



ADVANCE SOCIAL SCIENCE ARCHIVE JOURNAL

Available Online: <https://assajournal.com>
 Vol. 04 No. 02. Oct-Dec 2025. Page#.545-557
 Print ISSN: [3006-2497](#) Online ISSN: [3006-2500](#)
 Platform & Workflow by: [Open Journal Systems](#)

**Development in Peril: Assessing Education Opportunities in Post-Conflict South Waziristan****Saad Ullah Shaheen**

Department of Development Studies COMSATS University Islamabad, Abbottabad Campus

Email: saadm162@gmail.com**Omar Masoom Wazir**

Department of Development Studies COMSATS University Islamabad, Abbottabad Campus

Email: masoomwazir@gmail.com**Jannat Noor Lodhi**

Department of Development Studies COMSATS University Islamabad, Abbottabad Campus

Email: noorlodhi13@gmail.com**Muhammad Tanveer Jamal**

Department of Humanities COMSATS University Islamabad, Abbottabad Campus

Email: tanveerchishti@cuiatd.edu.pk**Hamayun Khan**

Department of Development Studies COMSATS University Islamabad, Abbottabad Campus

Email: hamayun@cuiatd.edu.pk**ABSTRACT**

This study explores the complex dynamics surrounding educational opportunities in post-conflict South Waziristan, a region that has long grappled with instability, militarization, and socio-cultural constraints. The study examines key barriers affecting access to education in the area. Furthermore, the study also assesses the role of government, local community, NGOs, and international aid agencies in shaping educational outcomes in the area. The present study uses a mixed methodology research approach, and data was gathered using interview guides and questionnaires from respondents, including community people, government officials, and NGO workers. The study findings reveal that while some progress has been made in the education sector, particularly regarding schools' infrastructure development, challenges still persist that restrict educational opportunities in the area. The study found various challenges, such as security checkpoints, curfews, economic hardship, gender-based differences, and inadequate communication infrastructure, are some of the major challenges people face. Cultural norms and limited mobility in post-conflict situations continue to disproportionately affect girls. Half of the respondents reported feeling unsafe attending schools, and a majority rated the education system as either ineffective or average after the conflict. The study findings show that despite the presence of various national education and development policies, gaps in implementation, lack of coordination between civil and military, and weak community ownership continue to undermine efforts toward inclusive and sustainable educational outcomes.

Keywords: Post-Conflict, Education, South Waziristan, Development Challenges.

Introduction

South Waziristan is a strategically significant district in northwestern Pakistan, formerly part of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA), and merged with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) under the 25th Constitutional Amendment in 2018. The merger was mainly done to ensure better governance, economic development, and security reforms (Yousaf, 2019; Ahmed, 2020).

The region has been profoundly shaped by decades of conflict, particularly after the U.S. invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, which allowed groups such as Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) to establish control in the area, leading to violent confrontations with the state, causing displacement of the whole population from the area and destruction of infrastructure, including education systems (International Crisis Group, 2019; Rana, 2013).

Military operations such as Rah-e-Nijat (2009) and Zarb-e-Azb (2014) displaced more than 200,000 people and destroyed hundreds of schools, with militants targeting teachers, closing girls' schools, and enforcing bans on female education (UNHCR, 2015; UNICEF, 2018; HRCP, 2016). As a result, the region witnessed one of the sharpest declines in school enrollment, dropping from 65% before the conflict to below 35% in severely affected areas (World Bank, 2021; Shinwari, 2020). Girls' education was disproportionately affected due to targeted attacks, socio-cultural restrictions, and the absence of female teachers (Nawaz, 2019; Hussain & Ali, 2018).

In the post-conflict Waziristan i.e. after 2016, various governmental and non-governmental efforts were launched to address the crisis. The FATA Secretariat and later the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa government initiated reconstruction programs and reforms, including community schools and the hiring of female teachers to improve the education situation in the area (FATA Education Sector Plan, 2015). International organizations such as UNICEF established Temporary Learning Centers, Save the Children provided psychosocial support to children in distress, USAID launched the Pakistan Reading Project, and the Taleem Foundation introduced digital classrooms in remote areas (UNICEF, 2018; Save the Children, 2017; USAID, 2019; Taleem Foundation, 2020). Despite these interventions, challenges persist due to poverty, insecurity, and cultural barriers (Ali & Yousaf, 2020; Qureshi et al., 2021; ICG, 2019).

