors driving the decade-long insurgency. Recruitment of schoolchildren was particularly prominent in areas where socio-economic or ethnic exclusion in education was most apparent.

Inappropriate use of school systems reinforces prejudice and intolerance. In several armed conflicts, education has been actively used to reinforce political domination, the subordination of marginalized groups, and ethnic and linguistic segregation. Sri Lanka's education system actively fostered enmity between groups. Textbooks used by Sinhalese students celebrated 'heroes' who had vanquished Tamils, and presented Sinhalese Buddhists as the only true Sri Lankans. Neither Sinhalese nor Tamil textbooks portrayed the other group positively. In Pakistan, the post-independence government adopted Urdu as the national language and the language of instruction in schools. This became a source of alienation in a country that was home to six major linguistic groups and fifty-eight smaller ones. The failure to recognize Bengali, spoken by the vast majority of the population in East Pakistan, led to student riots which gave birth to the Bengali Language Movement, a precursor to the movement that fought for the secession of East Pakistan and the creation of a new country, Bangladesh. Both countries have continued to face language-related political challenges. Disputes over curriculum have in some cases directly spilled over into violent conflict. In 2000, overtly Sunni textbooks were introduced in Pakistan's Federally Administered Northern Areas (known since 2009 as Gilgit-Baltistan). The ensuing protests led to violence between Shia and Sunni communities that reached a peak in 2004 and 2005, and the resulting curfews closed schools for almost an entire academic year.

Aid to conflict-affected countries

Aid can break the vicious circle of warfare and low human development in which many countries are trapped, and support a transition to lasting peace. Several problems, however, have weakened the effectiveness of the international aid effort.

The skewing of aid to education towards a small group of countries identified as national security priorities, including Afghanistan and Pakistan, has led to the relative neglect of many of the world's poorest countries. Aid volatility is another concern.

In societies with a history of group-based violence and social tensions, aid is part of the conflict environment. That basic fact is seldom recognized. Wide disparities in donor support exist between provinces and social groups within some countries, including Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sri Lanka.

The blurring of lines between development assistance and wider foreign policy or strategic goals has prompted concerns that development goals – including in education – have been subordinated to wider strategies such as winning over the 'hearts and minds' of local populations. The growing profile of the military in delivering aid has fuelled these concerns. Under the Commander's Emergency Response Program (CERP), American field commanders in Afghanistan have access to aid funds 'to respond with a non-lethal weapon' directed towards small-scale humanitarian and reconstruction projects in areas covered by military operations. The emphasis has been on identifying 'quick impact' projects to win local support for external military forces and weaken the hold of insurgents. There have been more projects supporting education than any other sector under CERP in Afghanistan, and almost two-thirds of overall US aid spending to Afghanistan went through CERP in 2008.

There are other channels through which the national security perceptions of donor-country governments can cloud development thinking. One striking example with a wider resonance comes from Pakistan. In recent years, the country's madrasas have been viewed as a recruiting ground for potential terrorists. There is little credible evidence to support this conclusion. Most parents send their children to madrasas to receive a Koranic education, or to escape a failing state system. The real challenge for Pakistan is to strengthen the failing state education system and to build bridges between that system and madrasa schools. Yet the generalized international climate of hostility towards madrasas, fuelled by donors, is not conducive to bridge-building.

Responding to failures of protection

Over the past fifteen years, 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 human rights provisions and Security Council resolutions offer limited protection where they are most needed, in the lives of the children and civilians on the front line. Weak coordination among UN agencies and under-resourcing contribute to the problem. Within the MRM system, reporting of attacks against schools is limited, with many incidents going unreported. Problems of under-reporting are even more evident in the area of rape and other sexual violence.

There is evidence that monitoring and the identification of groups and individuals can help protect children. In 2009, Nepalese Maoists entered into an action plan with the United Nations to release minors serving as child soldiers. Conversely, gaps in coverage of the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child are hampering efforts to strengthen protection. Pakistan is among several countries covered in the 2010 report of the Secretary-General on Children and Armed Conflict that have not ratified the protocol.

