Uwe H. Bittlingmayer, Anne-Marie Grundmeier,
Reinhart Kößler, Diana Sahrai, Fereschta Sahrai (eds.)

Education
and Development
in Afghanistan

Challenges and Prospects

[transcript] **G**lobal**S**tudies

From:

Uwe H. Bittlingmayer, Anne-Marie Grundmeier,
Reinhart Kößler, Diana Sahrai, Fereschta Sahrai (eds.)
Education and Development in Afghanistan
Challenges and Prospects

After years of military interventions, the current situation in Afghanistan is highly ambivalent and partially contradictory – especially regarding the interplay of development, peace, security, education, and economy. Despite numerous initiatives, Afghanistan is still confronted with a poor security and economic condition. At the same time, enrollment numbers in schools and universities as well as the rate of academics reached a historical peak.

This volume investigates the tension between these ambivalent developments. Sociologists, political and cultural scientists along with development workers, educators, and artists from Germany and Afghanistan discuss the idea that education is primary for rebuilding a stable Afghan state and government.

Uwe H. Bittlingmayer (Prof. Dr. phil.) teaches Sociology at the Institute of Sociology, University of Education Freiburg (Germany).
Anne-Marie Grundmeier (Prof. Dr. rer. pol.) teaches and researches in the field of cultural sciences at the Institute of Everyday Life Culture, Sports and Health at the University of Education Freiburg.
Reinhart Kößler (Prof. Dr. phil.) was director of the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute in Freiburg and is Visiting Professor and Research Associate at the Institute of Reconciliation and Social Justice at the University of the Free State, South Africa.
Diana Sahrai (Prof. Dr.) teaches inclusive education at the Institute for Special Needs Education, University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland, School of Education, Basel.
Fereschta Sahrai teaches and researches Conflict Analysis, Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building at the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies at the University for Peace in Costa Rica and teaches inclusive education at the Institute for Special Education and Psychology, University of Applied Sciences and Arts Northwestern Switzerland.

For further information:
www.transcript-verlag.de/en/978-3-8376-3637-6

Outline

IV. CONCLUDING STATEMENTS

Preface

ULRICH DRUWE & WALTER ROHRER

We all know and can witness day-to-day how close the world has become in the recent time. A few clicks and we see the beauty of every corner on our earth, a hop on an airplane and we can dive into the treasures of foreign cultures. But unfortunately a lot of the current global issues are threatening and do not accord with our common idea of a peaceful, just, reasonable and sustainable world. Also many people are excluded from moving freely in the world for several reasons.

It seems that most of the current challenges worldwide, such as wars, imbalance of income and wealth, pollution and global warming as well soak up a lot of energy and funds. Obviously mankind is not very successful in defeating these problems – and we fear that if we want to create a brighter future, we are running out of time.

Apart from cultural distinctions, we have a common view of how the majority of people worldwide want to live. Instead of focussing efforts on realizing the necessary condition, people are tangled in religious or ideological struggles. Hence as one impact of this, millions cannot believe in a future in their own country and are forced to escape. Even if many individuals can find a new home, the destination countries are both not able and not willing to guarantee a dignified life. So what could be done?

The necessity of money to develop poor countries is often emphasized. It is said that investments in infrastructure and economy should be provided.

In 2015, the Nobel Prize in economic sciences was awarded to Angus Deaton for his analysis of consumption, poverty and welfare. One of his conclusions is: development aid prevents (people from) establishing a responsible population and prevents eventually democratic structures and welfare as well. Let us skip the debate and not concern ourselves with matters we cannot influence. What could be done?

As teachers we have to prepare children's and young people's ability to advocate for a better world in which they can live a life in freedom and dignity. That is the noble major task of education. Education itself is powerless without appropriate preferences in politics and population. But on the other hand, education is strongly needed because a peaceful life together, the acceptance of certain principles as human rights, the cause of economic prosperity and democratic structures are never perfectly established. These issues are nourished by permanent debates concerning how we can maximize our efforts. In such deliberation debaters ought to be able to bear and respect different opinions. They should be able to convince others. They should also be able to get convinced by means of better reasons. All of this points to the fact that the most important aim of education is not giving fixed arguments but to educate the ability and willingness to consider permanently claimed reasons – including our own. Education in that sense is a threat to those who believe exclusively in only one truth, however if it is religious, political or ideological. Precisely in those countries in which education could lead to economic and social improvements there are opponents who fight against even with criminal offences and attacks. And in many societies education is often considered in a functional manner in order not to serve human beings themselves but for the sake of economy only. This is a sting in the heart of all fellow educators. It represents also the peak of the iceberg: Education is nowhere taken for granted. Briefly said, all efforts in terms of education are menaced by ignorance, violence and cutting of resources, even though education is enshrined in constitutions and laws.

However a gloomy view is drawn, there are also many positive examples. And the most significant circumstance is the willingness of children and young people to learn. Therefore we rather want to underline every single occasion of sharing ideas and encouraging each other. As educators we all need ideas, passion and inspiration, particularly as we have no guarantee to be successful. Anyhow global collaboration seems to be a valuable contribution in order to convey our objectives.

We are convinced that any international experience in teacher training programs is essential. More than ever it is important to bring people together who want to share concepts and who want to search proposals in a challenging world of education. We hope our efforts will continue and will thrive in any forms of merging and cooperation.

If you Want Peace, Educate for Peace

Education in Afghanistan

FRANCISCO ROJAS ARAVENA

In a society at war, what kind of education is necessary? Students need to understand the reasons for violence, the reason why men and women in their communities die, why they are afraid, why international actors are involved in their country's conflict.

In a society that is divided and trapped by conflict, education for peace is the number one requirement. This means education for non-violence, education for inclusion, education for social cohesion, education for Rule of Law, education for legality and ethics.

Secondly, educational desertion must decrease and enrolment increase, ideally through reaching all the school-aged population, as well as by improving the quality of education, of the teachers and of the teaching methods.

Thirdly, promoting education essentially requires improving the teachers' competencies as well as improving, and in some cases, establishing and reconstructing, basic educational infrastructure that has been destroyed by decades of war and conflict.

Additionally, developing education that promotes skills, values and behaviours that contribute to peace, justice, sustainable development and solidarity is fundamental. A society whose people do not value peace in their minds and in their hearts, will be condemned to repeat cycles of conflict and violence forever.

The type of education that we need to promote is education for the 21st century, an education that leaves behind the trauma of decades of history of conflict. An education that uses new technologies to open horizons and promote the value of peace as a vital objective. Today, this means promoting the 2030 Agenda and the Sustainable Development Goals; from an integral perspective and where the weight of SDG No. 16 will be the key factor to achieve the other goals.

Finally, the education needed is one that allows a process that promotes the respect for human rights and the protection of the planet. If we can advance in this dimension of necessary education, we will be able to find adequate solutions to reduce national tensions. We can find participatory solutions that are capable of building a stable society. This will allow the post-conflict process to achieve the peace and security necessary for development in a short amount of time, as well as the establishment of a society that is free from fear and has the skills to guarantee its basic needs regain its dignity.

Without peace, rights cannot be exercised. Without peace, there is no right to education. Without peace, human rights are deeply and increasingly violated. Where there is no peace, there is no development; without development it is not possible to have growth or prosperity, which only creates more poverty, more inequality, more tensions; and violence and conflict are aggravated. All this becomes a permanent way of life where human loss does not matter and neither does the loss of infrastructure, or of the country's culture and collective memory.

At the University for Peace (UPEACE), we welcome the publication of this extraordinary book, Education and Development in Afghanistan: Challenges & Prospects. This book has multiple perspectives and looks at key situations in Afghanistan that jeopardize peace, development, security and education. It is a critical reflection about how development and education can affect peace and how this can be applied to a situation of permanent tension and conflict, such as those taking place in several parts of Afghanistan, including its capital and more secluded communities.

World history shows that peace and conflict resolution through pacific means are key conditions for sustainable development. Without these pre-existing conditions, it is not possible to create inclusive education of any kind. On the contrary, school desertion transforms into an increase in violent and extremist militants. Only peace creates possibilities for development and prosperity, which allow for inclusive education structures and the construction of cohesive societies in peaceful coexistence.

Resolving a highly complex conflict such as the one in Afghanistan demands reaching multiple consensuses between the actors involved, at a local level as well as with the regional and international actors involved. In order to reach a consensus towards the end of the conflict, the people, their dignity and their needs should be put at the centre, along with a respect for human rights for each one of them. These are the foundations for building governance skills and for developing a Rule of Law for everyone.

Without Rule of Law for the whole population and over the whole of the national territory, the possibility of having an extensive, plural, integrative educa-

tion, which promotes cohesion and coexistence, is very difficult. The State's primary task is to have effective control over the national territory and with it, over the monopoly of violence. This will allow control over illegal actors and groups and over the illegal arms trade, thus reducing the opportunities for violence. This must be accompanied by public policies aimed at solving basic human needs, including the development and promotion of education.

In fractured and polarized societies, finding social identity and social cohesion is fundamental. These are two key values in which solidarity plays a fundamental role in promoting more and better civic coexistence. In this sense, incorporating the basic concepts of peace education will help promote a perspective of non-violence in children and youth, through the use of tools for finding peaceful solutions to everyday conflicts, towards the construction of a national identity that is capable of encompassing ethnic and religious diversity and solidarity as a shared good amongst the whole population.