The prolonged instability has not only undermined educational infrastructure but also perpetuated systemic barriers, particularly for women and marginalized groups. While reconstruction efforts have made some progress, the persistence of socio-cultural norms, security concerns, and economic instability continues to obstruct equitable access to education (Rana, 2021; UNDP, 2021).

Objective

This study aims to analyze the following objectives

1. To study the nature of educational programs initiated in post-conflict Waziristan
2. To investigate the challenges to accessing and promoting education in the region

Literature Review

Conflict settings often see a dramatic decline in education access, quality, and equity. UNESCO (2011), highlights that conflict-affected regions host more than 50% of the world's out-of-school children. In South Waziristan, schools became targets of militant violence, particularly those serving girls. Militants perceived modern education as a threat to their ideological control and used intimidation and destruction to halt schooling (HRCP, 2016).

Girls' education was particularly undermined by already existing cultural barriers, but conflict intensified restrictions on female mobility and access to education. This resonates with studies such as those by Dryden-Peterson (2011), who emphasizes that post-conflict recovery in education must prioritize inclusive policies and support for marginalized groups, including girls and children with trauma. The period following Operation Zarb-e-Azb in 2014 marked the beginning of post-conflict recovery in Waziristan. The return of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) started in 2016. However, scholars like Shinwari (2021) argue that while military operations succeeded in establishing state control, the social and infrastructural rehabilitation process remained slow, particularly in education sector.

The FATA Education Sector Plan (2015–2020), was developed in partnership with UNICEF and the Government of Pakistan, aimed to rebuild damaged schools, increase enrollment, and improve learning outcomes (GoP & UNICEF, 2015). The merger of FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in 2018 was seen as an opportunity to bring tribal areas into the mainstream education system (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Bureau of Statistics, 2020). Still, many challenges remain, including teacher shortages, lack of female staff, and poor infrastructure. Many NGOs, INGOs and government started restoring education in post-conflict South Waziristan. These efforts included re-establish schools, train teachers, and provide emergency education support.

Educational Reconstruction in Post-Conflict Waziristan

Education plays a fundamental role in rebuilding societies that have experienced prolong conflict and destruction. It serves as a foundation for peace building, economic stability, and social integration. However, conflict often leads to the systematic disruption of educational structures, affecting access, quality, and long-term sustainability. Various studies highlight that conflict damages physical infrastructure, such as schools and educational facilities. Likewise, it also exacerbates socio-economic inequalities, displaces students and teachers, and leads to psychological trauma among children, which significantly impacts their ability to learn (Smith & Vaux, 2003). In post-conflict settings, education is considered a tool for national reconciliation, community development, and the prevention of further violence (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

In post conflict South Waziristan, UNICEF set up Temporary Learning Centers (TLCs) to cater to displaced children (UNICEF, 2018). The USAID's Pakistan Reading Project (2013–2019) was started as an effort to improve reading competencies in early grades through teacher training and curriculum support (USAID, 2019). Likewise, Save the Children provided psychosocial support for children traumatized by war and worked on rebuilding school facilities (Save the Children, 2017). Furthermore, National NGOs like Taleem Foundation started digital learning in tribal areas, introducing e-learning platforms in remote regions with limited teacher availability (Taleem Foundation, 2020). Additionally, the National Commission for Human Development (NCHD) launched non-formal education centers, especially for out-of-school girls, aiming to bridge the education gap (NCHD, 2016). The FATA Secretariat and later the KP Education Department started reconstruction of destroyed schools. Community Schools, education stipends, and school feeding programs were introduced to encourage enrollment. However, budget limitations and administrative delays affected implementation (FATA Secretariat, 2017).

Conflict and Education

Despite development efforts, issues such as access to schools, cultural limitations, and continuous security threats challenge revival of education in South Waziristan. Conflict has multiple implications over education. One of the main consequences is the destruction of school infrastructure. Armed conflicts often target educational institutions, either intentionally or as collateral damage, leaving behind destroyed buildings, looted resources, and unsafe learning environments (UNESCO, 2011). Prolonged violence disrupts the educational calendar, causing significant learning losses and leading to a "lost generation" of children who are unable to access education. The displacement of populations further exacerbates this issue, as internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees face barriers in integrating into new education systems due to differences in curricula, language barriers, and lack of official documentation (Dryden-Peterson, 2016).

