

A SURVEY AND ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM
DEVELOPMENT IN AFGHANISTAN FROM 1966 TO 1976

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Thesis presented to the School
of Graduate Studies of the
University of Ottawa as partial
fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy



Ottawa, Canada, 1977



M.N. Ahmadyar, Ottawa, Canada, 1977

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis was prepared under the supervision of Professor Robert O'Reilly, Ph.D., of the Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, to whom the writer is grateful for his valuable appraisals and suggestions.

The writer wishes to thank Professor Patrick Babin, Ph.D., of the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa who in this research and during the program of study in his role as advisor and friend has made it all possible.

Special thanks are due to Dr. Ruth Whitehead, of the Faculty of Education of the University of Ottawa, for her advice, recommendations and scholarly guidance in leading the writer through the difficult stages of his work to the successful completion of this study.

The writer wishes to express his appreciation to the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan, and to Teachers College Columbia University for their cooperation in supplying official documents.

The writer is much indebted to the persons he was privileged to interview. Their information contributed to the accomplishment of this research.

Finally, the writer takes pride in acknowledging the great debt he owes to Fazila, his dear wife, for her patience and for taking care of our beloved children, David and Wazhma.

CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

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INTRODUCTION

The word "curriculum" does not refer simply to a list of course objectives together with a description of the course content, nor does it describe all the educational activities of a school¹. Taba suggests that it does include a statement of aims, it indicates the organization of content, it implies certain patterns of teaching and it includes a program of evaluation².

The study of curriculum development can be thought of as a study of how curricula came about. In the context of curriculum terminology, other expressions, such as curriculum making or curriculum building, may be equated with curriculum development. They all refer to one and the same process, namely that of the evolution of a curriculum.

Social and technological changes, among others, have affected curriculum development considerably over the last two decades. The curriculum reform movements of the

1 H. Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice, New York, N.Y., Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962, p. 9.

2 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

sixties in the United States³, in Canada⁴, and in other countries around the world such as China, the Republic of Korea, Iraq, Tonga, the Republic of Viet Nam⁵, illustrate the effects of these changes.

The development of the new curriculum in Afghanistan, over almost a decade, is an illustrative case of curriculum reform. The content of the primary school programs and the manner in which curricular decisions were made underwent modification to reflect the aforementioned changes.

In April 1966, an agreement was signed by the officials of the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan and of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) to create a joint development project called the Curriculum and Textbook Project. According to the program agreement, the USAID would supply financial and personnel assistance to the government of Afghanistan pursuant to the following objectives:

3 J. I. Goodlad, School Reform in the United States, New York, N.Y., The Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1964.

4 A. Gunn, "New Social Studies in Canada", Social Education, Vol. 35, No. 6, 1971, p. 665.

5 J. Katz, (ed.), Efficiencies and Inefficiencies in Secondary Schools, Geneva, World Council of Comparative Education Societies, 1974, p. 4.

1. To establish, by 1971, in the Ministry of Education a functional entity responsible for, and capable of, continuing curriculum development for Afghanistan's primary school curriculum, and to create the nation's first modern primary school curriculum.

2. To establish, by 1973, in the Ministry of Education a capacity for the continuing creation and production of modern primary school textbooks, teachers' guides, and supplementary teaching materials, and to prepare Afghanistan's first modern primary textbooks with teacher guides, based on the new curriculum.⁶

In accordance with the USAID regulations, this program agreement has been renewed annually. Each succeeding agreement has maintained the original objectives mentioned above. In 1971, the projected date for completion of the Project was extended to September 1976.

The purpose of this study is to conduct a survey and documentary analysis of those processes that resulted in the development of the new curriculum for use in Afghanistan primary schools as recommended to, and approved by, the Minister of Education of Afghanistan.

An introduction, six chapters, and a summary comprise the content of this thesis. Chapter I describes the economic, political and social setting of contemporary Afghanistan and its educational system. This chapter also describes the

⁶ Project Agreement, No. 306-11-690-091, between the USAID and the Government of Afghanistan, Kabul, April 18, 1966, p. 2.

events leading to the creation of the Curriculum and Textbook Project. Chapter II presents an analytical framework for the investigation of the study. The framework is based on selected curriculum literature. Chapter III outlines the problem areas and discusses the methodology for obtaining and assessing data.

For the purpose of this study the Curriculum and Textbook Project has been divided into three phases: 1) antecedent to reform 1966-1969, 2) planning and revision 1970-1972, and 3) revision and evaluation 1973-1976.

The last three chapters describe and analyze the development of the new primary school curriculum from its initiation in 1966 to the completion of the program in 1976.

This is followed by the summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the background for this study. In the first section, basic data relative to the economic, political, and social setting of Afghanistan and its educational system are presented. The second section examines the events leading to the formal creation of the Curriculum and Textbook Project, a joint venture of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Government of Afghanistan. The third section discusses the importance of the study. A statement of the specific problem investigated in this study concludes this chapter.

1. The Republic of Afghanistan.

Afghanistan balances on the south central spine of the Hindu Kush mountains of Asia. It is bordered on the east and south by Pakistan, by Iran on the west, and by the Soviet Union on the north. For a few kilometers, at the tip of the northeast Wakham corridor, it has a common border with the People's Republic of China. In size Afghanistan is 250,000 square miles. Climatically the nation varies from arid desert plains, several hundred feet above sea level, to alpine heights of over 20,000 feet. The majority of the

population is located along the river drainage systems. Recent estimates place the national population at 17,086,000, including 2.8 million nomads¹.

Ethnographically Afghanistan is as diverse as it is geographically. Two major languages are spoken and approximately thirty different dialects. Pashto and Dari (Persian) are the two officially recognized national languages. This diversity of languages reinforces social patterns which give precedence to family, clan, and regional affiliation.

The Economic System — Afghanistan, like most developing countries, dreams of industrialization, but its economy remains fundamentally agriculture². Most capital development programs are funded by foreign assistance accounts. The principal export earning commodities, carpets, dried fruits, and Karakul, reflect the agrarian base of the Afghan economy. Traditional animal husbandry, fruit and grain production predominate.

In terms of manpower only twelve percent of the estimated 4,391,000 work force, or 531,000 persons, are engaged in activities other than agricultural production.

1 Ministry of Planning, Department of Statistics, Statistical Pocket-Book of Afghanistan - 1350, Kabul, Afghanistan, 1972, p. 3.

2 L. Dupree, Afghanistan, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1973, p. 623.

Approximately two-thirds of the nonagricultural work force is employed by the national government³.