In order to advance in these dimensions, it is necessary to transform basic consensuses into State policies. These will help the country's inhabitants to overcome the fundamental problems they are suffering. Among these are high levels of poverty, discrimination – especially towards women and girls – and a lack of security. These situations create the foundations that inhibit the ample participation of boys and girls in schools. An essential task refers to coverage, which should increase and, as a result, the consensuses leading to stability and peace, should also increase. Important challenges in the field of education must be overcome, which relate to polarized ideological views, as well as excluding religious perspectives, which prevent substantial agreements and feed cycles of violence.

The Afghan society is trying to say, "End violence". The Afghan society demands peace and coexistence. The society needs to leave illiteracy behind, for which the role of education is fundamental. However, we know that education alone is not enough to guarantee peace. Substantial agreements are necessary to establish the Rule of Law and to enforce that law.

From an educational perspective, as this book points out, many obstacles that complicate tasks in the long term must be overcome. This is why we must effectively advance its reach, guaranteeing the presence of the big majority, and of all the boys and girls, in schools. Discrimination towards women must also be eliminated. Women are still being discriminated and do not attend primary or secondary school. Few go to university. As the United Nations has pointed out, the role of women is essential in processes of conflict transformation and resolution. They have more numerous and superior skills for facing conflicts and finding in-

novative solutions, which is why gender equality is key in the process for reaching a sustainable peace.

Likewise, a fundamental task refers to quality. If we recognize the State's inability to cover the whole of the national territory, in securing the basic public goods needed by its citizens, it is necessary to think about how challenges can be overcome through State, private sector and community partnerships. It is the citizens' participation which can guarantee more efficient results in this process. At the same time, the new bureaucratic structures that originate throughout the process of establishing national peace should create more transparency and more reliable information than the one currently offered by the statistics on education. Having verifiable information is a complex and difficult task, but it is fundamental when prioritizing and assigning resources, especially for the weaker and more vulnerable sectors.

In addition to developing and strengthening the formal education system, it is necessary to overcome the weaknesses and strongly develop initiatives where society plays a key role in the development of new and innovative proposals for education for the 21st century. The national effort put into education and expressed in the National Strategic Plan, which determines ways to face and overcome the new conflicts, opens opportunities for improvement and for building a harmonious society, around the principles promoted by peace education. That is, the promotion of the values established in the Declaration of Human Rights about inclusion and recognizing diversity, all within the context of recovering sustainable growth and development. This will ensure that peace, development and education become key instruments in the construction of the Afghanistan of the future, which, by recovering its historic identity, expresses new values learned in a process of plural education, which promotes national, social, ethnic and religious reconciliation.

The University for Peace acknowledges the important effort involved in this publication. We open the doors to international cooperation in order to revisit the spaces for collaboration for a better future for the Afghan society, based on an ample, plural, high-quality education capable of facing the opportunities of the 21st century with optimism.

If you want peace, work for peace.

If you want peace, educate for peace.

Introduction: Education and Development in Afghanistan between History, Expansion, Hope and Disillusions

Uwe H. Bittlingmayer, Anne-Marie Grundmeier,
Reinhart Kössler, Fereschta Sahrai & Diana Sahrai

The history of education and development in Afghanistan is one of a bullet-shot kaleidoscope with complex social and political cleavages on a local, regional and global level and heterogeneous conflict lines turning it to a constantly significant political issue. For instance, increasing access to education for people in Afghanistan has been an issue since at least one hundred years and still is constantly discussed until today. Thus, education has historically been and at present still is a contested arena (cf. a.o. Giustozzi/Franco 2011, 2013; Ruttig in this book). Furthermore, it is generally connected to difficult questions of normativity. On the one hand education is closely linked to promises of general development, modernization of the country (MoE 2016), economic prosperity and welfare; on the other hand it is connected to westernization and colonialism that threaten the survival of existing social structures (D. Sahrai/Bittlingmayer 2015). Especially in the "After 9/11-Era", a clear consciousness has risen

that the educational system is one of the key contributors to conflicts. Since the World Conference on Education for All, education in conflict and post-conflict situations has emerged as a new challenge to be addressed by international community. Education is now no longer considered a neutral force for good (Spink 2005: 204).

Particularly in Afghanistan, the "education system, infrastructure and contents were severely affected due to the influence of political ideologies" (Thapa et al. 2010: 18). But besides general ideological questions in the everyday life of people in Afghanistan there are multiple practical challenges to the current Afghan educational system: The access to educational institutions is a key concern for

young Afghan returnees (Altai 2006; Habibi/Hunte 2006; Saito 2015) but also for returning adults who were excluded from education in their exile in Iran or Pakistan (cf. The Guardian 2014).

Surely, education needs to be discussed in the framework of corruption and the challenging security situation that constantly cause backlashes (Giustozzi/Franco 2011; Naumann 2012; GCPEA 2014; cf. Samar in this book). Additionally, the lack of coordination between different external organizations and institutions engaged in education, e.g. the US-government, DoD, USAID, just to name a few (SIGAR 2016), the underfinancing that this sector faces increasingly, time-limited projects and the lack of evaluation in terms of effective outcomes represent furthermore urgent challenges (for a positive example of an evaluated project cf. Stanikzai et al. in this book). Finally, the problem of Brain Drain despite local capacity-building counteracts the idea of sustainable development which makes the need for a change in paradigm in the relationship between security and development or peace an alerting issue. Looking into the current foreign policy agenda under the Trump administration, when it comes to Afghanistan (e.g. increase of intransparency and power submission to the military), the increased gain of territory by the Taleban, the faltering negotiations between the conflict actors and thus an increase of attacks and violent confrontations, the development of a broad education system in terms of sustainability becomes less auspicious. Furthermore, the intransparency in terms of other hidden actors building Ghost Schools, Ghost Teachers und Ghost Students cause an additional level of complexity that is hard to encounter systematically (a.o. Tolo News 2015a, 2015c, 2016a, 2016b; cf. Naumann and Ruttig in this volume). Despite all the above-mentioned challenges, education remains an emergency (cf. Samar in this book).

However, there is hardly any aspect in the realm of education in Afghanistan that is not severely contested. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the contributions in this volume represent a broad spectrum of positions, some of which are even contradictory. For example: There are positions that plea for a strategy which concentrates primarily on the security situation (Hanif, Anonymous) and there are positions that do not (Samar, Wardak); there are positions that associate increasing educational access directly with positive societal development (Wardak, Kässer, Nashir-Steck, Noor), there are positions which do not (Ruttig, Jones, Naumann, Jawid) and there is a position which questions very much the principle idea of development for countries of the Global South (Kößler). In this volume we do not pretend to have sophisticated answers to the complex questions that pop up in the context of education in Afghanistan. However, we try to follow two lines simultaneously: first we give space for perspectives on education

and development in Afghanistan from different angles in order to illustrate education as a contested arena; second we present theoretical (Kößler, Ruttig), empirical (Harsch/Bittlingmayer, Wardak, Naumann, Jawid), practical (Stanikzai et al., Müller, Kässer, Nashir-Steck, Goldenberg, L. Sahrai, Wirz et al.) as well as political (Anonymous, Noor, Samar) perspectives in order to prevent the discussions about education and development in Afghanistan from being reduced to ideological issues. In this introduction we would like to give a brief overview of historical and current dimensions of the topic education and development in Afghanistan and to sharpen the understanding of the complexity of the topic.

PROMISES OF THE NEAR PAST AND THE CURRENT SITUATION

After 40 years of monarchy under the rule of King Zahir Shah (1933-1973), the coup by his cousin Mohammed Daoud Khan and the exclamation of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan (1973-1978) and the subsequent carnages of the different communist fractions within the scope of the Saur Revolution in 1978, the following intrusion of the Soviet army in 1979 provoked further conflict parties (the Mujaheddin) to contribute to the potentialization of violent clashes. Finally, the ongoing brutal Afghan Civil War (1992-1996) – after the withdrawal of the Soviet army in 1989 and a short period of communist reign under Mohammed Nadschibullah (1987-1992) – led to the rise and reign of the Taleban regime (1996-2001) and their push back in 2001 by the NATO led invasion called ISAF. Tired by the cumulation of violent conflicts and oppressions in this war-torn country the people saw some hope in the presence of the international community and indeed experienced (even if partially) a sense of development. A bunch of promises in terms of extensions in the educational, cultural, political and economic sectors encouraged many Afghans to participate in the reconstruction of the country. The basis of the idea of a humanitarian intervention "providing access to education was one of the rights-based aims President George W. Bush used to justify the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001" (Burde 2014: 32). Other crucial issues were the rights of woman which were severely suppressed by the Taleban (cf. Samar in this book) and the enforcement of human rights for children (Heath/Zahedi 2015). U.S. women's rights activists contributed much to legitimize the war against the Taleban in order to improve the situation of Afghan woman. Finally, the invasion should be a palpable and visible strike against terrorism after the declaration of the global war on terrorism by the Bush Administration. Meanwhile, a lot of criticism against this intervention has been ex-

pressed by the Afghan people as well as by Western scientists, intellectuals and even politicians.

The results of more than one and a half decades of military commitment by the ISAF in Afghanistan are shattering: Although the German government points out in a recent official publication that the situation in Afghanistan is better than in 2001 and that a considerable development in the right direction has taken place (German Government 2015), most experts from disciplines like political sciences, international affairs, peace studies, military studies, social geography, and sociology express legitimate doubts regarding this less differentiated perspective. Looking at the proclaimed aims that were meant to justify the heavily military led intervention, not a single one has been fully reached: the abolishment of the Taleban-movement and the installation of a democratic state, the end of drug production and sustainable economic development, security and enforcement of women's rights or the fight against corruption. Those objectives that figure most prominently on the official agenda are far from being realized (cf. for the German discourse Ruttig 2014; Krüger 2014; Ruttig 2015 cf. for the international discourse a.o. SIGAR 2016). To sum it up very briefly: "grand promises made with the 2001 invasion have not been kept" (Heath 2015: 16).