Apart from infrastructure damage, the psychological impact of conflict on students and teachers is severe. Children expose to violence, displacement, and family losses often suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), anxiety, and depression, which hinder their ability to focus and engage in learning activities (Betancourt et al., 2013). Teachers also experience trauma, stress,

and burnout, reducing the quality of instruction and further disrupting the educational process (Winthrop & Kirk, 2008).

Education in Post-Conflict Situations

Education is widely recognized as a critical instrument for peace building and economic recovery in post-conflict societies. It can help reintegrate displaced populations, rebuild social cohesion, and promote a sense of national identity (UNICEF, 2015). Quality education provides individuals with the skills necessary for employment, reducing the likelihood of future conflicts driven by economic desperation. Studies shows that increased educational opportunities reduce the likelihood of youth recruitment into armed groups, as education provides an alternative pathway to economic stability and social mobility (Justino, 2012).

Furthermore, post-conflict education systems can be used to promote reconciliation by fostering inclusive curricula that emphasize tolerance, human rights, and historical truth-telling. In countries like Rwanda and Bosnia, educational reforms have played a crucial role in addressing ethnic divisions and preventing the recurrence of violence by promoting narratives of unity and coexistence (Obura, 2003). However, scholars caution that if not carefully managed, education can also exacerbate tensions. For instance, biased curricula that favor one ethnic or political group over another can reinforce grievances and perpetuate cycles of violence (Bush & Saltarelli, 2000).

Reconstructing education systems after conflict presents multiple challenges, including financial constraints, governance issues, and socio-cultural barriers. Post-conflict governments often struggle with limited financial resources, making it difficult to prioritize education amid competing demands for infrastructure rebuilding, healthcare, and security (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004). International aid organizations and NGOs play a crucial role in filling these gaps, but their interventions must be coordinated to ensure sustainability and local ownership (Pherali, 2016). One of the main consequences of the conflicts are the large-scale destruction of schools. Militants usually target educational institutions due to ideological opposition to modern education, particularly girls' education. UNESCO reports say that over 500 schools have been destroyed in the region, depriving countless children of the opportunity to learn (UNESCO, 2011). Many school buildings remain in ruins, and efforts to rebuild them have been slow due to ongoing security concerns and limited resources.

Governance challenges, including corruption, weak institutional capacity, and lack of effective policy implementation, also hinder educational recovery. In many post-conflict settings, government ministries face difficulties in administering schools, training teachers, and ensuring equitable distribution of resources (Rose & Greeley, 2006). Without strong governance, post-conflict education systems risk becoming fragmented and inefficient. In Afghanistan, efforts to rebuild the education sector faced challenges due to ongoing security threats, limited female participation, and dependence on international aid (Barakat et al., 2013).

Moreover, socio-cultural barriers such as gender discrimination, ethnic divisions, and community resistance to formal education further complicate reconstruction efforts. In conflict-affected regions, families may prioritize boys' education over girls due to traditional gender norms, limiting access to schooling for a significant portion of the population (Sperling & Winthrop, 2016). In some cases, communities view education systems as tools of political or ideological influence, leading to distrust in government-led initiatives (Novelli & Cardozo, 2008). Girls' education is particularly affected by the armed conflicts. Militant groups impose restrictions on female education, leading to the closure of girls' schools and discouraging families from sending their daughters to school due to safety concerns (Sperling & Winthrop, 2016).

Education in Post-Conflict South Waziristan

The lack of accessible schools for girls has further widened the gender gap in education, limiting future opportunities for women in South Waziristan. Cultural and social norms significantly influence educational access and outcomes in South Waziristan, particularly for girls. The traditional Pashtun tribal structure adheres to a strict interpretation of gender roles, often limiting women's participation in public life, including education (Khan, 2021). Families frequently prioritize domestic responsibilities and early marriages over formal schooling for girls, reinforcing the cycle of low female literacy rates (Jamal, 2019). These deeply ingrained cultural practices stem from long-standing tribal customs, religious beliefs, and historical marginalization of formal education in the region (Yousafzai & Ghafoor, 2021). Many families opt for madrassa-based education, perceiving it as more aligned with their cultural and religious values (Ali, 2018). Madrassas often provide free education, food, and shelter, making them an attractive option for economically struggling families (Rehman & Khan, 2021). However, this system tends to focus on religious teachings rather than equipping children with modern skills necessary for socio-economic development (Bano, 2017). The emphasis on religious education, combined with limited government oversight, has contributed to the exclusion of girls from mainstream education systems, as many madrassas do not cater to female students (Shah, 2020). Security concerns further exacerbate these challenges. The history of militant attacks on schools, particularly those for girls, has instilled fear among families, discouraging them from sending their daughters to school (Amnesty International, 2019). Attacks on educational institutions by extremist groups seeking to impose their ideological opposition to modern education have had long-term consequences on educational participation rates (UNESCO, 2020). Even when schools are rebuilt, parents remain hesitant due to the perceived threat of violence, reinforcing the preference for home-based or informal religious education (Iqbal, 2021).