Geographic isolation has been a major constraint to the modernization of the Afghan economy. The import and export of bulk commodities are primarily confined to the Oxus River port of Serkhan on the northern border linking Afghanistan with the Soviet Union and East European countries and to Torkham (Khyber Pass), linking Afghanistan with Pakistan's railroads and roads, the port of Karachi, and India. To a lesser extent the Iranian border and the national airline, Ariana, are conduits for commerce and communication.

Estimates place the per capita Gross National Product between Afghanies 4,900 (\$98) and Afghanies 6,250 (\$125)⁴. Since large segments of the nomadic and semi-nomadic population are engaged in subsistence agricultural activities not reflected in currency accounts these figures may be misleading. An indication of the range of salaries can be seen in the civil service salary schedule. Rank ten, the lowest permanent rank on the schedule, offers a salary of Afghanies 1,500 (\$30) per month. Rank one, which is

3 Ministry of Planning, p. 136.

4 "Gross National Product Estimates", Kabul Times, April 10, 1973, p. 2.

limited to Deputy Ministers and Governors, lists a salary of Afghanies 4,700 (\$114) per month. A middle level civil servant (rank seven) receives a monthly base salary of Afghanies 2,500 (\$50). Augmented by Afghanies 500 (\$10) for educational and other increments, his monthly income totals Afghanies 3,000 (\$60) or Afghanies 36,000 (\$720) per annum. This salary must support six persons which is equivalent to a per capita annual income of Afghanies 6,000 (\$120) or slightly more than the lowest estimated per capita GNP of Afghanies 4,850 (\$97). Reviewing the monthly expenses of this model family group of six persons, it was found that seventy-three percent of the monthly income goes toward the purchase of basic food stuffs. Clothing, fuel, transportation and medical expenses must come from the remaining Afghanies 700 (\$14). No provision for rent expenses has been included in this example. Housing is usually secured by utilizing the capital resources of the extended family.

The Political Structure — In 1747, Ahmed Shah Durani effected a coalition of restless independent tribes, thereby shaping the modern Kingdom of Afghanistan as a buffer territory against the imperial southward expansion of Czarist Russia and the northward pressure of

British-controlled India⁵. After two centuries of tribal-supported monarchy, a parliamentary democracy was created in 1964, together with a new Constitution.

The Constitution, or "Basic Law", provided for an elected bicameral parliament, an executive branch appointed by the King, but which had to receive a vote of confidence from the lower body of the bicameral parliament. The judiciary was appointed solely by the King.

Administratively Afghanistan is divided into twenty-eight provinces with Kabul as the capital. All administrative activities of the government emanate from the central government including provincial administrations and judicial appointments.

On July 17, 1973, Sardar Mohammed Daoud Khan, first cousin and brother-in-law of the King, and former Prime Minister (1953-1963), declared Afghanistan a Republic, thus ending the nine-year constitutional monarchy experiment⁶. Following the coup d'etat the King was deposed, parliament dissolved, and the constitution abrogated. Since the coup

5. L. B. Poullada, Reform and Rebellion in Afghanistan 1919-1929, Ithica, New York, Cornell University Press, 1973, p. 1.

6 L. W. Adamec, Afghanistan's Foreign Affairs to the Mid-Twentieth Century, Tucson, Arizona, The University of Arizona Press, 1974, p. 242.

the Republic of Afghanistan has been governed by a provisional executive headed by President Daoud.

Between 1953 and 1963, Daoud employed Soviet military assistance to build a national Afghan military structure to a level of strength which for the first time in two hundred years gave the monarchy a focus of power greater than the tribal forces which had historically been the king makers and breakers of Afghanistan. Concurrent with this consolidation of central-government power was a judicious use of "Cold War" foreign assistance to develop Afghanistan's infrastructure. Communication networks between major urban centers of the country were improved. Telephone lines were installed, highways paved, and airports built. In the economic sector reclamation and irrigation projects were initiated. Social service development focused on the quantitative expansion of educational facilities. The overall development strategy centered around a series of five-year plans begun in 1957.

When Daoud resigned as prime minister (1963) and the constitutional experiment began, cutbacks in foreign loans and grants to the various ministries and development projects curtailed economic expansion. By 1965 economic growth had come to a standstill and remained so until 1971. In 1972, the GNP recorded a ten-percent growth in constant

prices, but the surge faltered in the early months of 1973 as the inflation rate spiraled⁷.

Thus while the locus of political power remained with the military whose support in the summer of 1973 made the coup possible, the constitutional experiment ended with disintegrative elements far greater than they had been nine years earlier⁸. Economic stagnation, continued ideological and ethnocentric factionalism, and an educational system producing a growing number of urban disenfranchised graduates confronted the new Republic of Afghanistan in 1973. The transition period of the new republic regime will be ended in 1977 when the people of Afghanistan vote on the new Constitution⁹.

The Educational System — The beginning of formal state-supported education in Afghanistan goes back to the early twentieth century. The first regular primary school was established in 1909. By 1913, a Council of Public Instruction was formed and charged with:

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 President's Speech, "The Republic State First Loy Gerga Will Be Held in Kabul in January 1977", Jamhuriat, December 28, 1976, p. 1.

- (a) approval of curricula and textbooks,
- (b) control of hygiene and of the financial situation in educational institutions,
- (c) control of examinations and of disciplinary matters.¹⁰

The Council's authority encompassed both the new government-supported schools and the traditional religious mosque schools. The early syllabus of the government primary schools included reading, calligraphy, fundamentals of Islam, and elementary mathematics.

In 1920, the first Minister of Education was appointed. A decade later government records listed thirteen schools and 1,590 students¹¹. By 1940 government schools had increased to 324 with an estimated enrollment of 60,000 students. That year also marked the first major revision in the primary school program. Pashto was designated the sole language of instruction and primary education was extended from four to six years. The Pashto-only directive was modified in 1946 to allow Dari as a medium of instruction in Dari language areas. In 1973 there were Pashto-medium schools in twenty-two of the twenty-eight

¹⁰ Ministry of Education, Education in Afghanistan During the Last Fifty Years, Primary, Secondary and Vocational Education, Vol. 1, Kabul, Government Press, 1968, p. 4.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 12.

provinces and Dari-medium schools in twenty-one of the provinces.

The Afghanistan school system is composed of primary schools, middle schools and high schools. Primary schools include village or rural schools and elementary schools. The village schools are specially designated primary schools typically having one teacher for grades one through three. These schools may have as many as three teachers and in certain instances will offer classes through grade six. Village school students have a special textbook series not used in elementary schools. The texts contain all curriculum subjects; namely, reading, mathematics, history, geography and religious studies under one cover for each grade. Elementary schools are multi-teacher primary schools offering classes grades one through six in urban or large village communities. Currently, texts include readers for each grade, from one through three, and individual subject texts for grades four through six. When village schools are extended through grade six, students use the elementary school subject texts.