Norway is the only country so far that has unsparingly and publicly evaluated its own contribution to the NATO-led Afghanistan campaign. The so-called Godal report documents very clearly the failure of the mission; at least as far as official aims are concerned. The cynical result of the report is that the most important goal pursued by Norway's administration and the only one fully reached is to "be recognized as a trustworthy supporter of the USA and a good NATO ally" (Wilkens 2016: 2). The failure of the NATO intervention and the recent developments should surprise nobody who was skeptical about the plan to transform Afghanistan into a centralized Western nation state from the very beginning (O.-Kh. Sahrai 2018). "The fetishizing and imposition of one-size-fits-all Western-style democracy and Western ideals and ideas are not necessarily appropriate for a tribal, dynastic society and can result in backlash" (Heath 2015: 12). There are plausible arguments that Afghanistan will never be a westernized democratic nation state because it lacks a strong centralized power and provinces that voluntarily accept the rules coming from the capital. According to this position, a more convincing model for Afghanistan would be a decentralized nation state with highly autonomous provinces, without necessarily having a capital and with a very strong type of federalism – the so called Swiss Solution (cf. Kux/Tenham 2015). Thus, one dimension of the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan is the very traditional fight for autonomy of highly independent regions against the centralized power of Kabul, which goes back in time to the efforts of Amanullah to

modernize the country in the early 20th century. This dimension is important to remember particularly for education – we will return to this point extensively later.

But even if one agrees with the idea that Afghanistan is able to manage a transformation to a Westernized democracy, it has to be admitted that the construction process of building the new Afghanistan was fraught with severe mistakes and shortcomings. Probably and most importantly, there was a failure to build a sustainable economy in Afghanistan. The invading forces brought a lot of money into the country, but they failed to establish economic structures that could survive the withdrawal of the foreign military. Thus, they saw themselves trapped into an old aid-dilemma: "it is easier – more direct, with more visible results – to give a man a fish than to teach him how to fish" (Burde 2014: 53). The presence of foreign troops, diplomats, NGOs and aid organizations brought jobs, most of all in the service sector, which is closely linked with their presence. For this reason, and due to the money spent in cooperation projects between the Afghan and foreign governments, the economy grew in average 9 percent during this collaboration between 2002 to 2012. But the effects were short-term. In 2014, the economic growth was only 1.5 percent (Ruttig 2015: 18). The international community left a country, which is not able to pay its own army, police and civil service (van Bijlert 2015: 6). Due to several reasons Afghanistan's economy collapsed in 2014: first, the donor countries significantly reduced their financial aid. From 2010 to 2012, the U.S. alone reduced its financial aid from 4.5 Billion Dollar to 1.8 Billion Dollar. The consequences of NATO's troop withdrawal reflect directly on the rate of unemployment. As seen in Figure 1, according to recent World Bank data (with questionable validity for Afghanistan) the rate of unemployment in Afghanistan explodes after 2012 to 40 percent; only Djibouti, DR Congo and Bosnia-Hercegovina did worse in 2015 (World Bank 2016a). However, even in the documentation of unemployment rates the numbers and shares differ dramatically – there are sources that count the Afghan unemployment rate even in 2016 at 8.6 percent (Trading Economics 2018). The comparably trustworthy recent overview of the World Bank (2018) sums up the current economic situation as follows:

Economic recovery is slow as continued insecurity curtails private investment and consumer demand. Growth remains principally driven by agriculture. The fiscal position remained strong in the first half of 2017. Poverty has increased since the start of the international troop withdrawal in 2011 and amid the resulting decline in economic growth.

Such evaluations and data make it highly unlikely that anybody would claim that the latest Western Afghanistan campaign was a success story and based on sustainability. But on the other hand, it is important to note that for the case of Afghanistan it is not reasonable in the first place to pose binary questions: "Did we fail or did we succeed? Is the situation better or worse? Will the country fall apart or will there be progress? […] Afghanistan's reality tends to be more mixed" (van Bijlert 2015: 7). As the situation in Afghanistan went from bad to worse in many realms in recent years, the question of how this country might develop along a non-violent path has gained urgency. Among all analytical and practical works and trials, there is one answer which apparently has the potential to bridge most of the gaps in this conflict and which is very promising in many respects: expand education significantly! "If well designed, a country's education system is the backbone of societal development and as such can be a stepping stone and springboard toward a more stable, prosperous, sustainable future" (Naumann 2012: 5).

Figure 1: Afghanistan's unemployment rate in percent
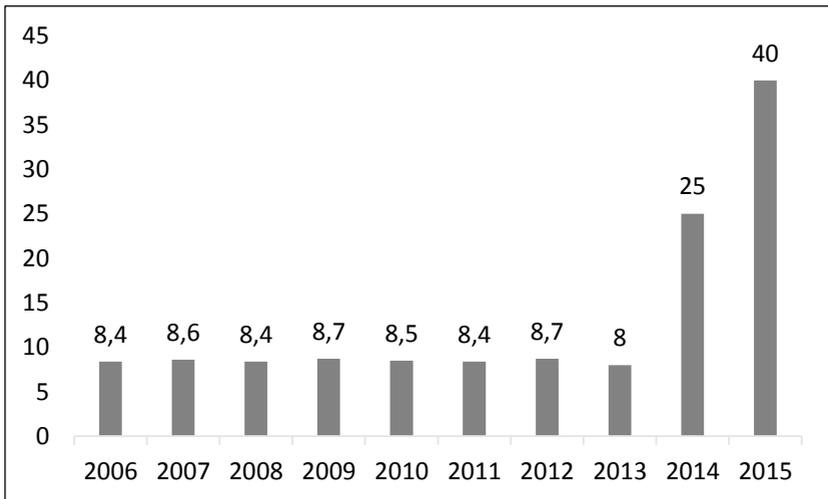
© World Bank (2016a)

EDUCATIONAL EXPANSION: A PROGRAMMATIC ISSUE WITH MANY PLAYERS INVOLVED

Apart from the poor record of the Western military and non-military commitment, still there are some visible developments and improvements that are reported. In this anthology, we want to focus particularly on education and its possible contribution for development and empowerment in Afghanistan. In the confusing pool of ideas about how to improve the situation of people in Afghanistan, one suggestion is very widespread and enjoys high levels of agreement amongst a large number of governmental institutions, NGO's and private social actors and official organizations: focus on education! The strategy to expand education significantly is obvious since education on the ground in Afghanistan is still very poor. The UNESCO Office in Kabul (2016) describes the status as follows:

Afghanistan has one of the lowest literacy rates in the world, currently estimated at about 31 % of the adult population (over 15 years of age). Female literacy levels are on average 17 %, with high variation, indicating a strong geographical and gender divide. The highest female literacy rate, for instance, is 34.7 %, found in the capital, Kabul, while rates as low as 1.6 % are found in two southern provinces of the country. Male literacy rates average about 45 %, again with high variation. The highest male literacy rates are in Kabul, at 68 %, while the lowest is found in Helmand, at 41 %.

It is noticeable that a great variety of numerous players exert an incredible amount of effort to improve the educational situation. It is no surprise that the UNESCO is heavily involved in these efforts. For instance, the UNESCO program "Enhancing the Literacy in Afghanistan" (ELA) is funded for three periods of time alone, more than a decade. Furthermore, education is a long-standing topic of the World Bank, which has been vigorously active in the Afghan educational sector. The World Bank still follows the neoliberal approach, presupposing that investment in human capital will lead to economic growth and development. At the Afghanistan Conference in Brussels in October 2016, World Bank representatives still upheld their mantra. As the second of four key massages, they pointed out that "agricultural development and increased investment in human capital can drive economic growth and job creation" (The World Bank 2016b). The proof relies on statistical data: "The poor are considerably less educated than the non-poor in Afghanistan. The poor are 20 % more likely to be illiterate and 15 % less likely to have completed primary education past the age of 15" (The World Bank 2016c: 14).

Third, education plays an important role in the Cooperation Agreement on Partnership and Development (CAPD), which was signed by Afghanistan and the EU in 2015 (Tolo News 2015b). Lastly, educational activities are very important for the policies and developmental aid strategies of foreign countries. Next to the U.S.A., Japan, Denmark, Sweden, China, Iran and Germany are committed in education activities in Afghanistan at the level of national administrations and ministries on a grand scale. In terms of finance, the commitment is really high: between 2002 and 2014. USAID, the U.S. government and the Department of Defense spent about 759 Million US-Dollars on education programs (SIGAR 2016).

Table 1: DOD, State, and USAID Programs and Funding to support primary and secondary education in Afghanistan (FY 2002 – FY 2014)

	Number of Programs	Amount Spent
DOD	1	$141,725,444 a
State	7	$3,884,753 b
USAID	31	$613,974,138
Total	39	$759,584,135

Notes:

a) Although the scope of the overall audit FY 2002 covers through FY 2014, information for DOD only includes data from FY 2004 through FY 2014. DOD spent at least $141.7 million on efforts to support primary and secondary education but the total amount DOD spent is likely higher.

b) Reported State program and funding data include data from FY 2011 through FY 2014.