Despite efforts by government and international organizations to restore education in South Waziristan, numerous challenges persist. Financial constraints, weak governance, and ongoing security threats hinder reconstruction efforts. Many schools remain non-functional due to inadequate funding, lack of resources, and limited community engagement. Furthermore, the psychological impact of conflict on children has affected their ability to learn, necessitating psychosocial support programs alongside formal education initiatives (Betancourt et al., 2013).

Materials and Methods

This study adopts a mixed-method research approach to comprehensively analyzed the state of education development in post-conflict South Waziristan, combining both quantitative and qualitative research methods. This approach facilitates a nuanced understanding of the educational landscape, challenges faced by stakeholders, and the effectiveness of interventions by integrating statistical data with personal narratives.

Study Area – South Waziristan (Wana)

This research focused on tehsil Wana in South Waziristan lower district, the administrative center of South Waziristan, a region deeply affected by years of conflict and instability. Wana holds strategic and symbolic significance, not only due to its administrative role but also because of its centrality in post-conflict reconstruction efforts, especially in the education sector. The area has witnessed substantial disruption in educational services due to militant insurgency, military operations, and displacement.

The study targeted various stakeholders in Wana, including education officials, school administrators, teachers, students, and parents, representatives of NGOs involved in education, community leaders, and government officials. These participants provided critical insights into the challenges, gaps, and opportunities in rebuilding and strengthening the education system in

the region, with a specific focus on access, quality, and community engagement in Wana's post-conflict context.

Sampling Technique

A stratified random sampling technique was employed in this study to ensure a fair representation of the diverse stakeholders involved in Wana's education sector, the administrative hub of South Waziristan. This method was chosen to capture variations across different demographic groups, facilitating a comprehensive understanding of the educational challenges and opportunities in the region. Given the heterogeneous nature of the population in Wana, stratification helped in categorizing respondents into meaningful subgroups—such as education officials, teachers, students, parents, and NGO representatives—before selecting participants randomly within each stratum. This approach ensured balanced and inclusive data collection reflective of the area's post-conflict educational landscape.

Sample Size

The study engaged a total sample of 60 respondents, distributed as follows:

Sampling table: 1

Respondents	Number	Explanation
Students and Parents	20	Insights into the experiences and challenges of those directly impacted by the education system.
Teachers and Administrators	20	Perspectives on operational and pedagogical challenges within the schools.
NGO and Government Officials	20	Contributions on policies, initiatives, and available resources for improving education.
Total	60	

Data Collection Methods

Quantitative Data Collection

Structured questionnaires were distributed to gather data on school attendance, infrastructure, accessed to resources, education quality, and stakeholder perceptions regarding education in the post-conflict situation. Additionally, school records were also checked and data on school attendance, dropout rates, and performance statistics were collected from local education offices and administrators.

Qualitative Data Collection

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 20 respondents, including teachers, administrators, NGO workers, and government officials, to understand challenges, policy gaps, and stakeholder perceptions. Apart from interviews, observations were also recorded during field visits. These included observations regarding schools' conditions, teaching practices, infrastructure, and the general learning environment.

Results and Discussions

Role of Government, Donor Agencies and NGOs in Educational Reconstruction in South Waziristan, Wana

The donor agencies mainly in collaboration with government departments and Pakistan military initiated reconstruction of educational facilities. In the aftermath of armed conflict and displacement in South Waziristan—particularly in the Wana region—non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and donor agencies have played a crucial role in rebuilding and revitalizing

the local education system. Given the historical neglect, tribal resistance, and insecurity in the area, formal educational structures were severely disrupted. In this context, external actors have stepped in to support emergency education, infrastructure rebuilding, and community sensitization. However, the sustainability and long-term impact of these interventions remain areas of concern. In Wana and the surrounding areas, NGOs and international donors implemented a variety of educational programs. These included trauma-informed learning models, informal education setups, and community-based schools. One notable effort was by UNICEF and its local partners, who established temporary learning centers for displaced children during the 2014–2017 military operations. These centers not only offered basic literacy and numeracy skills but also integrated psychosocial support for children affected by conflict.

