

PAKISTAN

Unknown attackers and non-state armed groups used explosives, gunfire, and other tactics to damage and destroy hundreds of schools and universities in Pakistan. They also killed, injured, threatened, and abducted close to 100 students and educators, with approximately one-quarter of documented cases of all forms of attack affecting the education of females.

Context

Pakistan confronted a variety of security challenges during the 2013-2017 reporting period. The Tehreek-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) and other non-state armed groups carried out violent attacks against government officials and civilians.¹⁶⁰⁶ Responding to the Taliban presence, the United States conducted preemptive attacks and drone strikes in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and elsewhere. The Pakistani military also conducted military operations against the TTP.¹⁶⁰⁷ The TTP meanwhile carried out violent attacks in Punjab province, which was home to two other non-state armed groups, Jaish-e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Jhangvi.¹⁶⁰⁸

Sindh province saw escalating violence throughout the reporting period, particularly in Karachi city, stoked by a mix of ethnic, sectarian, political, and criminal tensions, as well as alleged human rights abuses by the paramilitary Rangers, who were increasingly deployed to maintain order.¹⁶⁰⁹ The TTP also established a foothold in Karachi city.

Meanwhile, Balochistan province was the site of several distinct conflicts, including a nationalist and separatist movement led by the Baloch Liberation Army and the Baloch Liberation United Front, which targeted ethnic Punjabis and other minority groups; a sectarian conflict led by Sunni groups, who attacked Shia communities, especially the Hazara; and violent extremist attacks on individuals and institutions that behaved in a way the extremists viewed as contrary to Islam.¹⁶¹⁰

Education was a casualty of each of these conflicts throughout Pakistan. Notably, in both Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, where the TTP controlled Swat Valley, and in FATA, non-state actors targeted the state, women's rights, and girls' education, often violently.¹⁶¹¹ *Voice of America* reported in September 2017 that more than 1,100 girls' schools had been destroyed in FATA over the previous decade, according to government estimates.¹⁶¹² Furthermore, child marriage and pregnancy, prioritization of boys' education, a deficit of qualified female teachers, and having to travel long distances to school affected girls' access to education, according to the CEDAW committee.¹⁶¹³

In general, reports of attacks on education declined from the period covered by *Education under Attack 2014*, when Pakistan was one of the most heavily affected countries. Attacks on education also declined in Pakistan over the course of the current reporting period.

Attacks on schools

Between 2013 and 2017, armed non-state groups and unknown parties reportedly attacked hundreds of schools in Pakistan, typically using explosive devices. According to data from UN, NGO, and media sources compiled by GCPEA, approximately one-third of these attacks were reported to have affected girls' schools.¹⁶¹⁴ It should be noted, however, that not all reports indicated whether the institutions attacked were boys' or girls' schools.

In many cases, these attacks damaged or destroyed infrastructure and killed several hundred students and teachers. Human Rights Watch reported that, according to the Pakistan Minister for States and Frontier Regions, 360 schools were destroyed in North Waziristan Agency, Khyber Agency, and South Waziristan as of 2015. However, it was not clear how much of this damage was due to attacks that had occurred in the previous two years, rather than in earlier years.¹⁶¹⁵ According to the UN and the Education Cluster, the annual rate of attacks on schools was lower during the 2013-2017 reporting period than in the period documented in *Education under Attack 2014*.

In 2013, media, NGO, and UN sources combined reported more than 100 attacks on schools, including bombings, grenade attacks, and shootings.¹⁶¹⁶ According to information reported to the UN, the TTP and allied groups carried out at least 78 targeted attacks on schools, teachers, and school children, including 26 attacks that targeted female educational institutions.¹⁶¹⁷ GCPEA's information indicated that approximately half of the attacks on schools in 2013 occurred

in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Attacks on schools also occurred with regularity in FATA, Balochistan, and Karachi city. Examples of attacks on schools in 2013 included the following:

- According to Human Rights Watch, there were at least nine attacks on schools in the District West area of Karachi between March and August 2013. In most of these cases, unidentified gunmen fired on the schools.¹⁶¹⁸
- According to media reports, at least six attacks on schools occurred between May 2, 2013, and May 11, 2013, in Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces and were carried out in connection with the schools' use as polling centers.¹⁶¹⁹
- In November 2013, according to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, a US drone hit a religious school in Hangu, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, killing three teachers and five students.¹⁶²⁰