© SIGAR analysis of DOD, State, and USAID data (SIGAR 2016: 6)

Beneath the governmental or ministry levels, there are subordinated institutions and organizations that execute the political will to cooperate with Afghanistan's institutions and support the political developmental aims. The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) for example runs programs, mostly fellowships, all over Germany that support Afghan researchers, teachers and students who are willing to visit Germany as well as Germans who want to work in Afghanistan. Based on these programs, universities and institutes of higher education signed memorandums of understandings to foster teacher & student exchange (cf. Jawid

and Hanif in this book). Moreover, in Germany alone approximately 250 NGOs are running projects in Afghanistan, partly due to transnational relationships of Afghan migrants living in Germany, and most of them are actively involved in educational projects (cf. Harsch/Bittlingmayer in this anthology).

The number of actors committed to support the educational system in Afghanistan is vast (cf. Naumann 2012), but some actors are more visible and dominant than others in terms of delivering financial aid, etc. The Afghan Ministry of Education pointed out very clearly that their next educational Five-Year-Plan was built in close cooperation with actors from the important donor countries:

Afghanistan's Development Partners (e.g. USAID, DFID, the World Bank, the UN Agencies and the Embassies of Sweden, Canada, Germany, Australia, Japan, Norway, Finland and Denmark) have been fully involved in the planning process for NESP III. Civil society and NGO implementing partners have been represented also through the participation of the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, Save the Children, the Aga Khan Foundation and Agency Coordinating Body for Afghan Relief. (MoE 2016: 2)

The main reason why Afghan's Ministry of Education works so closely with foreign institutions is that the Afghan government is unable to finance the high cost of modernizing the educational system. The reasons why so many foreign institutions are involved in this field is that they see educational development as a long-term investment strategy for a lot of goals.

PROMISING DIMENSIONS OF EDUCATION: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, PEACE AND SECURITY, NATION BUILDING?

In international discourses on development, economy and educational sciences, education is seen as a precondition for a sound societal development. First of all, education is directly linked to economic development, particularly in terms of economic growth. During the official launch of the third phase of the UNESCO program "Enhancing the Literacy in Afghanistan" (ELA), the former Minister of Education, Farooq Wardak, said that "literacy is the only approach for improvement and growth in the country" (MoE 2013).

This direct link between education and economic growth is taken from the idea of a globalized knowledge society in which the production and application of academic, respectively scientific knowledge has become more important for value production than manual work. The theory of the knowledge society origi-

nated with Daniel Bell (1973) and Peter Drucker (1969) and outlined a postindustrial U.S.-American society in which there was a considerable change from non-skilled manual work to work done by academics (technicians, engineers). The knowledge society reflects the end or the visible decline of the fordistic production regime and the early expansion of educational participation in highly industrialized countries. As one important consequence, directly linked to the rise of digital or cognitive capitalism (Schiller 2000), the knowledge economy is said to deliver the most valuable contribution to national economies (Foray 2004). "Formal knowledge is seen as both the key personal resource and the key economic resource. Knowledge is the only meaningful resource today" (Drucker 1998: 29).

Since the 1990s, the idea of the knowledge society was heavily supported by the OECD and soon adopted by the EU (OECD 1996a, 1996b, 2000; Delors 1993; Commission of the European Communities 1994a, 1994b, 1996). After fifteen years of a global discourse about knowledge societies, most of the political administrations worldwide follow this programmatic idea – there are programs to establish knowledge societies and knowledge-based economies in India, Egypt and Brazil, China, Saudi-Arabia and Columbia, Azerbaijan, Tanzania, and also in Afghanistan (for an early critique cf. Sahrai & Sahrai 2006). It is not possible to go into detail here but the relationship between knowledge, education and economy is much more complex than the idea of a knowledge society suggests (cf. Bittlingmayer et al. 2016). For the Afghan case, it is urgent to take into consideration that an expansion of formal education does not necessarily lead to an expansion of labor market opportunities – as recent experiences in South-European countries such as Greece, Spain and Portugal have clearly shown. All of these boast a much higher rate of academics than Germany, Switzerland or Austria, while at the same time, rates of unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, are much higher in the Southern European countries mentioned.

Apart from the economic line of the argumentation for educational expansion, there is another important argument to strengthen the education of Afghan people and to increase their educational participation that is (at least partially) independent from expected economic benefits. Every Afghan has an individual right to education (cf. Jones in this volume)! Nowadays, the access to education is seen as a most valuable human right and the struggle for education, wherever it takes place, seems to be an end for itself. In this perspective, Afghanistan made visible progress and enrollment rates for children and adolescents increased remarkably (cf. Naumann and Wardak in this book). According to official data from the Afghan Ministry of Education,

[the] Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan has made significant achievements with the support of the Development Partners (DPs) in rebuilding Afghanistan's education system. The number of children in school has risen by almost nine times. Remarkable progress has been made in rebuilding schools and increasing overall enrollments from approximately 0.9 million students in 2001, almost none of them girls, to more than 9.2 million students in 1394 (2015) with 39 % of them being female. New schools have been established in rural villages to reduce the walking distance from home. The number of schools has increased from 3,400 to 16,400. (MoE 2016: 13)

Although the validity of the presented data is often questioned (cf. Naumann 2011; Naumann 2012; SIGAR 2016), it cannot be denied that much progress was made in regards to the educational participation in the last decade.

It is noteworthy that the Afghan Ministry of Education is comparatively honest in naming current and expected problems and challenges that remain a concern after investing so much donor money (cf. MoE 2011; MoE 2016: Ch. 4; Wardak in this book). But furthermore, there might be some more fundamental problems with the focus on increased enrollment rates as a catch-all indicator for a positive development. First of all, it is not clear whether the incorporation of a standardized instrument of comparison is necessarily suitable for the whole Afghan country (cf. Steck in our book). Reports on Afghanistan and its education system always emphasize that particularly in terms of standards of education it is considered a "backward" country and that its reform needs support, most of all in terms of increasing measurable dimensions like students' enrollment rates, number of university students, number of dissertations per year and so on. Although this assumption might be partly true (concerning technical development), it also implies a devaluation of all local forms of knowledge including informal ones and forms of knowledge on which the society is built in general. At the same time, Afghanistan is required to adapt officially to international standards it will never be able to live up to. The fruits of its efforts are then projected into the future with the promise that an even more thorough adaptation to international standards will finally bring success along "Western" lines.

The third aspect when it comes to education in Afghanistan, is the hope that increased participation in the education system incorporates a "peace dividend". This hope is based on different assumptions and arguments that education – in the Western idea of it – is said to be linked to the capacity of individual control in terms of violent behavior and of more reflective patterns of behavior (Elias 1976). A more systematic approach reflects the idea that schools could play a vital role and deliver a significant opportunity to support students in terms of developing, living and spreading a peace culture. A lot of programs in terms of

publishing textbooks and materials promoting peace can be mentioned in this context. The Afghan Ministry of Education, in cooperation with the German GIZ has produced teacher and student manuals for peace education (cf. Müller & Krause-Harnak as well as Stanikzai et al. in our volume). Being aware of the fact that on the other hand schools as well as text books can be misused as henchmen of structural violence, spreading war culture instead and instrumentalizing them for other (political) interests or ideological formations, makes the legitimate positioning of the school institution an ambiguous concern and explains the questioning of the same in many areas, especially in Afghanistan regarding its historical experience of invasions and interferences. The arguments and strategies in favor of peace education are often accompanied by the idea and the general hope that education will lead to more peace.

The commitment to implement peaceful, non-violent conflict transformation creatively and empathetically should nevertheless be carefully reflected on from multivariable aspects and perspectives since education cannot be negotiated upon detached from the actors financing or implementing the materials, neither from the political nor socio-cultural circumstances. Thus, implementing new materials, building up schools and other activities linked to education, always has to make sure to have the legitimacy of the population involved. Within a multiethnic, segmented – not to mention conflict-ridden – society, this is a big challenge. Another difficulty lies in the fact that the statement "more peace education less violence" is empirically hard to prove since there are a lot of empirical studies from youth sociology that do not underline this argument. Furthermore, from the perspective of development cooperation, there is another disturbing phenomenon that most suicide bombers are more educated than the average in their home countries (Burde 2014). To sum it up, the reasonable assumption that increased education leads to more peace confronts strong theoretical and empirical objections.

A last crucial benefit that is expected from investment in education concerns the significant importance accorded to education for establishing and stabilizing a national state and a national consciousness. In the sociology of education, the implementation of a standardized school system on a given territory was – in its functional dimension – always closely linked with the enforcement of a national culture. Surprisingly, this important side-effect of legitimizing the political administration as the institution being generally responsible for this system through the establishment of a well-defined educational system is openly mentioned by various actors:

The United Nations Children's Fund characterizes education as a fundamental human right that is critical to development, can promote cohesive societies, and contributes to state building. The Afghan Ministry of Education's 2011 *National Priority Plan – Education for All* characterizes education as 'not only a prerequisite for economic development but also an essential building block in national efforts of reconciliation and peace-building'. (SIGAR 2016: 1; italics deleted)

But the flipside of this argument is that the different groups of insurgents, most of all the Taleban, believe the same (cf. D. Sahrai/Bittlingmayer 2015). This is the most important reason why there is an ongoing battle for schools (Giustozzi/Franco 2011). But it is of high relevance to note that this conflict has existed for more than a hundred years.