In addition, several NGOs introduced accelerated learning programs to help children who had missed years of schooling catch up. Informal learning spaces were particularly important for girls, who faced cultural and security barriers in attending regular schools. In Wana, organizations like Save the Children and BEFARe also supported school rehabilitation projects, while local community-based youth organizations (CBOs) organized after-school tutoring, awareness campaigns, and girls' enrollment drives.

Despite early positive outcomes of educational programmes, many of these initiatives in Wana were designed for short-term relief, with limited planning for long-term continuity. The majority of NGO-led schools and temporary centers were dependent on 1- to 2-year funding cycles from donors like USAID and the European Union. When grants expired, schools often shut down or were left without trained teachers and materials. In several interviews conducted in Wana, teachers expressed concern that students keep shifting schools because these projects come and go.

In Wana, coordination between local NGOs, tribal leaders, and the District Education Office was inconsistent. In areas where tribal elders were consulted and included, such as *Shakai* and *Karikot*, NGOs faced fewer operational challenges and gained more trust from local community. However, in other villages, overlapping projects and duplication of services were reported. For example, in 2018, two NGOs independently launched girl literacy programs in the same tehsil without knowing of each other's presence, leading to confusion and resource dilution.

Security was also a limiting factor. Many donors operated remotely, relying on local implementing partners without directly monitoring field activities. This lack of field oversight sometimes led to inflated reporting or substandard program quality. A local education officer stated: *"We often learn about these programs only when they're ending, and we have no role in planning or supervising them."* However, there were some respondents satisfied with education initiatives. For instance, one respondent (community member and a father of three), expressed his satisfaction by stating, *"for the first time in years, our children are attending schools that have proper buildings, clean classrooms, and access to books and computers. The environment itself encourages them to take their studies seriously."* Another female respondent shared her experience, highlighting the importance of these programs for female education, *"earlier, we hesitated to send our daughters to school due to lack of facilities and safety concerns. Now, with well-built schools and supportive staff, we feel more secure about their future."*

Challenges to education in the region

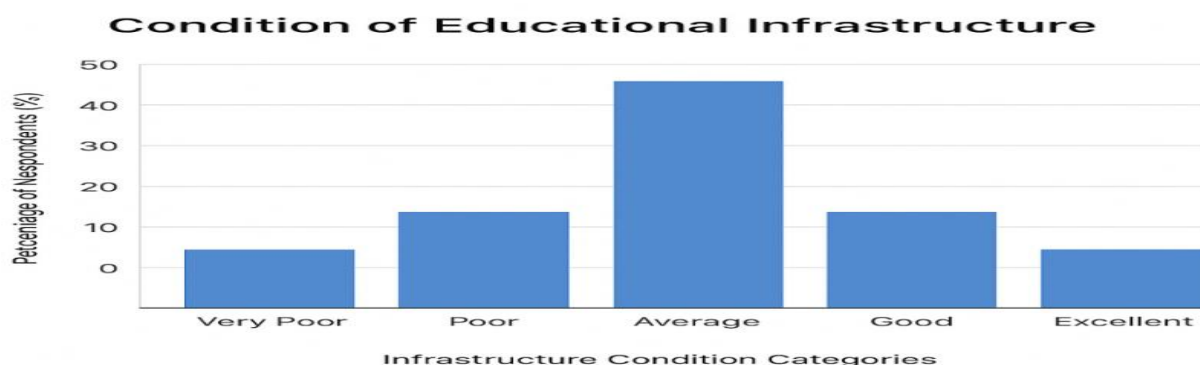
The prolonged conflict in South Waziristan, particularly between 2001 and 2014, resulted in devastating damage to the region's educational infrastructure. As militant groups like the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) gained control over parts of the tribal areas, they systematically targeted schools, viewing formal education—especially for girls—as contrary to their ideology. The post-conflict period, marked by the return of internally displaced persons (IDPs) after Operation Zarb-

e-Azb (2014), saw a coordinated effort by the government, military, and NGOs to rebuild the education sector. However, challenges still exist that restrict educational activities in the area.