Working through the UN system, governments should strengthen the systems that monitor human rights violations affecting education, support national plans aimed at stopping those violations, and impose sanctions on egregious and repeat offenders. An International Commission on Rape and Sexual Violence should be created, with the International Criminal Court directly involved in assessing the case for prosecution of state and non-state actors. UNESCO should take the lead in monitoring and reporting on attacks on education systems.

Failures of provision – fixing the humanitarian aid system

Humanitarian aid is intended to save lives, meet basic needs and restore human dignity. Humanitarian aid to education, however, is underfinanced, unpredictable and governed by short-termism, 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. In Sri Lanka, Save the Children coordinated an interagency plan to provide temporary classrooms and counselling to children affected by war, displacement and brutal camp conditions. Yet only around one-third of the appeal was funded. When violent conflict displaced about 1 million people in Pakistan's Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, only US\$8.5 million of the US\$23 million requested in the 2009 Humanitarian Response Plan was delivered. Predictably, many children were left without access to education.

Shortfalls in funding of 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. The vagaries of annual budgeting compound the problems of education financing during emergencies. This is especially true in situations of long-term displacement.

One reason that education has limited visibility in humanitarian aid for conflict-affected countries is that donors sometimes question the possibility of maintaining provision. Yet international agencies can play an important role in keeping education going even in some of the most insecure environments. Several organizations have responded to Afghanistan's insecure environment by scaling up support for community-based schools. Because they are located in villages, and children have shorter distances to travel, there are fewer security threats. This partially explains their success in increasing enrolment, particularly for girls. Local leaders are well placed to assess the security risks associated with receiving support from NGOs. Their involvement also provides a form of protection against attack.

When lack of security prevents NGOs and United Nations agencies from having a presence in a country, there are alternatives, such as distance education. UN peacekeeping forces can also help promote a more secure environment for children to attend school. In some cases, security for schools may be improved through dialogue with representatives of armed groups. Following attacks on schools in Nepal, UNICEF, Save the Children and other agencies mediated between the two sides to forge an agreement on treating schools as 'Zones of Peace'. A code of conduct was applied in around 1,000 schools in the worst-affected conflict areas. Following the agreement, the reported number of violent incidents and school closures declined.

Forced displacement is a direct threat to education. Refugees have well-defined legal entitlements to basic education. In practice, though, those entitlements are often difficult to claim. Internally displaced people (IDPs) have fewer rights to formal protection than refugees. No UN agency is directly mandated to advance their interests. There is an urgent need to strengthen current systems for assessing the education needs of conflict-affected communities. Governance arrangements for refugees and IDPs should be reformed to facilitate improved access to education.

Reconstructing education – seizing the peace premium

Post-conflict reconstruction in education poses immense challenges. Yet success in education can help build government legitimacy and set societies on course for a more peaceful future.

People whose lives have been shattered by armed conflict emerge from the violence with hope and ambition for a better future. In Afghanistan, one opinion survey found that people identified the opening of girls' schools, together with a more general improvement in the education system, as one of the top three indicators of positive change. A range of education strategies can be identified that can deliver early results.