Up to now, we have contextualized education and educational development in the light of current debates, strategies and efforts. In addition, we consider it also necessary to take on two further important dimensions that affect every current struggle for education directly and indirectly. These dimensions are firstly the history of the conflicts produced by attempts of educational reforms by political authorities, and secondly the struggle about understanding what exactly should be associated with development at all.

HISTORICAL CONFLICTS ABOUT EDUCATION IN AFGHANISTAN

As elsewhere in the world, formal education in Afghanistan has always been a privilege of the rich and powerful few. In general, education – in a broader sense of the word – has been integrated in everyday life as well as general socialization and was passed down by word of mouth and practical example from generation to generation. This informal and non-institutionalized education, imbedded in everyday life, provides the basis for vocational training as well as for the transmission of norms and values. Grassroots education has traditionally been limited to Quran schools, where pupils were taught to recite verses of the Quran. In recent years the Quran schools or madrasas gained special international attention because the Taleban regime tried to shape them into a normalized public school system.

Contrary to the scandalizations in the western press, however, these schools have not been an invention of the Taleban but have existed and still exist besides secular schools in all Islamic countries. As for modern schools, access to Quran schools has traditionally been organized hierarchically according to socio-economic background. While in such schools one could only read and recite the

Quran, in higher schools and universities translations, analyses and interpretations of religious texts were carried out in a scientific manner. But what they all have in common is the fact that they were all religiously based on secular education, only forming a minor part of higher education. Thus, secular subjects like arts, aesthetics, literature, geometry, mathematics, astronomy etc. have always been the privilege of the upper classes as well as members of the nobility and were cultivated in some cultural centers like Kabul, Balkh, Herat, Kandahar, Bamyan and mostly at the courts of kings and rulers, where tuition was provided by private teachers. The majority of the population and members of subaltern and disadvantaged ethnic groups (e.g. Hazara) were often excluded from any formal and institutional education.

The introduction, establishment and spread of the modern education system in Afghanistan cannot be fully understood without considering the national and international political and historical background. Thus, the direction a school system is given and the way it is established in each historical moment, always relates to the general political and ideological attitudes of the dominating powers towards e.g. modernization, religion and development in the country. In addition, it is always a result of efforts to create and/or maintain a national identity and sovereignty as well as build a nation-state with a central power along the lines of western democracies – a project not so easily accomplished for the Afghan society. Nevertheless, a public-school system is seen as one of the most important instruments to achieve this goal. Finally, the constitution of public education has always been regarded by foreign powers – Great Britain, the Soviet Union and now the U.S. – as a means to "westernize" the country, to bring it under their hegemonic power and thus to extend colonial policies also into the cultural sphere. This may also have been the main reason for the strong efforts of the British in materially and ideologically supporting a public education system in Afghanistan. The role of the British and other powers in developing an Afghan education system will be dealt with in the following sections.

The beginnings of the modern education system in Afghanistan can be dated to 1904. At that time King Habibullah Khan – supported by teachers from British India – founded Habibia, the first modern high school in Kabul, which was under British administration until 1919. This school aimed i.a. to contract qualified staff for the Afghan administration to modernize the country politically, economically and administratively. One of the most important and influential figures for the modernization process of education and society in Afghanistan was Mahmud Tarzi. Influenced by western education and the "young Turks", he returned to Afghanistan after King Habibullah ascended the throne in 1901. He was eager to modernize the country and to provide access to education for everybody. Tarzi,

who is often called the father of modernization in Afghanistan, struggled against the British, fought for a strong and sovereign Afghan nation-state. Moreover, he was convinced that education was the only means to bring freedom and independence to Afghanistan. Tarzi's notion of education was steeped in western concepts. He and like-minded intellectuals struggled for the constitution of a national education system according to a western model: they translated classic literary works of the age of enlightenment, and Tarzi was also considerably involved in the foundation of the Habibia High School.

The political efforts concerning education in Afghanistan were linked paradoxically between the Afghan intellectuals and the British. Although Tarzi, as well as other intellectuals and the British were working to build an exhaustive enrollment and a public-school system, their main motives were clearly opposed to each other. Afghan intellectuals had an enlightened, emphatic, emancipative notion of education. For them education was an instrument which was meant to enable the Afghans to reach international standards in technological, medical and scientific fields. On the other hand, education was supposed to enhance a critical stance towards the powers and allow a free and sovereign life. The British intentions in developing a public education system were partially aimed at the adjustment of the country to international standards and to the transfer of technical know-how. Nevertheless, most of the time the British did not attempt to strengthen the emancipative forces through the extension of the education system in the first place, but rather strengthen and enforce British cultural hegemony (Sakhawaz 2005).

Thus, a paradox situation existed with two groups of actors having divergent motives who worked for the proliferation of modern public education. Tarzi had to struggle for his ideals against the government and had to deal with censorship and limitations in his work during the reign of King Habibullah Khan. After the accession of King Amanullah and the proclamation of Afghan independence in 1919 he received official support from the government. King Amanullah was urging – along the model of Turkey's Mustafa Kemal Ataturk – a modern, western-like, but independent and sovereign Afghan state. This included also the introduction of an institutionalized national public education system.

Under the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan (1919-1929), the youngest son of Amir Habibullah Khan, new schools of diverse kinds emerged. They were not only established in the capital of Kabul – which at the same time was the modern cultural center of the country – but also in the provinces. More than three hundred elementary and primary schools, vocational schools in technical and agricultural sectors were included, most of them established in the course of only three years (Sadri 2002). For the first time Amanullah established a feeless com-

pulsory six-year education in Afghanistan. Scholarships gave students the opportunity to study in foreign countries, and women also gained access to universities.

The educational modernization process suffered a harsh setback after Amanullah was toppled due to the usurpation of the throne by Amir Habibullah Kalakani (also derogatorily called Bachae-Saqao "son of a water carrier", a very low position in the Afghan social structure, by the people), who was supported by British strategic, military and financial aid. Although being in power for only nine months, Habibullah Kalakani managed to repeal all reforms initiated by Amanullah, for instance the extension of girls' schools, the abolition of the prescription of veiling of women and other steps towards modernization.

King Nader Khan, who took power in 1929, began his reign with rather careful and moderate steps towards modernization in order to prevent agitations among the population. For example reforms concerning women's rights were once again abolished. King Nader Khan was killed by a student in 1933 and his son Zahir Shah became the new king of Afghanistan, he reigned over Afghanistan until 1973. During the sixties and the seventies of the 20th century, the Afghan education system reached its first peak of new as well as reopened schools and enrollment rates. The increasing number of new schools was facilitated by foreign aid of the great industrial powers which i.a. followed the logic of hegemonic and political interests of the Cold War. After the Second World War and especially during the fifties and sixties, Afghanistan had been in the focus of ideological and political competition. Both East and West were forthcoming in generously promoting the development of the country according to their own ideological direction. The same applied to the opening of schools and the supply of teachers and teaching materials. The re-openings of the Afghan-German Amani High School and the anglophone Habibia as well as the establishment of the francophone Esteqlal High School are some of the examples for this policy. The rising number of high school graduates led to an increased demand for higher education, which could not be met by the few universities and technical schools of the country. The growing demands for the improvement of the education system resulted in ideologically and politically motivated protests – a mechanism which is clearly described by Pierre Bourdieus study "Homo academicus" for the French student movement in the 1960s (Bourdieu 1984).

A new intellectual elite was established during this era. Most of them had studied in foreign countries and – enthusiastic about the development in those countries – sought to import progress and development to Afghanistan. During this period not only the demands for more technical progress, but also for better education, improved medical care, more political participation and even for the

abolishment of the monarchy were raised. To put it in a nutshell, a better life for all. In the sixties of the 20th century, Afghanistan's universities became the main combat area for a range of political groups who struggled amongst themselves on the one hand and against the government on the other. In some phases the monarchy was forced to make concessions to avoid further protests during that time. Interestingly, general education was not introduced until 1975, when the king's cousin and former Prime Minister Daud Khan staged a coup against the king and declared himself president: that was the end of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic of Afghanistan. In the so-called fundamental reforms, the six-year primary school and the three-year rural school were restructured into the eight-year primary school (Kazemi-Trensch 2003: 78).

After the overthrow of Daud Khan's regime and the assumption of power by Taraki and the socialist "Democratic People's Party of Afghanistan" in April 1978, radical reforms were introduced for the first time since Amanullah (1919 – 1929). In a very short period of time, a series of radical reforms were decreed in the fields of law, political participation, land ownership, education and last but not least equal rights for men and women were introduced (Grevemeyer 1990). Alhough these reforms proceeded within the scope of a strategic assumption of power, especially girls and women have profited from these reforms in the education sector. This applies also to some ethnic minority groups who had been culturally and linguistically discriminated. Thus, for the first time in Afghan history, there was a supply of books, teaching materials, radio- and television broadcasts in Uzbek language. Despite many reform efforts, Afghan education hardly progressed in a sustainable way. Reasons for this were, among others, mass-emigration particularly of the well-educated middle classes who mostly belonged to the privileged Shah supporters. Another reason was the war between the socialist government supported by the Soviet Union and the Mudjahedin, supported by foreign powers, above all Pakistan, USA, Saudi Arabia and China. During the period of socialist power, schools and universities worked at least in the urban areas. The situation became more fragile after the collapse of the communist regime in 1992, due to internal power struggles among the different groups of Mudjahedin and the following civil war. Thus, for the first time Kabul had been so strongly hit by the civil war that school and university infrastructures were seriously affected. After the assumption of power by the Taleban however, public education as it was established, suffered a complete collapse when the new rulers made schools and universities systematically inaccessible, especially for women. Most of them have been converted to Koran schools and thus religious education became the primary focus. A new euphoria about an ex-

tended education emerged after the collapse of the Taleban and the American invasion in the year 2002.