Condition and Accessibility of Schools and Facilities

The overall condition and accessibility to educational infrastructure remain a major concern voiced by community members, particularly those residing in rural and remote areas. Many respondents described the state of school facilities as unsatisfactory, with the majority rating them as either "Average" or "Poor." Several parents and students expressed frustration over the persistent lack of adequate learning environments, which they felt directly hindered academic progress and discouraged regular attendance. For example, one respondent from a remote village shared, *"our children sit in overcrowded classrooms where sometimes two or even three classes are merged into one due to a shortage of rooms. The walls are cracked, ceilings leak during rain, and there is hardly any proper ventilation."* Another female respondent added, *"there are no separate or clean toilets for girls. Many parents, especially those with daughters, hesitate to send them to school because of these poor conditions and safety concerns."*

Figure 1

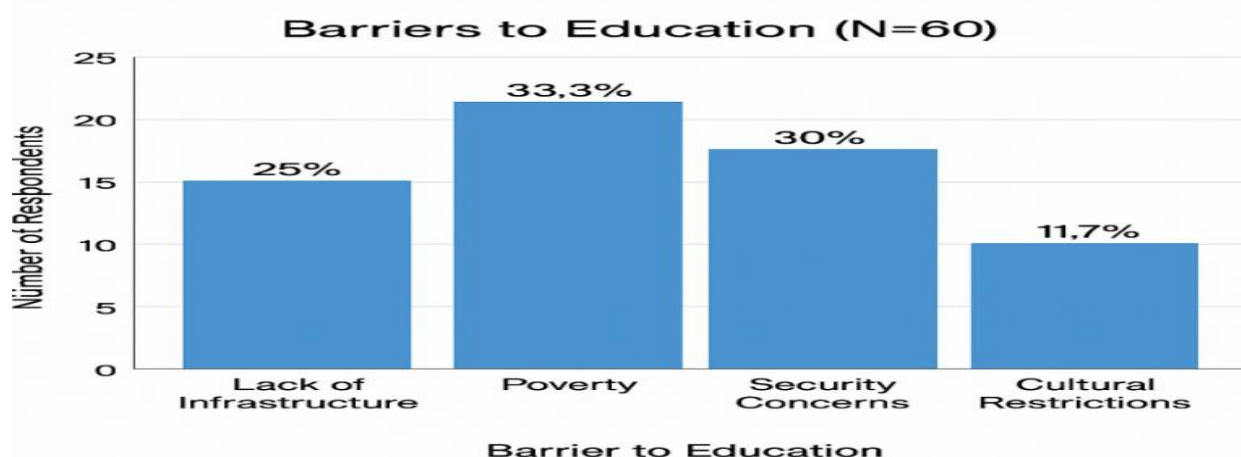


Structural and Socio-Economic Barriers

In this study, a total of 60 respondents were asked about the main barriers preventing children from education, especially girls, from accessing education in their community. The primary barriers identified included insecurity, cultural, infrastructural, and economic and gender barriers. Many families in the community face poverty, which severely limits their ability to support their children's education. The costs associated with schooling—including fees, uniforms, textbooks, and transportation—are often beyond their financial means. As a result, children, especially from low-income households, are frequently unable to enroll in or continue their education. Compounding this economic challenge are security concerns arising from the ongoing conflict and military presence in the area. The presence of checkpoints and the enforcement of curfews create significant obstacles for children education. These restrictions not only delay students' school timing but also cause absentees, especially during critical times like examinations. Additionally, many schools suffer from a lack of adequate infrastructure, with insufficient classrooms, poorly maintained buildings, and a shortage of essential learning facilities. This environment discourages regular attendance and limits the quality of education children receive. Beyond these physical and economic challenges, cultural restrictions play a crucial role, particularly in rural households. Deeply ingrained social norms and gender roles often restrict girls' access to education, with families prioritizing boys' schooling or discouraging girls from attending school due to concerns about safety, honor, or traditional expectations. Together, these barriers create a complex web of challenges that significantly hinder children's educational opportunities in the region.