Secondary schools are comprised of middle schools (grades seven to nine) and high schools or lycees (grades ten to twelve). In addition to the general lycees there are also secondary vocational schools. Middle school

programs are often attached to lycees or are extensions of elementary schools.

By 1951 total enrollment in grades one through twelve had only reached 94,000. Ten years later, enrollment had more than doubled under the stimulation of the Daoud government's first five-year development plan. In the succeeding decade, as shown in Table I, this quantitative expansion of school enrollment increased in velocity and continued to be a primary educational goal of the Afghan government.

The fourth five-year plan (1972-1976) projected a continuing emphasis on the numerical expansion of the educational system.

The expected increase in the number of elementary and village schools during the plan will be from 3,200 to 4,500 by the end of the plan period [...]. As a result of the expansion there will be a 59% increase in the enrollment of these schools [...]. The number of secondary schools will increase from 660 to 870 by the end of the plan. Total enrollment will increase from 123,000 to 164,000.¹²

Significantly, in 1973, following the creation of the Republic of Afghanistan, the new regime publicly supported the continuing quantitative expansion of the educational system. It has also sought to liberalize

¹² "Text of Afghanistan's Fourth 5 Year Plan", Kabul Times, February 8, 1973, p. 2.

Table I.-
Selected Enrollment Data Afghan
Public Schools - 1951-1971.

Year	Primary Schools (Village and Elementary)	Middle Schools Grades VII-IX	Secondary Schools (Lycee and Vocational) Grades X-XII
1951	88,000	2,341	3,683
1961	213,000	11,179	9,037
1966	402,000	36,113	20,819
1971	575,000	91,127	46,553

Source: Ministry of Education, Education in Afghanistan During the Last Fifty Years, Primary, Secondary and Vocational Education, Vol. 1, Kabul, Government Press, 1973, p. 56.

primary school advancement by establishing a policy of automatic advancement for all students through grade three. The explanation of this new policy stressed the importance of schooling as an integrative force in the building of the Republic.

There are compelling reasons for this numerical emphasis. After fifteen years of planned growth only an estimated twenty-two percent of the primary school-age population was enrolled in schools at the end of 1971. A corresponding smaller percentage of the secondary school-age cohort was enrolled.

Even as enrollment rates have increased in absolute terms, student dropout rates have also increased. For example, in 1966 the sixth-grade graduates numerically accounted for only half of the first-grade class entering school six years earlier. By 1971 the sixth-grade graduates equaled only thirty-six percent of the first-grade students entering school six years before. A similar calculation for secondary students (middle school grades seven to nine, and high school grades ten to twelve) reveals an even greater wastage. The twelfth-grade graduate of 1971 accounted for less than two percent of the first-grade enrollees of 1959.

Enrollment figures for the 1972-1973 academic year were as follows: Village Schools 123,580; Elementary Schools

451,920; Middle Schools 91,127; Lycees 34,196; Vocational and Teacher Training Schools 12,257; and Higher Education 8,074¹³.

Females comprise less than fourteen percent of all primary school students and only twelve percent of secondary school enrollees.

The Afghan government's economic support of education, though increasing steadily between 1966 and 1975, is parsimonious when compared to the fifteen to twenty percent of national budgets allocated to education in most developing countries. Between 1966 and 1975, educational expenditures increased from less than seven percent of government allocations to 8.5 percent in 1972. In relation to the GNP, educational expenditures have remained at an almost constant 0.8 percent of the Gross National Product¹⁴.

Like all other segments of the Afghan government, the Ministry of Education is administratively highly centralized. The Ministry is comprised of sixteen departments and some subdivisions. Departments (Administration, Primary Education, Publications, Teacher Education) are administered by presidents. Divisions, both independent and subordinate to departments, are headed by Directors General. Presidents and

13 "New Trends in Afghan Education", Kabul Times, April 2, 1973, p. 3.

14 Ministry of Planning, p. 159.

Directors General are responsible to the First Deputy Minister. In addition, several organizations outside the ministerial structure report directly to the Minister of Education. These include the University of Kabul, Education Press, Pashtu Academy, and the Women's Institute.

Educational policy is promulgated by the Minister of Education and by the Technical Board which is comprised of the First Deputy Minister, the presidents of the various departments of the Ministry of Education, the Vice President of Kabul University and a few professors. The range of policy making includes establishment of all rules and regulations, and the formulation of curricula and course syllabi.

With the promulgation of the Educational Reform Act in 1975 a high council of education was established. The Prime Minister is the Chairman of the council and its members are five ministers and the President of Kabul University. The First Deputy Minister of Education acts as the Secretary of the council. The high council of education has not met to date. The educational reform was approved by the cabinet. The new primary school curriculum has been discussed in the cabinet and was approved by the President of Afghanistan¹⁵.

¹⁵ M. A. F. Siddiq, First Deputy Minister of Education, Personal Interview, October 24, 1976.

After the Ministry of Education, the next level of administration is the Provincial Directorate of Education. Each of the twenty-nine Directors of Education in 1973 (Kabul City plus twenty-eight provinces) is responsible to the presidents of departments in the Ministry of Education for the particular area of authority and responsibility administered by that president (for example, Administration, Inspection, Teacher Education). At the provincial level, the Director of Education is under the direct authority of the provincial governor appointed by the Minister of Interior. This dual-authority structure is a possible source of conflict. Ministry directives may be ignored because provincial governors' directives may take precedence at the local level.

Since provincial administrators are directly and indirectly concerned with the development of the educational system, according to the educational reform¹⁶, it is planned that in the future the provincial offices should be properly equipped and the educational level of their staff should be improved. A number of qualified supervisors will also be employed in these offices.

16 Ministry of Education, Educational Reform Act, Kabul, Government Press, 1975, p. 9.

Primary Education — Primary education is of prime importance to the diffusion of literacy, economic development and modernization of a country's social structure. It is also regarded as the first step toward equal opportunity for all members of Afghan society. This level of education is at the base of the educational pyramid. Efforts are being made to train students from the outset to carry out their individual and social duties on the basis of cultural values¹⁷.

Prior to the implementation of educational reforms, primary education was based on village and six-grade primary schools. On the basis of these reforms the former basic primary and village schools will be gradually upgraded to eight-grade schools. This is intended to wipe out illiteracy, expand vocational information, improve the quality of primary education and create equilibrium between various educational levels in a gradual manner.

Between the years 1976 and 1982, village and six-grade primary schools will be gradually converted to eight-grade ones as shown in Table II.