Issues of (Educational) Development

Development is an evasive term (see Kößler in this volume). Most versions of a socio-economic development discourse address, in one way or the other, issues of late development or in other terms, late industrialization or modernization. Sparked by the industrial revolution, which started in England during the last third of the 18th century, attempts and strategies proliferated around the globe to stand up to the challenge posed by this momentous change. Besides falling prices of commodities such as cotton cloth, these challenges concerned particularly the extension of Britain's and, more generally, Western Europe's military power. A series of drives for self-strengthening therefore strove to secure the means to fend off what was seen as a vital danger to societies which increasingly came under duress. These dangers ranged from colonial or semi-colonial occupation to deeply-rooted social upheaval. Strategists of self-strengthening met with various successes, as can be seen from instances such as the reforms of Tsar Alexander II of Russia from 1856 onwards, the Tongzhi Restauration (1862-1874) in China, the Meiji Restauration in Japan from 1868, the defeat of Italian colonialism by Emperor Menelik II of Ethiopia in 1896, or the efforts of King Mandume ya Ndemufayo of Oukwanyama in today's northern Namibia and southern Angola which ended in defeat in 1917.

The reforms staged by successive kings in Afghanistan, above all Amir Amanullah, also fall into this line of efforts to grapple with the colonial challenge. Self-strengthening was predicated on appropriating crucial technologies that had emerged with the industrial revolution. In many cases, the strategy involved also attempts to avoid what was seen as deleterious effects of industrialization, such as the rapid growth of towns and the formation of an urban proletariat, along with the risks of social upheaval. Many of the issues that were debated a century later under the headings of modernization or development were already broached in hammering out strategies for early late comers which before the 1850s and 1860s included also the U.S. or Germany.

One of the approaches that still figures quite prominently in debates on development goes back to the German economist and politician Friedrich List who in 1841 published a book that may be seen as a blueprint of self-strengthening with reference to Germany. One of List's mainstays (see further Kößler in this volume) was his emphasis on 'productive forces', and here, mental capital, edu-

cation and science figured prominently (see e.g. Daastøl 2016: 89-91). For such reasons, popular education and the qualification of the workforce have been widely considered as a vital prerequisite of successful catching up with supposedly advanced countries. This is not only because participation in industrial and generally modernized work processes requires at the very least proficiency in the famous 'R3s' – reading, reckoning and writing – and by now much more, such as a certain degree of dexterity in computers. Moreover, from its beginnings the school and in particular when it became a compulsory public institution everybody had to pass through, has functioned as a powerful instrument of secondary socialization, instilling into learners (self-)discipline and often also ideological stances such as nationalist convictions (cf. Thien 1984).

Such forms of education and deeply-rooted educational change then may have been conducive and indeed indispensable for late development. But they were in any case also quite invasive – not only for the children subjected to this form of learning, but also to the families from which vital portions of the socialization process were taken and placed into the public realm, out of their control and subject to administrative whims and scrutiny. Even in a country like Germany, parts of which have known compulsory school education for more than two centuries, these issues have by no means fully been laid aside – just consider the sometimes heated debates about day care for very young children.

The suitability of forms of schooling that may in one way or the other be considered as traditional at least in some areas, or of religious schools, may, especially from a mainstream developmental point of view, be seen quite critically. Such an evaluation will pertain at least as long as such institutions are not seen to convey the vital dexterities needed to function within a modernized environment. As mentioned, also religious schools come in quite different forms in Afghanistan and may hold attractions for those who can afford them. However, even then, from a developmental perspective, one would need to question the curriculum of such institutions. In the past, even an expanded education sector has led, in a number of countries, to frustration and academic unemployment when people did not take heed of actual needs for expertise or took upward mobility for granted as a spoil for higher education as such. Similar issues may arise from an emphasis on religious subjects. Again, mother tongue instruction is seen frequently as a means to bring the school nearer to the people, but once again this device offers a number of pitfalls (see Jones in this volume). Not least, these include the issue of linking up to up-to-date technology, otherwise seen as a prime reward for an advanced educational system.

Furthermore, all of these considerations have to be read under the caveat that the endeavor of catching up, which is germane to any strategy of development,

and, particularly, to the promises such strategies are associated with for those who may suffer and sacrifice for this goal, may well prove to be as elusive as the term itself (see Kößler in this volume).

CONTENT OF THE BOOK

In this book we try to catch up with the challenge of the complex topic education and development in Afghanistan through a mixture of theoretical and empirical contributions as well as contributions that present concrete projects in the educational settings and political statements at the end of the book.

In the first book section "Development and Education for Peace? Some Perspectives" contributions are presented which question the widely agreed close link between education, peace and development. Reinhart Kößler starts with a critique about the notion of development which is deeply rooted in optimistic modernization theories, hardly applicable for most of the countries located in the Global South. Afterwards, Adele Jones gives some background to the multiple languages of Afghanistan, the inclusion of 'minority' languages in National Education Strategic Plans, and considers their role in Afghanistan's national cohesion/reconstruction, and current national, minority and foreign language teaching implementation strategies. She argues that there is a clear case to be made for the right of people to learn their own language, but there is also the question of the development of quality textbooks, and training teachers to teach other minority languages, and with it, the involvement of communities. Stefanie Harsch and Uwe H. Bittlingmayer analyze the commitment of German NGOs that run educational projects in Afghanistan. They present data from an empirical online-survey they have conducted. The survey shows that Afghan migrants, living in Germany are often involved in long-term engagement in Afghanistan, including in rural regions, and to make excellent use of their access to funds and expertise from abroad. In the last contribution of the first section Thomas Ruttig gives a comprehensive overview over the historical and current dimensions of the conflicts on education, including an analysis of the educational situation and policy under the Taleban reign. His conclusion is that Afghanistan does not only need a functioning education system and a well-educated new generation, but also a political solution to the current conflicts and an end to the war. According to Ruttig, only this will ensure that much of what has been built after 2001 – despite an often agonizingly slow progress – can be protected and built on.

The next section of the book "Teacher Education and Higher Education in Afghanistan" comprises four articles that give an overview about the current sta-

tus of different realms of the Afghan educational system. Susan Wardak starts focusing on Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs), which were one of the main fundaments for the education expansion in the last fifteen years. Wardak argues that the current situation is, to some degree, much more stable than after the fall of Taleban reign in 2002. TTCs constitute a successful parallel structure in teacher education study programs next to the study programs of the universities. She shows the history of the structure of teacher education as well as recent trends. By establishing TTCs across the country a country-wide educational strategy was implemented that reaches not only the urban areas – the traditional field of universities – but also the remote areas that are traditionally hard to reach by educational policy. The second article of this section from Craig C. Naumann presents some very rare empirical data of the development of the Afghan educational system. He argues that most of the data – even the officially used – are not valid, particularly if shares and percentages are published. An amount of 50 percent enrolled students for example requires a census to know the exact share of the numerator. Therefore, almost every published number in the educational sector (but not exclusively there, the same is true for the health sector) are built by extrapolations based on small sample sizes and contain a very high amount of insecurity. Naumann tries to be more precise and argues that the official successstory of the Afghan educational system after the Taleban-reign must be relativized. In the next contribution, Asadullah Jawid analyzes the development of private tertiary education, particularly from the perspective of the Gawharshad Institute of Higher Education. According to Jawid, private higher education is one of the most dynamic and fastest-growing segments in Afghanistan. He presents empirical data over the recent history, gives an overview over the permanently increasing numbers of study programs and identifies challenges and opportunities. He introduces the Gawharshad IoHE as a typical example of a comparatively young institution in tertiary education. However, the conclusion of Jawid is partly ambivalent: there is a remarkable increase of private higher education on the one hand. On the other hand, most of the Institutes of Higher Education are profit-driven which could be a problem for the future development of Afghanistan. In the last chapter of this section, Pohand Hanif presents the 1957-founded Herat University as the counterpart of private higher education. Since its beginning, this university was specialized in teacher education programs. Hanif also points out some historical developments of this institution, the topical situation (e.g. the remarkable high number of female students) and current challenges for Herat University (e.g. to increase the number of female university teachers).

In the third section of the book "Educational Programs and Projects" governmental and non-governmental projects in the realm of education were de-

scribed in order to make the extraordinary large heterogeneity within the educational field explicit. The first contribution from Razia Stanikzai, Khalil Fazli and Dianne Denton introduces a peace curriculum development project that is internationally embedded (TED, UNESCO, GIZ, BEPA, ZFD) and closely linked to the Teacher Training Colleges (TTCs). According to Stanikzai et al., a teacher training course has been developed which is a mandatory part of the study program of the country-wide enrolled 35.000 teacher education-students at TTCs. In this article they also present evaluation results based on an evaluation of the implementation phase of the peace education program. In their view, the peace education program in Afghanistan serves as a useful case study for how behavior change and skills-building teacher education programs can be effectively developed and rolled out in conflict contexts. In the second contribution Andrea Müller shows the German engagement as one visible supporter of the Afghan educational system and outlines the contribution of the German government from 2004 on. Müller argues that Germany's governmental efforts could be categorized in three different phases: In 2004 the Basic and Secondary Education Programme for Afghanistan (BEPA) was established by the German Ministry of International Cooperation (BMZ). The first phase was most of all an emergency response. In a second phase BEPA acted as a service provider und supported different partners (TED; TTCs, schools, etc.). In the current third phase the need to change the role of BEPA from being a service provider to being a facilitator and change agent became evident.