The issue of safety while traveling to and attending school emerged as one of the most pressing concerns voiced by respondents, with significant variation depending on gender, location, and personal experiences. Many students, especially girls and those living in rural or conflict-affected areas, reported feeling highly vulnerable during their daily commute to school. One female student from a remote village shared, *"every morning, I feel scared while walking to school. There are places on the way where groups of boys gather and harass girls. Sometimes we have to turn back and miss school entirely to avoid them."* Another respondent stated, *"we worry every time our daughters leave home. The roads are not safe, and with the ongoing tensions in the area, anything can happen."*

Figure 2



Checkpoints and Curfews

Many respondents in the study expressed deep concern over the disruptions caused by military checkpoints and imposed curfews, which have severely affected children's ability to attend school regularly. While acknowledging that these security measures are implemented to maintain law and order, community members emphasized that they often create unintended barriers for students, particularly in conflict-prone or militarized areas.

A male respondent shared, *"the children leave home early every day, but sometimes they are stopped at the checkpoints for hours. By the time they reach school, classes are already over, or they miss important lessons."* Likewise, a female respondent stated, *"we never know if the road will be open or if there will be sudden curfew restrictions. On exam days, it becomes very stressful because even a small delay means the children lose their chance to appear for tests."*

Conclusion

South Waziristan reveals a multifaceted and challenging educational landscape deeply influenced by the region's post-conflict context. In post conflict Waziristan, government started various educational programs including infrastructural development and capacity building. The persistent presence of military checkpoints and curfews significantly disrupts students' regular attendance and overall educational continuity. These security measures, while intended to maintain order, inadvertently hinder children's access to schooling, causing missed classes and exams and, in some cases, contributing to higher dropout rates. Alongside these security challenges, socio-cultural traditions and gender norms further complicate educational access, especially for girls. Mobility restrictions, early marriage pressures, and societal stigma create

additional barriers that disproportionately affect female students, limiting their opportunities for sustained education.

Despite existing policies aimed at improving education, their success is largely dependent on inclusive and context-sensitive implementation. The data highlights the critical need for coordinated efforts involving not just government agencies but also local communities, NGOs, and the military. The community's call for increased government investment in school infrastructure, financial support for vulnerable families, and improved teacher training underscores the importance of a comprehensive approach that addresses both supply- and demand-side constraints. Furthermore, the involvement of local leaders and community mobilization is vital for shifting social attitudes, particularly to support girls' education and break down longstanding cultural barriers.

References

- Ahmed, Z. (2020). *The merger of FATA with Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Prospects for governance and development*. Islamabad Policy Research Institute.
- Ali, S. (2018). *Madrasa education and its impact on socio-economic development in Pakistan*. *Journal of Education and Social Sciences*, 6(2), 55–70.
- Ali, S., & Yousaf, F. (2020). *Barriers to girls' education in post-conflict tribal areas of Pakistan*. *Journal of Education and Development*, 7(2), 45–60.
- Amnesty International. (2019). *"They Targeted the Girls": Attacks on Girls' Education in Pakistan*. London: Amnesty International.
- Bano, M. (2017). *Female Islamic education movements: The re-democratisation of Islamic knowledge*. Cambridge University Press.
- Barakat, S., Rzeszut, K., & Martin, N. (2013). *Inputs, incentives, and institutions: The impact of aid on education policy reform in Afghanistan*. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 13(2), 201–225.
- Betancourt, T. S., Meyers-Ohki, S. E., Charrow, A., & Hansen, N. (2013). *Mental health and resilience in children affected by armed conflict: An ecological perspective on child development*. *Child Development Perspectives*, 7(4), 313–318.
- Bush, K. D., & Saltarelli, D. (2000). *The two faces of education in ethnic conflict*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.
- Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). *Greed and grievance in civil war*. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 56(4), 563–595.
- Dryden-Peterson, S. (2011). *Conflict, education and displacement*. In S. Dryden-Peterson (Ed.), *Refugee education: A global review*. UNHCR.
- Dryden-Peterson, S. (2016). *Refugee education in countries of first asylum: Breaking open the black box of pre-resettlement experiences*. *Theory and Research in Education*, 14(2), 131–148.
- FATA Education Sector Plan. (2015). *Education Sector Plan 2015–2020*. FATA Secretariat, Government of Pakistan.
- FATA Secretariat. (2017). *Post-crisis needs assessment and education rehabilitation plan for FATA*. Government of Pakistan.
- Government of Pakistan & UNICEF. (2015). *FATA Education Sector Plan 2015–2020*. FATA Secretariat & UNICEF Pakistan.
- Hussain, N., & Ali, Z. (2018). *Conflict and education: The case of South Waziristan*. *Pakistan Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies*, 3(1), 22–38.
- Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP). (2016). *State of Human Rights in Pakistan 2016*. Lahore: HRCP.
- Iqbal, N. (2021). *Security threats and parental decision-making on girls' education in tribal districts*. *Pakistan Journal of Educational Research*, 4(1), 76–93.