Just under one-third of the attacks on schools in 2013 were reported to target girls' schools or those serving boys and girls together, according to data collected by GCPEA. For example:

- On March 30, 2013, gunmen entered the Nation Secondary School in Ittehad Town, Karachi, hurling grenades and firing on students and teachers. One girl student and the school principal were killed, six other girl students and two visitors were injured. One of the injured visitors was also an educator, the principal of a nearby school who was visiting when the attack occurred. Information collected by Human Rights Watch indicated that the attackers may have been targeting female students.¹⁶²¹
- In one of the deadliest attacks on schools in 2013, local Taliban allegedly carried out an explosive attack outside a government girls' primary school in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa on September 5, 2013. The attack injured 13 female students under the age of 10.¹⁶²²

Violence targeting schools appeared to decline slightly in 2014, according to information GCPEA collected from UN and media reports.¹⁶²³ According to the UN, at least 40 secular schools were attacked during 2014 in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, FATA, and Balochistan province.¹⁶²⁴ Again, unknown attackers were responsible for the majority of violations, but in some cases the attackers were known to include non-state armed groups such as the Taliban and other violent extremist groups, which targeted secular and English-language schools in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Balochistan provinces and FATA.

More than a third of attacks on schools were reported to affect girls' education during 2014, according to information collected by GCPEA. The proportion of girls' institutions attacked may have varied across the country. For example, the HRCP reported that more than half of the schools destroyed in 2014 by the Taliban in Swat Valley, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, were girls' institutions.¹⁶²⁵

Attacks on schools in 2014 included the following:

- Media sources reported that on September 1, 2014, members of a group called Al-Jihad carried out an arson attack at Gorbam Private School in Kech district of Balochistan province because of its curriculum. Their statement claiming responsibility for the attack explained that the school had been targeted for providing Western education.¹⁶²⁶
- Al-Jihad reportedly set another private school on fire in Turbat district of Balochistan on September 3, 2014, destroying 150 textbooks and leaving behind pamphlets warning the school not to teach Western education in English, according to Human Rights Watch and several media sources.¹⁶²⁷
- The HRCP reported that unidentified assailants killed a school teacher and two children in a grenade attack at Askari Public School in Peshawar in October 2014. The incident followed the school's receipt of letters that threatened attacks if students wore Western attire rather than the traditional *shalwar kameez*.¹⁶²⁸
- One of the most globally publicized attacks on educational institutions occurred on December 16, 2014. That day TTP gunmen stormed the Army Public School in Peshawar, firing on pupils and education personnel and setting off hand grenades and other explosive devices. At least 141 people were reportedly killed, including at least 132 children, as well as several teachers and other education personnel. At least another 133 were reportedly injured, the vast majority of them children.¹⁶²⁹ The TTP claimed that the attack was an act of revenge for the Pakistani mil-

itary's ongoing offensive in North Waziristan.¹⁶³⁰ As a result of the attack, the government closed all educational institutions across Pakistan for three to four weeks, according to the UN.¹⁶³¹

The UN recorded a 65 percent decline in attacks between 2014 and 2015, reporting 14 attacks on educational institutions in 2015, including eight in FATA, four in Sindh, and two in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.¹⁶³² Information compiled from media sources indicated that there were 33 attacks on schools reported in 2015, of which 12, or just over a third, targeted girls' education.¹⁶³³ The extent of overlap between the UN and the media information was not clear.

In addition to physical attacks on schools, several schools in Punjab and Balochistan provinces received threats demanding that they stop teaching Western education, or that girls stop attending school or wear headscarves, according to Human Rights Watch and media reports.¹⁶³⁴ For example, in August 2015, an official from the Panjgur district education department in Balochistan province told Human Rights Watch that a group called Tanzeemul Islam al Furqan had sent threats demanding that more than 25 English and coeducational schools close.¹⁶³⁵