¹⁷ Ministry of Planning, First Seven-Year Plan of the Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul, Government Press, 1977, p. 7.

Table II.-

The Conversion of Village and Six-Grade Schools
to Eight-Grade Primary Schools.

Year	Village School	Conversion to Basic	Conversion of Six to Eight-Grade Schools	Total Eight- Grade Schools	New Schools
1975	1,812	0	0	646	0
1976	1,752	60	473	1,179	50
1977	1,672	80	52	1,361	60
1978	1,572	100	31	1,552	70
1979	1,452	120	13	1,755	80
1980	1,312	140	86	2,051	90
1981	1,146	166	41	2,358	100
1982	906	240	3	2,701	110

Source: Ministry of Planning, First Seven-Year Plan of the Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul, Government Press, 1977, p. 8.

The above changes will be brought about as a result of natural conditions, existence of buildings, and an adequate supply of commercial enterprise students and teachers. Nine hundred six village schools will be gradually converted into basic schools and 699 six-grade primary schools into eight-grade ones. The number of eight-grade schools will be raised from 646 in 1975 to 2,701 in 1982 and 906 other village schools will continue due to lack of premises. Under the seven-year plan, 560 eight-grade primary basic schools shall be opened and thus the total number of primary basic schools will be raised from 1,345 in 1975 to 2,811 at the end of the plan¹⁸.

Simultaneously with these changes, the total number of primary school students including those from village schools will be raised from 79,000 in 1975 to 128,000 in 1982. School entrance age will be lowered from seven to six, but this will be carried out gradually and first in towns. The number of primary school graduates will be raised from 29,000 in 1975 to 41,400 in 1982.

The ratio between primary school students and children of seven to fourteen years of age will be raised

18 Ibid., p. 9.

from 28.7 percent in 1965 to 39.6 percent at the end of the plan. Likewise, the number of teachers in primary schools will be raised from 21,000 to 36,000 and the ratio between students and teachers will be reduced from 37:1 to 35:1.

2. Curriculum and Textbook Project.

The importance of public education was quantitatively indicated through the 1960's by the Afghan government. During the first two five-year plans (1957-1961, 1962-1966), school facilities and student enrollment more than tripled. Secondary vocational programs and teacher-training courses expanded. New course offerings were made available at both the secondary and higher education level. During the same period increasing student failure and repeater rates at all levels of education pointed to the limitations of simple numerical expansion. Professional educational leaders began to question traditional schooling which stressed rote, memorization and recitation.

The advocates of general quantitative educational expansion argued: "By spreading primary education throughout the country, we are trying to lay the basis of a literate society"¹⁹. They considered literacy to be the single most important outcome of schooling. Yet the demand for education was beginning to far outpace the available facilities, particularly at the secondary and higher education levels. In 1966 there were sufficient places in Kabul University for all high school graduates (1500) who sought admission to the university. Projecting these figures, the government calculated at the beginning of the third five-year plan (1967) that the total annual high school graduation cohort would only reach 4,300 by 1971²⁰. But by the spring of 1973 high school graduates numbered 18,000 with places for only twelve percent of this number in the university²¹.

19 M. H. Miawandwal, Former Prime Minister, "Speech on Education", Kabul Times Annual, Kabul, Government Press, January 1967, p. 37.

20 Ibid.

21 "2,205 New Students Gain Admission to Kabul University", Kabul Times, April 19, 1973, p. 2.

A second viewpoint developed which argued "[...] that the content of the (school) curriculum required extensive revision if the schools are to function directly as instruments of the national development process"²². Thus, following the signing of the 1964 Constitution, the rhetoric of economic and social development evoked new expectations from the education sector. This growing recognition of the importance of education was built into the 1964 Constitution: "The Government Press is obliged to prepare and implement a programme for balanced and universal education in Afghanistan"²³.

Immediately following the October 1, 1964, promulgation of the new Constitution, Ministry of Education officials addressed themselves to the question of educational quality.

22 R. A. King, "Developing a New Curriculum for Afghanistan Elementary Schools", Kabul, Teachers College, Columbia University/Afghanistan, June 1967, p. 2. (Mimeographed)

23 Constitution of Afghanistan, Kabul, University Press, 1964, p. 34.

At the suggestion of His Excellency, the Minister of Education, representatives of a number of agencies met on October 20th to consider ways in which the agencies could cooperate in improving curriculum and textbooks for primary schools in Afghanistan. Agencies represented were: Ministry of Education, Department of Compilation, Department of Curriculum Diffusion, Ministry of Education Press; Franklin Press; Asia Foundation; UNESCO; and the TCCU Team.²⁴

An early formulation of the proposed undertaking outlined seven purposes:

²⁴ "Multi-Agency Cooperation in Curriculum and Text-book Production", an undated document from the Teachers College Columbia University Team Archives identified as Document #6, 1964, p. 9. (Mimeographed)

1. To establish the general goals and objectives of primary education.
2. To determine the scope and sequence of courses and experiences to be provided in the primary schools.
3. To determine the scope and sequence of courses and other experiences to be provided at each grade level and specific objectives to be serviced.
4. To prepare textbooks for use in courses taught in the primary school.
5. To prepare teachers' guides for use with each textbook or in the absence of textbooks when the latter is not required.
6. To prepare supplementary materials and aids for student and teacher use.
7. To provide instruction to leaders in primary education who will be responsible for the implementation of the new curricula and textbooks.²⁵

The Project Agreement — In 1966, approximately eighteen months after the multiple-agency meeting called by the Minister of Education, the first program agreement was signed by the Government of Afghanistan and the USAID. The agreement stipulated the following objectives:

25 "Suggested Procedures to be followed in Conducting Primary School Curriculum/Textbook Project", Document #6A. Corroborative papers suggest that this paper was written by a member or members of the Teachers College group in 1964 or early 1965, p. 7. (Mimeographed)

1. To establish, by 1971, within the Ministry of Education a functional entity responsible for, and capable of, continuing curriculum development for Afghanistan's primary school curriculum; and to create the nation's first modern primary school curriculum.

2. To establish, by 1971, in the Ministry of Education a capacity for the continuing creation and production of modern primary school textbooks, teachers' guides, and supplementary teaching materials; and to prepare Afghanistan's first modern primary textbooks with the teachers' guides based on the new curriculum.²⁶

Beyond these stated objectives, general contractual obligations of the contracting parties were enumerated. No specific procedures or sequence of events were detailed which might guide the persons responsible for achieving the stated objectives.

In effect, an idea had been developed by the foreign-assistance community of the Afghan government which was then expanded into a feasible undertaking by the USAID-Columbia University contract team and translated into a bilateral foreign-assistance program by USAID.