- International Crisis Group (ICG). (2019). *Pakistan's tribal areas: Transitioning from war to peace*. Brussels: ICG.
- Jamal, A. (2019). *Gender, culture, and education in tribal Pakistan*. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 28(6), 724–739.
- Justino, P. (2012). *War and poverty*. In M. Garfinkel & S. Skaperdas (Eds.), *Oxford Handbook of the Economics of Peace and Conflict* (pp. 676–706). Oxford University Press.
- Khan, S. (2021). *Gender norms and educational inequality in tribal Pakistan*. *Asian Journal of Education and Social Studies*, 15(3), 15–27.
- KP,(2020). *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Development Indicators 2020*. Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.
- NCHD (National Commission for Human Development). (2016). *Annual Report 2016*. Islamabad: NCHD.
- Nawaz, S. (2019). *Education in conflict-affected areas: The gender gap in Pakistan's tribal regions*. United States Institute of Peace.
- Novelli, M., & Cardozo, M. T. A. L. (2008). *Conflict, education and the global south: New critical directions*. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 28(4), 473–488.
- Obura, A. (2003). *Never again: Educational reconstruction in Rwanda*. UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.
- Pherali, T. (2016). *Education, conflict and peacebuilding: A critical overview*. *Education and Conflict Review*, 1, 6–9.
- Qureshi, A., Khan, M., & Rahman, F. (2021). *Post-conflict reconstruction and education challenges in Waziristan*. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 9(3), 88–102.
- Rana, M. A. (2013). *The Militant: Development of militant groups in Pakistan*. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.
- Rana, M. A. (2021). *Post-conflict rehabilitation and governance in ex-FATA regions*. Islamabad: Pak Institute for Peace Studies.
- Rehman, F., & Khan, A. (2021). *Religious education and its socio-economic implications in tribal Pakistan*. *Pakistan Journal of Islamic Research*, 22(1), 34–49.
- Rose, P., & Greeley, M. (2006). *Education in fragile states: Capturing lessons and identifying good practice*. DFID Research Report.
- Save the Children. (2017). *Education in emergencies: Supporting children in FATA*. Islamabad: Save the Children Pakistan.
- Shah, S. (2020). *The exclusion of girls from madrassa education in Pakistan*. *International Review of Education*, 66(3), 321–340.
- Shinwari, N. (2020). *Education and peacebuilding in Waziristan*. Community Appraisal & Motivation Programme (CAMP).
- Shinwari, N. (2021). *Post-conflict education rehabilitation in Waziristan: Challenges and opportunities*. CAMP Research Report.
- Smith, A., & Vaux, T. (2003). *Education, conflict and international development*. DFID Issues Paper.
- Sperling, G., & Winthrop, R. (2016). *What works in girls' education: Evidence for the world's best investment*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Taleem Foundation. (2020). *Annual Report 2020*. Islamabad: Taleem Foundation.
- UNDP. (2021). *Human Development Report: Pakistan's ex-FATA region*. Islamabad: UNDP Pakistan.
- UNESCO. (2011). *The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education (EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011)*. Paris: UNESCO.

- UNESCO. (2020). *Global Education Monitoring Report 2020: Inclusion and education – All means all*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNHCR. (2015). *Displacement and return in South Waziristan Agency*. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.
- UNICEF. (2015). *The role of education in peacebuilding: Case study Pakistan*. New York: UNICEF.
- UNICEF. (2018). *Annual Report 2018 – Pakistan*. Islamabad: UNICEF Pakistan.
- USAID. (2019). *Pakistan Reading Project: Annual Progress Report 2019*. United States Agency for International Development.
- Winthrop, R., & Kirk, J. (2008). *Learning for a bright future: Schooling, armed conflict, and children's well-being*. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(4), 639–661.
- World Bank. (2021). *Education Sector Review: Pakistan 2021*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Yousaf, F. (2019). *Pakistan's FATA reforms: An analysis of policy, politics, and potential outcomes*. *Asian Affairs*, 50(3), 488–507.
- Yousafzai, H., & Ghafoor, A. (2021). *Tribal traditions and female education in South Waziristan: A socio-cultural analysis*. *Journal of Peace and Development Studies*, 11(2), 98–115.*