- *Withdraw user fees:* Many post-conflict countries have abolished primary school fees, generating significant benefits.
- *Build on community initiatives:* In many conflict-affected countries, communities have stepped into the vacuum created by the failure of governments to maintain education. Supporting community efforts can deliver quick results for education and demonstrate that government is starting to work.
- *Rehabilitate schools and classrooms:* In some post-conflict environments, children are kept out of school because buildings are damaged or dilapidated. Early investment in rehabilitation can help remove this bottleneck and deliver early benefits, especially when donors support the efforts of national governments and local communities.
- *Recognize returnees' educational attainment:* Many displaced children learn a different curriculum, often in another language. Establishing systems for the certification of education obtained in other countries can ensure that the qualifications of returning refugees are recognized. Another approach is to develop cross-border examinations.
- *Provide accelerated learning programmes:* Peace offers children who have missed out on schooling a chance to make up for lost time. Accelerated programmes can help them build the basic literacy and numeracy skills they need to return to primary school or make the transition to secondary school.
- *Strengthen education and skills training in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programmes:* Ex-combatants, including children and young people, often lack basic literacy and other skills, and so may face limited prospects for employment and are at risk of re-recruitment. Skills training within DDR programmes can make a difference.
- *Provide psychosocial support:* Many children and young people caught up in armed conflict will have been traumatized as a result of experiencing or witnessing acts of violence, and are at increased risk of mental health problems. Reintegration programmes for ex-combatants, including child soldiers, sometimes include psychosocial support along with skills training. There are strong grounds for extending the provision of such programmes beyond ex-combatants to other vulnerable young people.
- *Recruit teachers:* After conflict, the supply of teachers – especially trained teachers – is unlikely to keep pace with demand. Teacher recruitment, training and deployment require long-term planning. But governments and donors can develop transitional strategies.

Some post-conflict states are among the strongest-performing countries in terms of progress towards goals such as UPE, and progress in education has in turn helped underpin wider post-conflict reconstruction. Countries that have made the transition from conflict into longer-term recovery have forged partnerships with donors aimed at developing and implementing inclusive education sector strategies that set clear targets, backed by secure financing commitments. Some of the successful ingredients of this transition are:

- *Strengthened national planning:* As countries move along the planning continuum, the challenge is to develop policy instruments that link goals to the provision of inputs, the development of institutions and national financing strategies. In Afghanistan, the establishment of a comprehensive education management information system (EMIS) provided a tool for more responsive planning. New information tools help identify levels of provision and need in seventeen 'insecure provinces'.
- *Development of information systems:* An EMIS gives governments a tool to track resource allocation, identify areas of need and oversee teacher remuneration (the single biggest item in the education budget).
- *Financial commitments:* Strong post-conflict performers have invariably increased public spending on education, albeit often from a low base. Strengthening the national revenue collection effort can provide a powerful impetus for increased education spending.
- *Inclusive education:* Strongly performing post-conflict countries have attached considerable weight to developing more inclusive education systems that target groups and regions badly affected by conflict. In Nepal, the post-conflict education strategy included stipends for girls and for low-caste, indigenous and disabled children, creating incentives for their parents to send them to school.

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. Problems with financial governance can further limit the effectiveness of aid. However, even in the most difficult post-conflict environments, aid agencies can help strengthen accountability and transparency. For example, in Nepal, NGOs and donors have put in place a monitoring system that reports on aid diversion by publishing records and maps on the UN Nepal Information Platform that identify areas in which aid has gone missing.

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 enable donors to spread risk and secure wider efficiency gains in areas such as fiduciary risk management, start-up costs and coordination. National pooled funds, such as the Afghanistan Reconstruction Trust Fund (ARTF), demonstrate the potential benefits of cooperation. From 2002 to September 2010, thirty-two donors channelled almost US\$4 billion to the ARTF, making it the largest contributor to Afghanistan's budget. Education has become an increasingly significant part of the ARTF portfolio, growing from 2.4% of the total in 2006 to 17% in 2009. Most of this spending has been used to increase equitable access to basic education, especially for girls, through school grants, teacher training and institutional capacity development. Apart from spreading risk, the ARTF has helped diminish aid delivery fragmentation, improve donor coordination and gear financing towards priority areas. The fund also includes mechanisms to strengthen the government's public financial management system and to combat Afghanistan's endemic corruption.

Global pooled funding could also play a far greater role in conflict-affected states. Ongoing reforms to the EFA Fast Track Initiative (FTI) are addressing long-standing concerns in areas such as disbursement and governance. Several conflict-affected countries, including Afghanistan, are developing national plans and may seek FTI funding. If the FTI 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.