The reported rate of attacks on schools in Pakistan continued to decline into 2016. According to both the UN and Pakistan's Education Cluster, there were six attacks on educational institutions that year.¹⁶³⁶ This included at least two in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the rest in FATA.¹⁶³⁷ GCPEA identified 22 incidents in media and NGO reports, including six targeting girls' schools. These attacks were distributed across the country, with eight reported in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, five in FATA, four in Sindh, three in Punjab, and one each in Balochistan and Azad Kashmir territory.¹⁶³⁸ It was not clear how many of these attacks were the same as those documented by the Education Cluster. Examples of attacks on schools in 2016 included the following:

- According to media sources, 10 students were injured in a stampede that occurred when gunmen fired on a government girls' secondary school in Tandlianwala, Punjab province, on January 23, 2016.¹⁶³⁹
- The UN, Human Rights Watch, and media sources reported that on February 19, 2016, the Taliban detonated bombs and exploded the girls' wing of a newly built government school in Peshawar. When claiming responsibility for the attack, the Taliban stated that they had targeted the school because it was a government facility and would be part of a series of attacks on such institutions.¹⁶⁴⁰
- In another case, reported by *Dawn* newspaper on September 6, 2016, a secondary school student was injured in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa when he tried to stop an attacker with a rifle from climbing the school's boundary wall.¹⁶⁴¹
- Multiple media sources reported that one girl died, and three others injured, when a bomb exploded while they were playing outside their school in North Waziristan on December 13, 2016.¹⁶⁴²

At least eight attacks on schools were reported in 2017, according to information compiled from media sources. Half of these attacks reportedly targeted girls' education.¹⁶⁴³ For example:

- On January 10, 2017, two female students were reportedly injured when unknown attackers threw fireworks into the Hashmat Memorial Private School in Gujranwala, Punjab.¹⁶⁴⁴
- On March 10, 2017, unidentified individuals vandalized the Oxford Public School, located in Ghizer Valley, Gilgit Baltistan. They left behind a note warning that the school would be bombed if the female teachers did not cover themselves.¹⁶⁴⁵
- *Dawn* newspaper also reported an incident in Balochistan province on March 23, 2017, when a government girls' school located in Qila Abdulla was damaged in an IED attack.¹⁶⁴⁶
- On May 8, 2017, a bomb reportedly exploded outside a girls' school in an area near Peshawar, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, damaging the school gate and some of the school walls. A second bomb was defused nearby.¹⁶⁴⁷

Attacks on school students, teachers, and other education personnel

In addition to the attacks on schools that killed many learners and educators, students, teachers, and education personnel were also killed in violence that targeted them individually. According to media, NGO, and international agency sources, there were more than 65 attacks against approximately 98 students, teachers, and other education personnel between 2013 and 2017. These numbers represented a decrease from the period reported in *Education under Attack*

2014. Unknown attackers were responsible for the majority of these incidents, which included targeted killings and abductions. Female students and teachers were targeted in a minority of cases.

Data GCPEA collected from media sources and NGO reports indicated that there were at least 20 cases of attacks on teachers and students, affecting approximately 28 individuals, during 2013.¹⁶⁴⁸ These included kidnappings and targeted killings. Students also faced threats to their safety during 2013. For example:

- On March 26, 2013, unidentified armed assailants reportedly executed a female teacher in front of her 13-year-old son in a drive-by shooting while she was on her way to the school where she taught in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.¹⁶⁴⁹
- On April 15, 2013, a Taliban faction threatened to harm students if they violated a ban on children attending five schools in North Waziristan.¹⁶⁵⁰
- Unknown assailants reportedly kidnapped three school teachers who taught at the Government Workers' Welfare School in Khuzdar town, Balochistan, on February 5, 2013.¹⁶⁵¹
- On May 14, 2013, unknown attackers killed Abdul Waheed, who ran the Naunehal Public School in Orangi Town, Karachi, possibly because he refused to pay extortion money. The school shut down, and after it reopened in August 2013, other unknown attackers targeted it with a grenade.¹⁶⁵²

The number of incidents targeting students, teachers, and other education personnel was similar in 2014, with media sources reporting approximately 23 incidents across Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, FATA, Balochistan, and Sindh.¹⁶⁵³ However, many of these incidents harmed about twice as many individuals. For example:

- On February 10, 2014, unidentified motorcyclists reportedly shot dead three school teachers in Hangu district, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, when they were on their way home from school.¹⁶⁵⁴
- On May 21, 2014, gunmen from the Baloch Liberation Front (BLF) opened fire on the home of Abdul Hameed, a teacher in Turbat district, Balochistan province, killing him and five of his family members. The BLF stated that they believed Hameed was an agent of the government, according to media sources.¹⁶⁵⁵
- In Karachi, unknown attackers reportedly opened fire and killed Malik Ishaq, a secondary school principal in Baldia Town, Karachi city, on August 4, 2014.¹⁶⁵⁶
- The UN received reports that on November 21, 2014, 11 teachers and local volunteers were abducted from a private school in Khyber Agency.¹⁶⁵⁷

Attacks on teachers and education personnel appeared to decline in 2015. Human Rights Watch and media sources documented a total of eight incidents that harmed seven people.¹⁶⁵⁸ Examples included the following:

- Media reports indicated that on January 14, 2015, unknown gunmen opened fire on and killed a teacher in Kech district, Balochistan.¹⁶⁵⁹
- On March 4, 2015, a teacher was shot and killed by unidentified perpetrators in Punjab, also according to media sources.¹⁶⁶⁰
- According to testimony collected by Human Rights Watch, a government school teacher was killed on May 8, 2015, by unknown militants in Charbagh Bazaar, Swat. The individual interviewed noted that the Pakistani Taliban considered all teachers to be heretics.¹⁶⁶¹

There were reports of at least 12 targeted attacks on education personnel in 2016, which harmed approximately 18 students and education personnel.¹⁶⁶² The majority of attacks were actual and attempted killings and abductions, but students and teachers were also threatened. News reports included the following:

- Three teachers were injured when unknown gunmen opened fire on them in Prang, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, on January 1, 2016.¹⁶⁶³
- On August 18, 2016, unidentified assailants shot and killed the watchman of a school as he slept at the school in Punjab province.¹⁶⁶⁴

- Another security guard was injured on November 1, 2016, when four unknown armed gunmen entered his school, also in Punjab province, and opened fire.¹⁶⁶⁵
- In September 2017, teachers at two government primary schools in Rawalpindi, Punjab province received threats warning that students would be abducted. The threats caused a number of students to leave the schools.¹⁶⁶⁶

GCPEA identified four incidents of armed actors targeting students and education personnel during 2017. Seven students and education personnel were harmed in these attacks.¹⁶⁶⁷ The media also reported two cases in which protesting teachers were violently dispersed or arrested, which included the following:

- Local media reported the abduction of FATA Education Deputy Director Mohib Rehman Dawar and his son on February 11, 2017.¹⁶⁶⁸
- Local media also indicated that unknown attackers kidnapped three government school teachers in Awaran district, Balochistan, as the teachers returned from a training session for national census workers.¹⁶⁶⁹ It is possible that they were abducted because of their affiliation with the census rather than their positions as school teachers.
- On May 24, 2017, two Chinese language teachers were kidnapped by armed men disguised as policemen in Quetta, Balochistan.¹⁶⁷⁰ 'IS' claimed responsibility for the attack and killed the teachers two weeks later.¹⁶⁷¹
- On November 21, 2017, police used batons to disperse teachers protesting in Gothki district, Sindh province, because they had not received their salaries.¹⁶⁷²
- Police used water cannons to disperse teachers demonstrating for permanent positions in Karachi city, Sindh province, on December 25, 2017. More than two dozen teachers were arrested and held for several days.¹⁶⁷³

Military use of schools and universities

Information about military use of schools and universities was scarce during the current reporting period, as it was during the 2009-2013 period. However, Kamran Michael, Pakistan's minister for human rights, noted in his response to the Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights on June 15, 2017, that the Pakistani army used schools as barracks. The minister stated that the army only used schools during summer or winter holidays, or at other times when the schools were closed, and then only for a few days at a time.¹⁶⁷⁴ Reports from the UN and Human Rights Watch indicated that both armed groups and Pakistani security forces used educational institutions as bases of operation, disrupting access to education.¹⁶⁷⁵

Human Rights Watch wrote that the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Elementary and Secondary Education Department's Independent Monitoring Unit reported the partial occupation of 222 schools and full occupation of 63 schools by either displaced families or Pakistani security forces in December 2014. The source did not distinguish between the two uses, and it was not clear how many of these schools were functioning as bases for security operations.¹⁶⁷⁶ Human Rights Watch also reported the following:

- A member of a teachers' association reported that Pakistani security forces were launching operations against the Taliban from approximately 20 schools in Swat in 2016.¹⁶⁷⁷
- The same source reported that both the military and the paramilitary Frontier Corps were partially occupying five schools, including the Government High School Sherpalam, Government Middle School Marghazar, Government Primary School Bar Sher Palam No. 1, and Government Primary School Kandaw Kass.¹⁶⁷⁸
- The Swat education department reported that the army was fully occupying at least two schools in September 2016: the Government Primary School Achar No. 2 for boys, which they had been using since May 2014, and the Government Primary School Ozbaka for boys.¹⁶⁷⁹

Human Rights Watch also documented reports that the Pakistani army and paramilitary Rangers used university and college dormitories. For example:

- According to a teacher interviewed by Human Rights Watch, as of 2016 the army had been using an undergraduate college for women in Khwazakhela, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, as offices for senior military officials for seven years, since 2009. Although another space was given to the college to continue classes, many women dropped out.¹⁶⁸⁰
- In 2016 the Rangers were reported to be using at least three higher education facilities in Sindh province. These included the Mitha Ram Hostel, a dormitory for students of the DJ Science College, which the Rangers had been using since 1992 and had converted into a small jail in 2015; the Jinnah Courts, a residential dormitory that the Rangers had used as their headquarters since 1999; and a hostel at the Government College of Technology.¹⁶⁸¹

Child recruitment at, or en route to or from, school

There was little information on child recruitment from schools during the reporting period. According to the UN, there were allegations in 2014, 2015, and 2016 that the TTP used religious schools in Pakistan to recruit and train children.¹⁶⁸² However, there were no specific details on this activity.

Attacks on higher education

Unknown attackers and armed non-state groups reportedly killed, injured, and abducted university scholars and education personnel between 2013 and 2017 at rates similar to those documented in *Education under Attack 2014*. GCPEA documented approximately 37 attacks on higher education using media, NGO, and UN sources. Two of these attacks affected females' education. Most attacks on higher education took place in Balochistan and Sindh provinces.

According to information compiled by GCPEA, at least 12 attacks on higher education occurred during 2013, harming 38 university students and education personnel in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Sindh, Balochistan, and Punjab provinces.¹⁶⁸³ For example:

- On February 1, 2013, an explosive planted at the Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies at the University of Peshawar by unknown attackers injured two people and damaged the building, according to media sources.¹⁶⁸⁴
- News reports indicated that unknown attackers shot and killed professor Syed Sibte Jafar Zaidi on March 18, 2013. The attack occurred outside the Government Degree Science College in Karachi, Sindh, and observers believed that Zaidi was killed for his scholarship on "sectarian harmony."¹⁶⁸⁵
- The deadliest attack of the year on higher education occurred on June 15, 2013, when members of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi placed a bomb on a bus carrying university students, which exploded on the campus of Sardar Bahadur Khan Women's University in Quetta, Balochistan, killing 25 people and wounding at least another 19. Several girls suffered severe burn injuries when the bus caught fire after the blast. Ninety minutes later, two suicide attackers and gunmen of unknown affiliation attacked the Bolan Medical Clinic, where those injured during the first attack were receiving treatment, killing 11 more people and wounding 17.¹⁶⁸⁶ The HRCP viewed the attack as a warning to women seeking higher education, as the university was the sole all-women university in Balochistan.¹⁶⁸⁷
- On July 11, 2013, one college professor was killed and another wounded in Balochistan province. The professor who was killed was known for promoting girls' education, according to a news report.¹⁶⁸⁸
- According to a media report, unknown assailants reportedly kidnapped four employees of the Institute of Business Administration Community College in Shikarpur city, Sindh province, on December 21, 2013, releasing them a few days later.¹⁶⁸⁹

In 2014 there were at least 16 attacks on universities and higher education students and personnel, which harmed 21 people, as reported by media sources. These attacks in 2014, which were similar to those that occurred the previous year, included 12 attacks on higher education personnel and 4 on higher education infrastructure.¹⁶⁹⁰ For example:

- On February 8, 2014, an explosive set by unknown attackers detonated at the Technical Training Center in Sohbatpur town, Balochistan province.¹⁶⁹¹
- On February 17, 2014, unknown attackers killed Dr. Javed Iqbal Qazi, dean of the pathology department of Karachi Medical and Dental College, in an attack that also wounded his driver.¹⁶⁹²

- On March 10, 2014, unknown attackers killed student organization leader Raja Qadoos in Rawalpindi city, Punjab province.¹⁶⁹³
- Another explosive device was found on the roof of a bus at Shah Abdul Latif University in Khairpur city, Sindh province, on March 25, 2014. It was safely defused.¹⁶⁹⁴
- A grenade exploded on May 12, 2014, near the Gomal Medical College in Dera Ismail Khan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, killing a security guard.¹⁶⁹⁵
- On September 18, 2014, unidentified attackers killed Dr. Muhammad Shakil Auj, a liberal religious scholar and dean of Islamic Studies at Karachi University, who had received death threats for months. The threats had come from rival religious scholars charging blasphemy.¹⁶⁹⁶

Attacks against higher education appeared to decline in 2015, with media sources reporting six incidents, of which three targeted students or education personnel and three targeted institutions.¹⁶⁹⁷ For example:

- On February 5, unidentified perpetrators detonated an explosive device outside the Institute of Computer and Management Sciences College in Peshawar city, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. There were no casualties in the blast, but university infrastructure was damaged.¹⁶⁹⁸
- Unknown assailants shot and killed a student organization activist, Sajjad Hussain of the People's Students Federation, on March 9, 2015, in Karachi city, Sindh province.¹⁶⁹⁹
- In April 2015, four gunmen shot and killed Dr. Waheedur Rehman, a former student of Dr. Muhammad Shakeel Auj, who was killed the previous year. Dr. Rehman was also working as a professor at Karachi University.¹⁷⁰⁰

In 2016, media reports again indicated that there were at least five attacks on higher education, including the following:¹⁷⁰¹

- On January 20, 2016, armed assailants associated with the Pakistani Taliban attacked Bacha Khan University, in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, shooting and killing at least 20 people and wounding dozens more.¹⁷⁰² Following this attack, the national government issued a "red alert" to education institutions nationwide, causing them to close for a week, or more in some cases.¹⁷⁰³ Counterterrorism drills and other security exercises were also practiced in schools and universities across the country in the wake of the attack.¹⁷⁰⁴
- Later in the year, in June 2016, unknown assailants fatally shot Amanullah Khan Achakzai, principal of University Law College Quetta, while he was en route to work.¹⁷⁰⁵

Media sources reported four targeted attacks on higher education personnel or facilities during 2017:

- On March 15, 2017, local media reported that the Balochistan secretary of higher education was abducted on his way to work. The outcome of the abduction was unclear.¹⁷⁰⁶
- On April 7, 2017, Ashfaq Ahmed, a retired professor from Lahore University of Veterinary and Animal Sciences, was killed in Lahore by unknown attackers. Police believed that the attack was related to Ahmed's Ahmadi faith.¹⁷⁰⁷
- Local media reported that police defused five bombs planted by unidentified attackers outside of Mehran University of Engineering and Technology in Jamshoro, Sindh province, on November 8, 2017.¹⁷⁰⁸
- The Pakistani Taliban claimed responsibility for an attack on the Agricultural Training Institute on December 1, 2017, which killed at least 9 people and injured 37, the majority of them students, according to international media.¹⁷⁰⁹

¹⁶⁹⁶ "Pakistan: Conflict Profile," Peace Insight, March 2014. CFR, "InfoGuide: The Taliban," 2015. Carin Zisis and Jayshree Bajoria, "Pakistan's Tribal Areas," *CFR Background*, October 26, 2007.

¹⁶⁹⁷ "Pakistan: Conflict Profile." CFR, "InfoGuide." Zisis and Bajoria, "Pakistan's Tribal Groups." CFR, "Islamist Militancy in Pakistan," updated March 1, 2018. Human Rights Watch, "Dreams Turned into Nightmares": Attacks on Students, Teachers, and Schools in Pakistan (New York: Human Rights Watch, March 2017), p. 12.