Soon after the signing of the program agreement there was a change in USAID mission personnel. Though the first American specialist had been hired and was in Kabul

²⁶ Program Agreement, No. 306-11-690-091, between the Government of Afghanistan and USAID, Kabul, April 18, 1966, p. 2.

by mid-summer, "the project was postponed until a short-term specialist from the United States could be brought to Afghanistan to make a 'feasibility study' of the proposed project"²⁷. The report emphasized the need to reflect Afghan culture in the proposed project and recommended that the project be located within the Ministry of Education, that its staff headquarters be housed in the Ministry of Education, and that it be responsible directly to the Ministry of Education. This was a significant development. For the first time a Teachers College Columbia University (TCCU) contract activity was not included under the administrative direction of the Institute of Education located at Kabul University, which had been the chosen instrument of TCCU activities since 1955. The project was finally approved by USAID and officially initiated by the Minister of Education in November 1966. According to the final agreement²⁸, the project will have been terminated in May 1977; the total elimination of the old curriculum in the primary schools took place in 1976.

27 R. A. King, p. 15.

28 Project Agreement, No. 306-11-690-091, between USAID and the Ministry of Education, Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul, December 1975, p. 1.

3. Significance of the Study.

Curriculum studies to date have concentrated on the stages and outcomes of the curriculum development process. Walker has stated that "despite a decade and a half of unprecedented activity in curriculum development we know very little about the methods of operation of curriculum development groups"²⁹. He further commented that the process itself is a neglected area of study. Much more needs to be known about this phase of development. One attempt to analyze the process is the research undertaken by Korteweg³⁰ in which he applied Walker's naturalistic model to the development of new social studies programs in Alberta. The work of Walker, along with the work of Gergen, provided a perspective and context for the analysis of the political nature of curriculum policy making.

Curriculum projects in developing countries have been investigated within the context of stages and outcomes. Some studies have concentrated on the planned sequence of events related to the design of a particular project.

29 D. F. Walker, "A Naturalistic Model for Curriculum Development", School Review, Vol. 80, No. 1, 1971, p. 60.

30 L. Korteweg, A Decade of Social Studies Curriculum Development in Alberta, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Edmonton, The University of Alberta, 1972, 283 p.

Other studies have been concerned with the outcomes.

Kizito³¹ designed a conceptual systems approach model for the process of curriculum planning development and supervision in Uganda.

The model consisted of 12 interdependent and interacting sets: 1) components of people served by the school system, 2) theory and foundations of curriculum, 3) formative evaluation, 4) goals, 5) objectives, 6) instructional activities, 7) methodology, 8) instructional materials, 9) summative evaluation, 10) research, 11) implementation, and 12) policy.³²

Rahimi³³ constructed a model for the development and implementation of a science curriculum in the elementary schools of Iran.

The need for the study was indicated by the government's continued plans and efforts to improve educational opportunities, the present elementary science curriculum and the methods employed in teaching, and the inherent potential which science instruction has for developing in children desirable patterns of thinking and acting.³⁴

31 E. Kizito, A Conceptual Systems Approach Model Designed for the Process of Curriculum Planning, Development and Supervision in Uganda, unpublished Ed.D. Thesis, Michigan, Western Michigan University, 1975, 264 p.

32 Ibid., p. 29.

33 M. N. Rahimi, A Model for the Development and Implementation of a Science Curriculum in the Elementary Schools of Iran, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan, Michigan State University, 1975, 204 p.

34 Ibid., p. 14.

The Rahimi model presents a theoretical scheme which was constructed from hypothetical reasoning and empirical information. It was assumed that the model was by design adaptable to and functionable within the present organizational pattern of elementary education under the administration of the Ministry of Education of Iran.

Easterly³⁵ developed a plan for assessing the educational impact of the Primary School Curriculum and Textbook Project on the primary school students' learning.

The studies undertaken to date in developing countries have ignored the development process. Two concerns become apparent. One is related to process and one is related to the context in which the process takes place. This study attempts to examine the process in the context of a developing country.

4. Statement of the Problem.

The purpose of this study is to conduct a survey and documentary analysis of those processes that resulted in the development of the new curriculum for use in Afghanistan primary schools as recommended to, and approved by, the Minister of Education of Afghanistan.

³⁵ E. M. Easterly, Impact of the Afghanistan Ministry of Education Curriculum Textbook Project on Primary School Student Learning, unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York, New York, TCCU, 1974, 280 p.

This study will attempt to: 1) identify curriculum developers, 2) analyze the curriculum development process, and 3) examine the outcome of the process in the light of an analytical framework designed for this purpose. The specific research questions are:

1. What individuals and factors can be identified in the curriculum development process?
2. What decisions and factors were crucial and had an important bearing on the development of new curriculum?
3. How did these decisions and factors affect the outcome of the process?

Models proposed by Gergen and Walker provide the framework within which the study is possible. Gergen³⁶ constructed a model that is useful for the identification of decision makers and a technique by which their influence can be assessed. Walker³⁷ devised a model which provides a conceptual basis for the study of curriculum development in the context of its total environment. These models will be discussed in detail in the second chapter.

36 K. J. Gergen, "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation", in Raymond A. Bauer and K. J. Gergen, (eds.), The Study of Policy Formation, New York, N.Y., Free Press, 1968, pp. 181-203.

37 D. F. Walker, p. 51.

While this study was designed to find out what changes affected the development of the new curriculum, especially in view of the ever-expanding environment; to identify the personnel involved in this curriculum development, the extent of their involvement, and how they related to each other; and to analyze the actual process of curriculum development in Afghanistan; it is important to delimit the scope of the study.

The study is limited to grades one to six and is restricted to the developmental phase of curriculum. It does not include implementation or evaluation except for purposes of trial implementation and evaluation during the piloting of newly developed programs. Also, the study is delimited to consultation with those persons and groups whose influence could be ascertained as having contributed to this development. The time frame of the study encompasses a ten-year period starting in 1966 when the new curriculum was initiated and ending in 1976 when the old program was completely phased out.

The study required the writer to interview various individuals who at one time or another have been involved in the development of the new curriculum. This means, in addition to the Ministry of Education officials, Kabul

University personnel, and American advisors from Columbia University. These people served on curriculum committees under the auspices of the Ministry of Education. The analytical framework for the investigation of this study will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents a selected review of the literature pertaining to curriculum development. From this review of the literature a conceptual framework emerges based on the models proposed by Walker¹ and Gergen². This framework provides the context in which this study is undertaken.