The following three contributions of this section represent different projects of the Deutsch-Afghanische Initiative e. V. (DAI; German-Afghan Initiative), located in Freiburg, Germany, in order to trace the heterogeneous commitments of NGOs and private engagements. These three projects should serve as examples of low-budget projects from small NGOs in the educational field which are often under the radar of (official) discourses about education in Afghanistan. But these kinds of projects are part of the transnational relationships that heavily influence the educational efforts in Afghanistan besides the public educational actors. In the first contribution Heide Kässer presents a private initiative to support mainly economically underprivileged girls from the countryside of Herat during their study period at Herat University. This project dates back to 2005 (DAI 2016). Kässer describes the project history and project developments and also includes statements from the supported persons. With their low-budget students' project, they have been able to support around 50 students in a couple of years. She concluded that this project can only be regarded as a modest substitute for a governmental task but at least it can serve as a role model for low-budget projects supporting the educational structures in Afghanistan and particularly vul-

nerable groups. The next contribution from Sarghuna Nashir-Steck introduces a project that is also based in the province of Herat and associated with the DAI. It focuses on the support of Kuchi-nomads in terms of preservations of their traditional ways of living as well as in terms of educating children of the Kuchis which have traditionally little access to education. According to Steck, the poor educational opportunities for the Kuchis and their children will very likely not improve remarkably in the next years due to general policy strategies from Kabul which aim to settle the Kuchis. Steck presents in her article an unresolved and tricky problem for the idea to educate all children in Afghanistan (MoE 2011, 2016) as best as possible. Another private project is introduced by Pascale Goldenberg, a textile artist from Freiburg. Her project is located in Laghmani, Parwan province, and aims to support young women in remote areas in their traditional skills in embroidery. Today around 200 women from Laghmani produce little pieces of textile embroideries. Goldenberg organizes exhibitions, gives talks and sells the pieces in Western countries in order to sell them directly. In her contribution, she draws a line from traditional handicraft skills to educational practices.

The last two contributions of this section focus on the cultural heritage of Afghanistan from different perspectives. Both articles try to show that Afghanistan is much more than war and violence and aim towards reinventing knowledge about Afghan history, particularly for Afghanistan's younger generation in and outside of Afghanistan. In her article Laila Sahrai presents a project conducted in Leipzig, Germany, addressing children and adolescents from Afghanistan and their parents. The project "History Alive" took place in 2012 for one year and aimed at contributing to the development of a cross-cultural historical consciousness while at the same time strengthening the intercultural consciousness in the German society. According to L. Sahrai, this project established an open space and created the opportunity to deal with very different aspects and approaches of Afghan culture – e.g. Afghan music, current lifestyles and fashion or Afghan history – and led to very personal reflections on cultural identity under circumstances of migration. In the last contribution of this section Dominic Wirz, Anke Schürer-Ries and Paul Bucherer-Dietschi present some insights and practices of documentation from the Bibliotheca Afghanica, a worldwide known research library and a place for systematic documentation of Afghanistan, which is located in Bubendorf, Canton Baselbiet Switzerland. For more than 40 years, the Bibliotheca Afghanica works successfully to preserve Afghan nature, history and culture and either conducts research by themselves or enables interested people to do research on a wide range of topics around Afghanistan (cf. Koellreuter/Seidt 2015). In their contribution for this anthology

they introduced the ongoing project Phototheca Afghanica. The aim of this project is building an archive of images and visual material of historic Afghanistan in order to bring Afghan history to Afghan people, at least digitally. The article gives a few examples of historical perspectives and analysis based on images. Establishing an archive of historical images could have positive effects on a national consciousness of Afghans that is not limited to current negative experiences of war, civil war and occupation.

The book ends with a section of "Concluding Statements" from people living inside Afghanistan or in exile. The section starts with a short statement from an Afghan, living in German exile, which for security reasons has been kept anonymous. He argues a better future for Afghanistan – without exception – depends on a peace agreement with the Taleban. Educational efforts for people in Afghanistan are relativized in this statement and clearly subordinated under the necessity to bring durable peace to Afghanistan. The second statement comes from Laila Noor, daughter of the last mayor in Kabul before the military campaign of the Soviet Union in 1979 and chairwoman of the Independent Afghan Women Association (IAWA). In her statement she reconstructs her role as a political activist in German exile, focusing mainly on the rights of women. During the last one-and-a-half decades, a lot of educational projects, including school buildings, were conducted. According to Noor, the main task of the IAWA is to help establish educational structures in Afghanistan. In this regard she claims that the building of 2000 more schools in Afghanistan would be necessary in order to fulfill the educational needs for all the children who are still waiting for educational access.

The last statement of this anthology comes from the Alternative Nobel-Prize Awardee Sima Samar, who is well known as a medical doctor who runs hospitals and health care centers in contested areas in Afghanistan. Comparatively little is known about her remarkable commitment in the educational realm. She is for instance a co-founder of the Gawharshad-Institute of Higher Education. In her statement she argues from the human rights perspective and mentions that the access to quality education is first of all a human right of every living person, independently how difficult regional or local circumstances might be. She points out that the low level of education in Afghanistan is, for a great variety of reasons, a continuous cause for the prolongation of the Afghan conflict. Therefore, education must not be seen as a target to reach in times of peace but education itself is an emergency and needs to be immediately addressed if a durable peace in Afghanistan should be a realistic option.

LIST OF REFERENCES/BIBLIOGRAPHY

Altai (2006). *Integration of Returnees in the Afghan Labor Market. An Empirical Study*. October 2006. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms_184885.pdf (15.01.2018).

Bell, Daniel (1973). *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*. New York: Basic Books.

Bijlert, Martine van (2015*). After the Rollercoaster Comes What? Afghanistan in 2015*. AAN [Afghan Analysts Network], January 7th. Retrieved from https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/after-the-rollercoaster-comes-what-afghanistan-in-2015/ (03.01.2017).

Bittlingmayer, Uwe H., Boutiuc, Alina F., Heinemann, Lars & Kotthoff, Hans-Georg (2016). Jumping to Conclusions – The PISA Knee-Jerk: Some Remarks on the Current Economic-Educational Discourse. *European Education*, *48 (4),* 294-305.
DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10564934.2016.1249188.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1990). *Homo Academicus*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Burde, Dana (2014). *Schools for Conflict or for Peace in Afghanistan*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Commission of the European Communities (1994a). *Europe and the global information society. Recommendations to the European Council.* EU: Brussels (High-level group on the information society – Bangemann Report).

Commission of the European Communities (1994b). *Europe's way to the information society. An action plan*. Brussels: European Commission.

Commission of the European Communities (1996). *The implications of the information society for the European Union – Policies preparing the next steps*. Brussels: European Commission.

Daastøl, Arno Mong (2016). Friedrich List: the international dynamics of mindpower. In E. Reinert, J. Ghosh & R. Kattel (Eds.), *Handbook of Alternative Theories of Economic Development* (pp. 87-108). Cheltenham & Northampton, US-MA: Edward Elgar.

Delors, Jacques et al. (1993). *Learning: The Treasure Within*. Report to UNESCO of the International Commission on Education for the Twenty-first Century. New York: UNESCO Publications.

Drucker, Peter (1969). *The Age of Discontinuity. Guidelines to our Changing Society*. Boston: Heinemann.

Drucker, Peter (1998). From Capitalism to Knowledge Society. In D. Neef (Ed.), *The Knowledge Economy* (pp. 15-34). Boston et al.: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Elias, Norbert (1976). *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*. Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp.

Foray, Dominique (2004). *Economics of Knowledge*. Cambridge, Mass., London: MIT Press.

GCPEA [Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack] (2014). *Education under Attack*. Retrieved from http://protectingeducation.org/sites/default/files/documents/eua_2014_full_0.pdf (01.07.2018).

German Government [Die Bundesregierung] (2015). *Das deutsche Engagement in Afghanistan*. Berlin: Presse- und Informationsamt.

Giustozzi, Antonio & Franco, Claudio (2011). *The Battle for the Schools. The Taleban and State Education*. AAN Thematic Report 08/2011. Retrieved from https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/10/2011TalebanEducation.pdf (01.07.2018).

Giustozzi, Antonio & Franco, Claudio (2013). *The Ongoing Battle for the Schools: Uprisings, Negotiations and Taleban Tactics*. AAN Briefing Paper 2/2013. Retrieved from https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/20130610_AAN_Taleban_and_Schools_FINAL.pdf (01.12.2017).

Grevemeyer, Jan-Heeren (1990). *Afghanistan. Sozialer Wandel und Staat im 20. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: VWB.

Habibi, Gulbadan & Hunte, Pamela (2006). *Afghan Returnees from NWFP, Pakistan, to Nangahar Province*. AREU Case Study. Retrieved from https://areu.org.af/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/609E-Returnees-from-NWFP-to-Nangarhar-CS-web.pdf (15.01.2018).