Making education a force for peace

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. There are many channels through which education can influence prospects for peace, including:

- *Language of instruction:* In some contexts 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 fuel violence.
- *The curriculum:* Curriculum development and teacher training have been priorities for several education ministries in recent post-conflict settings. The teaching of subjects such as history and religion can play a role in reorienting conflict-affected societies in a peaceful direction. Dealing with issues of ethnic and religious identity confronts education reformers with tough choices and takes time. Yet experience demonstrates how education can gradually erode deeply entrenched divisions by getting students to reflect on their multiple identities and on what unites rather than divides them. Some evidence supports the case for well-designed peace education interventions. In 2009, UNESCO established the Mahatma Gandhi Institute of Education for Peace and Sustainable Development in New Delhi, with a mandate suggesting that the institute could help fill the gap in rigorous evaluations of the many peacebuilding curricula globally.
- *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.
- *Making schools non-violent environments:* This strategy is unequivocally good for education, for children and for peacebuilding. Following a Supreme Court ruling, Nepal adopted legislation prohibiting corporal punishment in all settings.

Unlocking the potential for education to act as a force for peace requires new approaches to post-conflict policy reforms. Education needs to be more prominent in the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission, an intergovernmental advisory committee, and the associated Peacebuilding Fund. And UNESCO and UNICEF should play a more central role in integrating education into wider peacebuilding strategies. ■

Glossary

Early childhood care and education (ECCE).

Programmes that, in addition to providing children with care, offer a structured and purposeful set of learning activities either in a formal institution (pre-primary or ISCED 0) or as part of a non-formal child development programme. ECCE programmes are usually designed for children from age 3 and include organized learning activities that constitute, on average, the equivalent of at least 2 hours per day and 100 days per year.

EFA Development Index (EDI).

Composite index aimed at measuring overall progress towards EFA. At present, the EDI incorporates four of the six EFA goals, each proxied by one indicator: universal primary education, adult literacy, gender parity and equality and education quality. The index value is the arithmetic mean of the four indicators. It ranges from 0 to 1.

Gender parity index (GPI).

Ratio of female to male values (or male to female, in certain cases) of a given indicator. A GPI of 1 indicates parity between sexes; a GPI above or below 1 indicates a disparity in favour of one sex over the other.

Gross enrolment ratio (GER).

Total enrolment in a specific level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the population in the official age group corresponding to this level of education. The GER can exceed 100% because of early or late entry and/or grade repetition.

Gross national product (GNP).

The value of all final goods and services produced in a country in one year (gross domestic product) plus income that residents have received from abroad, minus income claimed by non-residents. Gross national income is the more recent denomination of the same term.

Net enrolment ratio (NER).

Enrolment of the official age group for a given level of education, expressed as a percentage of the population in that age group.

Net intake rate (NIR).

New entrants to the first grade of primary education who are of the official primary school entrance age, expressed as a percentage of the population of that age.

Survival rate by grade.

Percentage of a cohort of students who are enrolled in the first grade of an education cycle in a given school year and are expected to reach a specified grade, regardless of repetition.

Table 1: South and West Asia, selected education indicators

Country	Total population (000)	GNP per capita PPP (US\$)	Compulsory education Age group	EFA Development Index (EDI)	Adult literacy			
					Adult literacy rate (15 and over)			
					Total (%)	GPI (F/M)	Total (%)	GPI (F/M)
					1985–1994 ¹		2005–2008 ¹	
Afghanistan	27 208	...	7-15	...	...	...	...	...
Bangladesh	160 000	1 440	6-10	0.723	35	0.58	55	0.83
Bhutan	687	4 880	...	0.793	...	...	53	0.59
India	1 181 412	2 960	6-14	0.769	48	0.55	63	0.68
Iran, Islamic Republic of	73 312	...	6-10	...	66	0.76	82	0.89
Maldives	305	5 280	6-12	0.963	96	1.00	98	1.00
Nepal	28 810	1 120	5-10	...	33	0.35	58	0.64
Pakistan	176 952	2 700	5-9	0.656	...	...	54	0.60
Sri Lanka	20 061	4 460	5-14	...	...	...	91	0.97
	Sum	Median			Weighted average			
South and West Asia	1 668 746	2 960	...	...	47	0.56	62	0.70
Developing countries	5 430 213	3 940	...	...	67	0.76	79	0.86
World	6 735 143	6 290	...	...	76	0.84	83	0.90