1. Background Literature.

Since the study focuses on an exploration of what actually does take place in the development of a curriculum, a search was conducted for descriptive models which would extend beyond the usual ends-means³ models found in earlier literature. The latter models, labeled "classical"⁴, although rational in approach, are of a more prescriptive

1 D. F. Walker, "A Naturalistic Model for Curriculum Development", School Review, Vol. 80, No. 1, 1971, pp. 51-56.

2 K. J. Gergen, "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation", in R. A. Bauer and K. J. Gergen, (eds.), The Study of Policy Formation, New York, N.Y., Free Press, 1968, pp. 181-203.

3 T. J. Sergiovanni and R. J. Starratt, Emerging Patterns of Supervision: Human Perspectives, New York, N.Y., McGraw Hill, 1971, p. 224.

4 D. F. Walker, p. 51.

nature and do not provide the curriculum developer with an opportunity to look at process.

Tyler's work is foundational in the study of curriculum⁵. His prescriptive model⁶ was at best a sketchy manual for curriculum construction, and is more of an outline of one way to view an instructional program. Reid⁷ commented on Tyler's prescriptive model as follows:

[...] Tyler's work was more important for the logical extensions which it invited than for what it specifically recommended, and for what was conspicuously omitted than for what was included. Little or nothing was said about the constraints on curriculum planning, and, in spite of his insistence that there must be many sources of objectives (and not just for the task of analysis proposed by Bobbitt), problems of choice and of achieving consensus were ignored.⁸

Taba⁹ elaborated on the prescriptive model by refining Tyler's basic four-step framework for developing a

5 T. J. Sergiovanni and R. J. Starratt, p. 223.

6 R. Tyler, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction, Chicago, Illinois, The University of Chicago Press, 1950, 128 p.

7 W. A. Reid, "The Changing Curriculum: Theory and Practice", in W. A. Reid and D. F. Walker, (eds.), Case Studies in Curriculum Change: Great Britain and the United States, London, England, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, 268 p.

8 Ibid., p. 243.

9 H. Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice, New York, N.Y., Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962, 526 p.

curriculum into seven steps: 1) diagnosis of needs; 2) formulation of objectives; 3) selection of content; 4) organization of content; 5) selection of learning experiences; 6) organization of learning experiences; and 7) evaluation¹⁰. For both Tyler and Taba's analysis, before objectives are formulated, needs are examined.

Goodlad and Richter¹¹ further refined the prescriptive model and offered a conceptual system. The Goodlad-Richter model is concerned more with the decision-making process and the sources for information regarding the decisions to be made than with the context of these decisions.

In his model, Goodlad presents us with a design of a rational system. Unfortunately, the model does not indicate the political contexts of educational decisions, in which more than pure reason determines the outcome.¹²

Myers¹³ analyzed the three levels of decision making identified in the Goodlad-Richter model. He attempted to formulate a conceptualization to view and guide the practical

10 Ibid., p. 9.

11 J. I. Goodlad and M. N. Richter, The Development of a Conceptual System for Dealing with Problems of Curriculum and Instruction, Los Angeles, University of California, Los Angeles, and Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Incorporated, 1966, p. 5.

12 T. J. Sergiovanni and R. J. Starratt, p. 226.

13 D. A. Myers, Decision Making in Curriculum and Instruction, Dayton, Ohio, Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Incorporated, 1970, 54 p.

business of making curricular decisions at societal, institutional and instructional levels.

Goodlad then 'imposes' the Tyler rationale on these three levels. Tyler's rationale suggests a way of preparing, developing, and organizing learning experiences to attain objectives. His rationale is not concerned with decision-making levels in organizations. By combining the two concepts, Goodlad creates a new conceptualization which has decision making as its principle focus. But decision making per se is not discussed.¹⁴

Through the analysis of decision making and its relationship to organizations, Myers' conceptualization contributed to the identification of the actors, their stage and their roles in the decision-making drama they are to play.

Scheffler¹⁵, in a paper on justifying curriculum decisions, wrote that "decisions that confront educators are notoriously varied, complex, and far-reaching in importance, but none outweighs in difficulty or significance those decisions governing selection of content"¹⁶. He analyzed the process of justification along with suggestions for justifying decisions on curriculum.

14 Ibid., p. 9.

15 I. Scheffler, "Justifying Curriculum Decisions", School Review, Vol. 66, No. 1, Spring 1958, pp. 461-472.

16 Ibid., p. 461.

If these decisions are at once inescapable, important, and subject to rational critique, it is of interest to try to clarify the process of such critique, to state the rules we take to govern the justifying of curricular decisions. Such clarification is not to be confused with an attempt to justify this or that decision; rather, the aim is to make the grounds of decision explicit. Furthermore, clarification cannot be accomplished once and for all time but is rather to be seen as a continuing accompaniment to educational practice.¹⁷

Curriculum development implies more than the rational development of a method for presenting content in a school setting. It is closely tied in with choice and action.

What is not often so apparent [...] is that the process of curriculum development has not been a simple rational one, but a complex political and ethical phenomenon with a quality of rational technical support.¹⁸

Thus certain criteria were to be considered in the search for an analytical framework that was suitable for the purpose of this study. The rationale guiding the search for the framework was two-fold. First, it had to provide an opportunity to represent phenomena and relations that actually were encountered during the process of curriculum development. Secondly, the framework had to be suitable to

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ J. B. MacDonald, "Curriculum Development in Relation to Social and Intellectual Systems", in The Curriculum: Retrospect and Prospect, 70th: NSSE Yearbook, Part I, Chicago, Illinois, The University of Chicago Press, 1968, p. 97.

give some direction to the study. Thus the conceptual framework had to suggest areas to be explored and phenomena to be investigated, as well as to provide a means for the conceptualization of these phenomena.

Based on the selected criteria, the search for a conceptual framework was redirected to another approach for curriculum development different from that proposed by Tyler, Taba and Goodlad. Since the focus of this study was on the analysis of curriculum development in a curriculum project, the process of decision making in a practical mode was a key factor to the identification and conceptualization of a framework.

Schwab¹⁹ referred to the "practical" as:

[...] a complex discipline, relatively unfamiliar to the academic and differing radically from the disciplines of the theoretic. It is the discipline concerned with eclectic arts and must be massively supplemented, as well as mediated, by knowledge of another kind derived from some other sources.²⁰

Schwab's practical model differs from prescriptive models in the treatment of objectives.

19 J. J. Schwab, "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum", School Review, Vol. 78, No. 1, November 1969, pp. 1-23.