Heath, Jennifer & Zahedi, Ashraf (Eds.). (2015). *Children of Afghanistan: The Path to Peace*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Heath, Jennifer (2015). Introduction. In J. Heath & A. Zahedi (Eds.), *Children of Afghanistan: The Path to Peace* (pp. 1-33). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Kazemi-Trensch, Nosrat (2003). *Bildung von Mädchen und Berufsleben der Frauen in drei islamischen Ländern: Afghanistan, Iran, Jordanien. Ein Vergleich*. Unveröffentlichte Dissertation, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg. Verfügbar unter http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/4407/1/Dissertation.pdf (15.01.2018).

Koellreuter, Andreas & Seidt, Hans-Ulrich (Hrsg.). (2015). *40 Jahre Bibliotheca Afghanica. Beiträge zu Recht, Politik und Kultur in Afghanistan*. Liestal: Verlag Basel-Landschaft.

Krüger, Uwe (2014). *Schadensfall Afghanistan. Ein Krieg und seine Folgen*. Bonn: Bouvier.

Kux, Dennis & Tenham, Georges (2015). *Eine "Schweizer Lösung" für Afghanistan* [A Swiss Solution for Afghanistan]. In A. Koellreuter & H.-U. Seidt (Hrsg.), *40 Jahre Bibliotheca Afghanica. Beiträge zu Recht, Politik und Kultur in Afghanistan* (S. 181-184). Liestal: Verlag Basel-Landschaft.

Ministry of Education (MoE) (2011). *National Education Strategic Plan for Afghanistan II*. 1385 – 1389 [2011 – 2016]. Kabul, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan: Ministry of Education.

Ministry of Education (MoE) (2013). Joint Press Release. 22.10.2013. *The Programme for Enhancement of Literacy in Afghanistan Phase III* (ELA 3). Kabul, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan: Ministry of Education. Retrieved from http://moe.gov.af/en/news/joint-press-release (15.01.2018).

Ministry of Education (MoE) (2016). *National Education Strategic Plan III*. 2017 – 2021. Kabul, Islamic Republic of Afghanistan: Ministry of Education.

Naumann, Craig C. (2011). *Modernizing Education in Afghanistan: Cycles of Expansion and Contraction in Historical Perspective*. Lisbon: Periploi.

Naumann, Craig C. (2012). *Books, Bullets, and Burqas: Anatomy of a Crisis – Educational Development, Society, and the State in Afghanistan*. Wien/ Berlin: Lit.

OECD (1996a). *The Knowledge-Based Economy*. Paris: OECD.

OECD (1996b). *Technology, Productivity and Job Creation: The OECD Jobs Strategy*. Paris: OECD.

OECD (2000). *Knowledge Management in the Learning Society: Education and Skills*. Paris: OECD.

Ruttig, Thomas (2014). Einiges besser, nichts wirklich gut. In H. Thielecke (Hrsg.), *Am Ende nichts? Krieg in Afghanistan – Bilanz und Ausblick* (S. 11-21). Potsdam: WeltTrends.

Ruttig, Thomas (2015). Unerreichbare Schätze. Die riesigen Rohstoffvorkommen sind die einzige Hoffnung für das bettelarme Land. In S. Hansen (Hrsg.), *Die große Unruhe. Afghanistan und seine Nachbarn* (S. 33-37). Bd. 17 Le Monde diplomatique Berlin. Berlin: TAZ.

Sadri, Mir Hafizuddin (2002). Erziehung, Bildung und Schulwesen in Afghanistan In Afrikanisch-Asiatische Studienförderung e. V. (Hrsg.), *Afghanistan – Hoffnung und Perspektiven. Beiträge zu einem interkulturellen Wissensverständnis und zu den internationalen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen* (S. 137-166). Jahrbuch 2002. Frankfurt a. M./London: IKO.

Sahrai, Diana & Bittlingmayer, Uwe H. (2015). Entwicklung durch Bildung? Anmerkungen zur Idee, Afghanistan durch Bildungsexpansion nachholend zu entwickeln. In G. Hauck, I. Lenz & H. Wienold (Hrsg.), *Entwicklung,*

Gewalt, Gedächtnis. Festschrift für Reinhart Kößler (S. 215-233). Münster: Westfälisches Dampfboot.

Sahrai, Diana & Sahrai, Omar-Khaled (2006). Wissensgesellschaft und Globalisierung. Ein entwicklungssoziologischer Seitenblick. In U. H. Bittlingmayer & U. Bauer (Hrsg.), *Die „Wissensgesellschaft". Mythos, Ideologie oder Realität* (S. 373-397). Wiesbaden: VS.

Sahrai, Omar-Khaled (2018). *Ethnizität, Widerstand und politische Legitimation in pashtunischen Stammesgebieten Afghanistans und Pakistans*. Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang.

Saito, Mamiko (2015). Education in Transition: A Key Concern for Young Afghan Returnees. In J. Heath & A. Zahedi (Eds.), *Children of Afghanistan: The Path to Peace* (pp. 241-254). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Sakhawaz, Bashir (2005). *The Role of Afghan Intellectuals in Modernisation and Independence from Britain*. Retrieved from http://archive.goftaman.com/daten/en/articles/article47.htm (12.07.2018).

Schiller, Dan (2000). *Digital Capitalism: Networking the Global Market System*. Massachusetts: MIT Press.

SIGAR [Special Inspector General for Afghanistan Reconstruction] (2016). *Primary and Secondary Education in Afghanistan: Comprehensive Assessments Needed to Determine the Progress and Effectiveness of Over $759 Million in DOD, State, and USAID Programs*. SIGAR 16-32 AUDIT REPORT. April 2016. Retrieved from https://www.sigar.mil/pdf/audits/SIGAR-16-32-AR.pdf (15.01.2018).

Spink, Jeaniene (2005). Education and politics in Afghanistan: the importance of an education system in peacebuilding and reconstruction. *Journal of Peace Education, 2 (2)*, 195-207.

Thapa, Manish, Dhungana, Raj Kumar, Mahalingam, Bhuvaneswari & Conilleau, Jerome (2010). *Mainstreaming Peace Education in South Asia Learning and Recommendations from Afghanistan, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka*. Save the Children Sweden. Retrieved from https://resourcecentre.savethechildren.net/sites/default/files/documents/3255.pdf (15.01.2018).

The Guardian (2014). *The price of an education for Afghan refugees in Iran*. Written by Marketa Hulpachova. Friday, 5 September 2014 13:45. Retrieved from https://www.theguardian.com/world/iran-blog/2014/sep/05/iranthe-afghanistan-refugees (15.01.2018).

Thien, Hans-Günter (1984). *Schule Staat und Lehrerschaft. Zur historischen Genese bürgerlicher Erziehung in Deutschland und England (1790-1918)*. Frankfurt a. M./New York: Campus.

Tolo News (2015a). *AIHRC Reports Millions Embezzled Through 'Ghost Schools' in Ghor Province*. Written by Jawed Ziaratjayee. Friday, 26 June 2015 19:46. Retrieved from https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/aihrc-reports-millions-embezzled-through-ghost-schools-ghor-province (15.01.2018).

Tolo News (2015b). *EU, Afghanistan Finalize Cooperation Agreement*. Written by Zabiullah Jahanmal. Friday, 3 July 2015 19:01. Retrieved from https://www.tolonews.com/afghanistan/eu-afghanistan-finalize-cooperation-agreement (15.01.2018).

Tolo News (2015c). *Millions Embezzled In Ghost Teacher Scam: Baghlan Officials*. Written by Hamid Shirzai, Sunday, 18 October 2015 18:45. Retrieved from https://www.tolonews.com/index.php/afghanistan/millions-embezzled-ghost-teacher-scam-baghlan-officials (15.01.2018).

Tolo News (2016a). *Task Team Uncovers Hundreds Of Ghost Schools*. Written by Tamim Hamid, Saturday, 02 January 2016 18:27. Retrieved from https://www.tolonews.com/node/12463 (15.01.2018).

Tolo News (2016b). *Ghani Receives New Findings On 'Ghost Schools'*. Written by Anisa Shaheed, Tuesday, 05 January 2016 19:01. Retrieved from https://www.tolonews.com/index.php/afghanistan/ghani-receives-new-findings-ghost-schools (15.01.2018).

Trading Economics (2018). *Afghanistan Unemployment Rate*. Retrieved from https://tradingeconomics.com/afghanistan/unemployment-rate (12.07.2018).

UNESCO Office in Kabul (2016). *Enhancement of Literacy in Afghanistan (ELA) program*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/new/en/kabul/education/enhancement-of-literacy-in-afghanistan-ela-program/ (26.12.2016).

Wilkens, Ann (2016). *To Say It Like It Is: Norway's evaluation of its part in the international intervention*. AAN Report. 23.08.2016. Retrieved from https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/to-say-it-like-it-is-norways-evaluation-of-its-part-in-the-international-intervention/ (06.07.2018).

World Bank (2016a). *Afghanistan Unemployment Rate*. Retrieved from http://www.tradingeconomics.com/afghanistan/unemployment-rate (31.12.2016).

World Bank (2016b). *Feature Story: World Bank: Agriculture and Education can drive Afghanistan's development*. Retrieved from http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2016/10/05/world-bank-agriculture-and-education-can-drive-afghanistans-development (26.12.2016).

World Bank (2016c). *Afghanistan. Systematic Country Diagnostics*. Retrieved from http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/302911468190767498/pdf/103421-SCD-P152891-SecM2016-0055-IDA-SecM2016-0041-IFC-SecM2016-0029-MIGA-SecM2016-0028-OUO-9.pdf (26.12.2016).

World Bank (2018). *The World Bank in Afghanistan. Overview.* Retrieved from http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/afghanistan/overview (15.01.2018).