Table 1 (continued)

Country	Primary education									
	NER		Out-of-school children ²		GPI of GER		Survival rate to last grade		Pupil/teacher ratio ³	
	Total (%)	Total (%)	Total (000)	Total (000)	(F/M)	(F/M)	Total (%)	Total (%)		
	1999	2008	1999	2008	1999	2008	1999	2007	1999	2008
Afghanistan	...	...	...	...	0.08	0.66	...	...	...	43
Bangladesh	...	85	...	2 024	...	1.06	...	55	...	44
Bhutan	56	87	48	12	0.85	1.01	81	90	42	28
India	...	90	...	5 564	0.84	0.97	62	66	35	...
Iran, Islamic Republic of	93	...	564	...	0.94	1.40	...	...	27	20
Maldives	98	96	1.2	1.6	1.00	0.94	...	...	24	13
Nepal	65	...	1 019	...	0.77	...	58	62	39	33
Pakistan	...	66	...	7 261	...	0.83	...	...	...	41
Sri Lanka	...	99	...	8	...	1.00	...	98	...	23
	Weighted average		Sum		Weighted average		Median		Weighted average	
South and West Asia	75	86	36 658	17 919	0.83	0.96	...	66	37	39
Developing countries	80	87	103 180	64 117	0.91	0.96	...	83	27	28
World	82	88	106 269	67 483	0.92	0.97	90	93	25	25

Notes:

Data underlined are for 2005. Data in italics are for 2006. Data in bold italics are for 2007. Data in bold are for 2009 or 2008 for survival rate to last grade. The averages are derived from both published data and broad estimates for countries for which no recent data or reliable publishable data are available.

1. Data are for the most recent year available during the period specified.

2. Data reflect the actual number of children not enrolled at all, derived from the age-specific or adjusted net enrolment ratio (ANER) of primary school age children, which measures the proportion of those who are enrolled either in primary or in secondary schools.