¹⁶⁹⁸ International Crisis Group, *Pakistan's Jihadist Heartland: Southern Punjab*, Report N.279 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, May 30, 2016).

¹⁶⁹⁹ International Crisis Group, *Pakistan: Stoking the Fire in Karachi*, Report N.284 (Brussels: International Crisis Group, February 15, 2017). Human Rights Watch, "Dreams Turned into Nightmares," p. 14.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Human Rights Watch, "Dreams Turned into Nightmares," pp. 15-16.

¹⁶⁹¹ Human Rights Watch, "Dreams Turned into Nightmares," p. 12.

¹⁶⁹² Noor Zahid and Muhammad Ishtiaq, "Tribesmen Return to Destroyed Schools in Pakistan's Tribal Region," *VoA*, September 3, 2017.

¹⁶⁹³ CEDAW, "Concluding observations," CEDAW/C/PAK/CO/4, para. 27.

- ¹⁶¹⁴ A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, <http://www.protectingeducation.org/education-under-attack-2018-references>.
- ¹⁶¹⁵ Human Rights Watch, "Dreams Turned into Nightmares," p. 20.
- ¹⁶¹⁶ A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, <http://www.protectingeducation.org/education-under-attack-2018-references>.
- ¹⁶¹⁷ UN General Assembly and Security Council, "Report of the Secretary-General," A/68/878-S/2014/339, para. 190.
- ¹⁶¹⁸ Human Rights Watch, "Dreams Turned into Nightmares," p. 34.
- ¹⁶¹⁹ AFP, "Two polling stations blown up in Balochistan," *Dawn*, May 2, 2013. "Two polling stations blown up," *Dawn (Pakistan)*, May 3, 2013. "Attacks continue as polling day nears," *Pakistan Today*, May 3, 2013. "Miscreants blow polling station in Kohlu," *News Tribune*, May 7, 2013, as cited in START, GTD 201305070030. Syed Ali Shah, "Polling stations attacked in Balochistan; National Party chief attacked," *Dawn (Pakistan)*, May 6, 2013. "Polling stations targeted in Balochistan blasts; NP chief attacked," *Baluchistan News Network*, May 6, 2013. "Balochistan: Polling station attacked in Nushki," *Geo.tv*, May 8, 2013. "VIDEO: Many injured in bombing at Pakistan polling station," *BBC News*, May 11, 2013. Ali Hazrat Bacha, "One killed, 21 injured in Peshawar blasts," *Dawn (Pakistan)*, May 12, 2013. "Blasts in Karachi, Peshawar kill 11," *Dunya News*, May 11, 2013. "Pakistan: IED defused in Bannu," *Right Vision News*, May 13, 2013, as cited in START, GTD 201305110024. "Terror bid foiled, 15 kg explosives defused," *Frontier Post*, May 12, 2013, as cited in START, GTD 201305110024.
- ¹⁶²⁰ Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), *Annual Report 2013: Education* (Lahore: HRCP, March 2014), p. 232.
- ¹⁶²¹ Human Rights Watch, "Dreams Turned into Nightmares," p. 36.
- ¹⁶²² UN General Assembly and Security Council, "Report of the Secretary-General," A/68/878-S/2014/339, para. 190.
- ¹⁶²³ A full list of references can be found on GCPEA's website, <http://www.protectingeducation.org/education-under-attack-2018-references>.
- ¹⁶²⁴ UN General Assembly and Security Council, "Report of the Secretary-General," A/69/926-S/2015/409, para. 242.
- ¹⁶²⁵ HRCP, *Annual Report 2014* (Lahore: HRCP, March 2015), p. 279.
- ¹⁶²⁶ "School set on fire in Kech district," *Dawn*, September 3, 2014. Shezad Baloch, "Education emergency: In a first, private school comes under attack in Turbat," *Express Tribune*, September 3, 2014.
- ¹⁶²⁷ Human Rights Watch, "Dreams Turned into Nightmares," p. 29. Shezad Baloch, "Education emergency: In a first, private school comes under attack in Turbat," *Express Tribune*, September 3, 2014. HRCP, *State of Human Rights in 2014*, p. 277.
- ¹⁶²⁸ HRCP, *State of Human Rights in 2014*, p. 277.
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