20 Ibid., p. 1.

The question arises from the dogma that curriculum should be devised, controlled, and evaluated in the light of objectives taken as the leading principle. Consideration of the practical character of curriculum and instruction convinces me that this dogma is unsound. There are principles alternative to objectives which generate defensible curriculum.²¹

In Schwab's practical, curricular purposes and reasons for them must be communicated by language and by formulation. Such formulations will inevitably fall short of encompassing the full meanings and real intentions of the parties to the curricular deliberation²². Deliberation requires consideration of the widest possible variety of alternatives if it is to be most effective. Schwab clarified the concept of deliberation when he stated:

Deliberation is complex and arduous. It treats both ends and means and must treat them as mutually determining one another. It must try to identify, with respect to both, what facts may be relevant. It must try to ascertain the relevant facts in the concrete case. It must try to identify the desiderata in the case. It must generate alternative solutions. It must make every effort to trace the branching pathways of consequences which may flow from each alternative and affect desiderata. It must then weigh alternatives and their costs and consequences against one another and choose, not the right alternative, for there is no such thing, but the best one.²³

²¹ _____, "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic", School Review, Vol. 79, No. 4, August 1971, p. 540.

²² _____, "The Practical 3: Translation into Curriculum", School Review, Vol. 81, No. 4, August 1973, p. 505.

²³ _____, "The Practical: A Language for Curriculum", p. 20.

The meanings which matter are those which determine whether a given text, a given pattern of teaching, a given treatment of a topic, when examined and momentarily submitted to, is both felt and seen to be appropriate to the curriculum which has been envisaged. Schwab further explained:

These meanings lie in the whole course of the deliberations which created them. The meanings lie as much in what was decided against as what was decided for. They lie in the reasons for rejection of alternatives as much as in the reasons for preferring those which are preferred. They lie in the nuances of expression in the course of deliberation.²⁴

Fox²⁵ analyzed the practical mode proposed by Schwab and stated that the composition and working style of the staff that will prepare the curriculum is an important aspect of the practical. The staff should consist of people whose collective competency and experience are rich enough to contend with the complexity to be encountered in deliberation²⁶.

Schwab's contribution has generated further exploration of the concept of deliberation through Walker. The

²⁴ _____, "The Practical 3: Translation into Curriculum", p. 506.

²⁵ S. Fox, "A Practical Language of 'The Practical'", Curriculum Theory Network, No. 10, Fall 1972, pp. 45-59.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 48.

latter clarifies and expands on the basis of taking a close look at selected curriculum projects.

Walker²⁷ explained that:

I was and I am concerned with the intellectual processes of inquiry, judgment, decision, and action that preceded, surrounded, and underlay the design of a curriculum. Talk that is directed toward such substantive problems is most aptly called deliberation.²⁸

In a study of curriculum development in a curriculum project, Walker reported that:

[...] we reconsider the emphasis we have traditionally placed on the role of educational objectives or aims in the formulation of curriculum. Other kinds of statements, explanations, conceptions, exemplary products, and procedures seem equally useful.²⁹

In a paper Walker³⁰ presented a brief summary of the results of a detailed study of deliberation in three curriculum projects. It was a detailed critical study of particular portions of actual deliberation, in all their

27 D. F. Walker, "Curriculum Development in an Art Project", in W. A. Reid and D. F. Walker, pp. 105-145.

28 Ibid., p. 110.

29 _____, "Toward More Effective Curriculum Development Project in Art", Studies in Art Education, Vol. 11, No. 2, Winter 1970, p. 13.

30 _____, "A Study of Deliberation in Three Curriculum Projects", Curriculum Theory Network, No. 7, 1971, pp. 122-133.

peculiarity and uniqueness. He concluded that "these approaches to the study of the process of curriculum deliberation can contribute significantly to practice, theory, and research in the field of curriculum"³¹.

Walker³² clarified his position when he defined curriculum as a field of study.

The phenomena of curriculum include all those activities and enterprises in which curricula are planned, created, adopted, presented, experienced, criticized, attacked, defended, and evaluated, as well as the objects which may be part of the curriculum, such as textbooks, apparatus and equipments, schedules, teacher's guides, and so on.

In addition to these actual objects, events and processes, the phenomena of curriculum can be, and in my judgment should be, interpreted to include the plans, intentions, hopes, fears, dreams and the like of agents, such as teachers, students and curriculum developers or policy-makers.³³

Walker³⁴ devised a model which provides a conceptual basis for the study of curriculum development in the context of its total environment.

31 Ibid., p. 133.

32 _____, "What Curriculum Research?", Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 64-75.

33 Ibid., p. 65.

34 _____, "A Naturalistic Model for Curriculum Development", p. 60.

2. The Walker Model.

Walker³⁵ refers to his model as a "natural" rather than as a "classical" model for curriculum development. In the classical model the objectives and the learning experiences are the formal elements. The determination and formulation of objectives, the selection and organization of learning experiences, and the evaluation of these outcomes are the operations of the classical model. This model then is very reminiscent of the Tyler rationale³⁶.

The stress on objectives, while ideal in theory, does not always match actual practice. Hence, there was a need for a model based on practice as well as on theory. Thus a natural model was constructed as exemplified by Walker³⁷. It has these three elements: 1) a platform, 2) a deliberation process, and 3) a design. Each of these elements will be delineated.

Walker explicitly recognizes that the curriculum developer as an experienced human being has certain beliefs and convictions.

35 Ibid., p. 51.

36 R. W. Tyler, "The Organization of Learning Experiences", in V. E. Herrick and R. W. Tyler, Toward Improved Curriculum Theory, Chicago, Illinois, The University of Chicago Press, 1950, p. 65.

37 D. F. Walker, p. 51.

The curriculum developer does not begin with a blank state. He could not begin without some notion of what is possible and desirable educationally. The system of beliefs and values that guides the development of curriculum is what I call the curriculum platform.³⁸

According to Walker³⁹, the platform includes an idea of what is, and a vision of what ought to be. Both guide the curriculum developer in determining what he should do to realize his vision.

Deliberation is central to curriculum development. It lies at the heart of the process. This process will eventually lead to a curriculum design, the outcome of curriculum processes. It is here that decisions and policies are made⁴⁰.

Walker adds more insight to a conceptualization of the process by observing the following:

38 D. F. Walker, p. 52.

39 D. F. Walker, p. 53.

40 D. F. Walker, p. 54.

1. The main operations in curriculum deliberation are formulating decision points, devising alternative choices at these decision points, considering arguments for and against suggested decision points and decision alternatives, and finally, choosing the most defensible alternative subject to acknowledged constraints.

2. The animating principle in curriculum deliberation is the desire for defensibility, for justifiability of decisions. The heart of the deliberative process is the justification of choices.