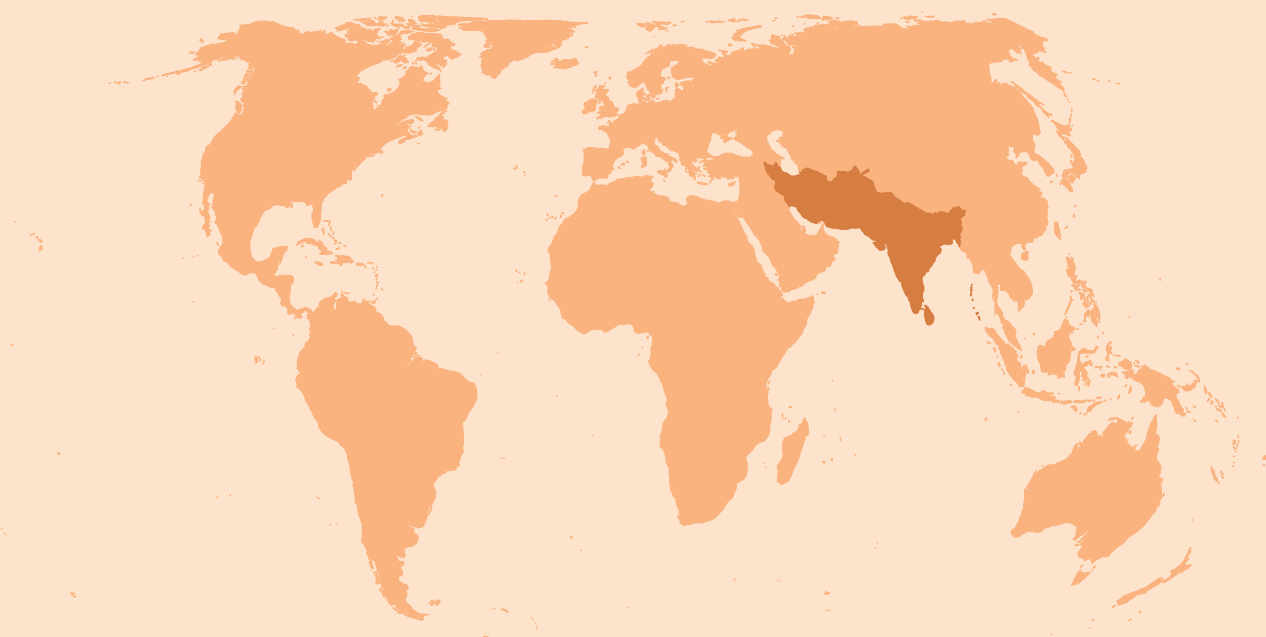
Adult literacy				Early childhood care and education				Country
Adult illiterates (15 and over)				Child survival and well-being		Pre-primary education		
Total (000)	% Female	Total (000)	% Female	Under-5 mortality rate (%)	Moderate severe and stunting (%)	GER		
1985–1994 ¹		2005–2008 ¹		2005–2010	2003–2008 ¹	1999	2008	
...	...	...	...	235	59	...	...	Afghanistan
43 939	56	48 990	55	57	43	18	...	Bangladesh
...	...	202	60	64	38	0.9	1	Bhutan
284 027	61	283 105	65	81	48	18	47	India
11 127	62	9 402	63	34	5	15	52	Iran, Islamic Republic of
5	47	3	49	28	32	55	101	Maldives
7 525	62	7 614	67	54	49	10	...	Nepal
...	...	51 236	63	89	42	...	...	Pakistan
...	...	1 425	60	20	17	...	...	Sri Lanka
Sum	% F	Sum	% F	Weighted average	Median	Weighted average		
397 606	61	412 432	63	82	42	21	42	South and West Asia
872 565	63	786 386	64	79	29	27	39	Developing countries
886 508	63	795 805	64	71	26	33	44	World

Secondary education				Education finance					Country
GER				Total public expenditure on education as % of GNP		Total aid disbursements to education ⁴ (Constant 2008 US\$ millions)	Total aid disbursements to basic education ⁴ (Constant 2008 US\$ millions)	Total aid disbursements to basic education per primary school age child (Constant 2008 US\$)	
Total (%)	GPI (F/M)	Total (%)	GPI (F/M)	1999	2008	2008	2008	2008	
1999		2008							
...	...	29	0.38	...	...	233	134	29	Afghanistan
42	0.98	44	1.05	2.3	2.2	217	166	10	Bangladesh
37	0.81	62	0.99	...	5.2	24	14	141	Bhutan
44	0.70	57	0.86	4.5	3.2	508	312	3	India
80	0.91	80	0.98	4.5	4.8	61	1	0.2	Iran, Islamic Republic of
42	1.09	<i>84</i>	<i>1.05</i>	...	8.4	8	0.6	14	Maldives
34	0.70	...	...	2.9	3.7	91	70	19	Nepal
...	...	33	0.76	2.6	2.9	128	88	4	Pakistan
...	...	...	...	...	...	51	12	8	Sri Lanka
Weighted average				Median		Sum		Weighted average	
44	0.75	54	0.87	2.9	3.7	1 326	800	4	South and West Asia
51	0.88	62	0.95	4.5	4.2	9 030	3 889	7	Developing countries
59	0.91	67	0.96	4.7	4.8	11 410	4 709	8	World

3. Based on headcounts of pupils and teachers.

4. Values for total aid disbursements to education and to basic education for regional and other country groups do not always sum up to world totals because some aid is not allocated by region or country.

Regional Overview: South and West Asia



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