3. Data, while not part of the platform, can be a most persuasive basis for justification.

4. When a situation arises that is substantially the same [...] the curriculum designer [...] can simply cite precedent.⁴¹

A cursory examination of the above may create the impression that the deliberative process is very rational and void of any personal feeling. Walker admits that deliberations are often chaotic and confused when he states:

Alternatives are often formulated and defended before the issue has been clearly stated. Feelings run high. Personal preferences are expressed in the same breath with reasoned arguments.⁴²

In Walker's naturalistic model, design is not a list of objectives or a set of learning experiences. Design to Walker is more dynamic and

41 D. F. Walker, pp. 54-57.

42 D. F. Walker, p. 55.

comprehensive. It is a "set of relationships and decisions"⁴³. Its scope extends to include decisions made explicitly and implicitly by the designers during the development process, irrespective of whether or not these decisions resulted in a material form of one kind or another.

Materials are important in that they have features that may condition the events that affected those using the materials. The curriculum guide may affect the teacher; a prescribed text may affect the students. But a decision, not to have a prescribed text, has consequences that may affect those involved even more. And those are the decisions that are not easily deduced from an examination of curriculum guides, in the sense of why and how they were made. Responses from curriculum developers and data obtained from written documents are both necessary to adequately understand how the curriculum was designed.

The Walker model seems to be particularly useful in providing a methodology by which the whole system of curriculum development can be comprehended. It links the deliberative process to platform and design. It is more descriptive than prescriptive. Thus it allows more scope for a consideration of ethical and political phenomena in connection with the development of curriculum.

43 Ibid.

The focus of the model is no longer fixated on objectives as if they were "given" for the deliberative process. Objectives are not necessarily a starting point in this model but may be a late development of the curriculum maker's platform⁴⁴. The model thus contributes considerably to a more realistic approach for the investigation of curriculum development.

Curricular decisions are made at various levels; three levels that have been designated by Goodlad and Richter⁴⁵ are societal, institutional, and instructional. Since this study deals with curriculum development at the societal rather than at the school system or school level, the societal level is of paramount importance.

3. Curriculum Policy Making.

Kirst and Walker⁴⁶ wrote an extensive review of curriculum policy making as it applied to the United States. Much of what they had to say seems to be as relevant to the Afghanistan setting as it is to America. They introduced their paper by stating:

44 D. F. Walker, p. 59.

45 J. I. Goodlad and M. N. Richter, p. 42.

46 M. W. Kirst and D. F. Walker, "An Analysis of Curriculum Policy Making", Review of Educational Research, Vol. 41, No. 5, December 1971, pp. 479-509.

Among the most important of the specifically educational policies of schools are those pertaining to what children study in school. Children in school are normally required to study certain subjects and forbidden to study others, encouraged to pursue some topics and discouraged from pursuing others, provided with opportunities to study some phenomena but not provided with the means of studying others. When these requirements and pressures are uniformly and consistently operative they amount to policy, whether we intended so or not. We shall call such explicit or implicit guides to action curriculum policy and the process of arriving at such policy we shall call curriculum policy making.⁴⁷

After examining several methods of decision making, the authors concluded:

[...] curriculum decisions are not based on quantitative decision techniques or even on a great deal of objective data. This leaves a great deal of latitude for deliberation and for complicated political processes to resolve conflicts of values among various groups and individuals.⁴⁸

Hence the determination of the school curriculum is seen as a process of public policy making which is political in character. It is interesting to note that Dror defines public policy making as:

47 Ibid., p. 479.

48 Ibid., p. 487.

[...] a very complex, dynamic process whose various components make different contributions to it. It decides major guidelines for action directed at the future, mainly by governmental organs. These guidelines (policies) formally aim at achieving what is in the public interest by the best possible means.⁴⁹

Both sources equate policy making with the process of arriving at major guides, or guidelines to action. The program of studies, curriculum guides, and handbooks developed for guidance in the teaching of the courses of studies are guides to action. Thus they can be cited as curriculum policy. Processes instrumental in arriving at such guidelines are therefore, by definition, policy making.

Rogers and Beal⁵⁰ defined influence as those communication contacts which involve a direct face-to-face exchange between the communicator and the communicatee. Many reasons are cited for the importance of personal influence in the decision-making process. In most cases people who interact have similar values, a common level of discourse and are important referents to each other. Not

49 Y. Dror, Public Policy Making Reexamined, San Francisco, Chandler, 1968, p. 12.

50 E. M. Rogers and G. M. Beal, "The Importance of Personal Influence in the Adoption of Technological Changes", Social Forces, Vol. 36, No. 4, May 1958, pp. 329-335.

only information is communicated but the degree and intensity of feeling and conviction is also communicated⁵¹.

Bierstedt⁵² distinguished between influence and power and stated:

Influence does not require power, and power may dispense with influence. Influence may convert a friend, but power coerces friend and foe alike. Influence attaches to an idea, a doctrine, or a creed, and has its locus in the ideological sphere. Power attaches to a person, a group, or an association, and has its locus in the sociological sphere.⁵³

The most important factor, perhaps, is that influence is persuasive while power is coercive. People submit voluntarily to influence while power requires submission.

Patchen⁵⁴ in a study attempted to assess the relative usefulness of "global" and "specific-item" methods of measuring influence. The global method asks the respondent to generalize about such matters as the power structure, the communications structure, and the methods of supervision. The specific-item method asks relatively specific and detailed

51 Ibid., p. 329.

52 R. Bierstedt, "An Analysis of Social Power", American Sociological Review, Vol. 15, No. 6, December 1950, pp. 730-738.

53 Ibid., p. 731.

54 M. Patchen, "Alternative Questionnaire Approaches to the Measurement of Influence on Organizations", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 69, No. 1, July 1963, pp. 41-52.

questions and the generalizations are made on the basis of detailed answers. Both methods have been used to measure among other things the distribution of power and influence within organization⁵⁵. The Patchen study concluded that:

[...] a measure of influence based on questions about specific influence area is a more reliable measure of the influence structure that is a global-type question (at least from the perspective of persons at the same organizational level), while the global-type question is equally good as a predictor of employee morale. Thus where the researcher is attempting to assess actual influence patterns and has to rely on questionnaire data for a rough measure of such patterns, the specific-item measure appears clearly more useful. When the researcher wishes to get perceptions of the actual influence pattern, then the simpler global measure may be equally useful.⁵⁶

Potential for policy influence is contingent on resources — resources that can be drawn upon to command, persuade, or bargain in the decision-making process⁵⁷. Analytically, the policy process is the decision-making activity of individuals occupying strategic positions in institutions⁵⁸. Gergen's⁵⁹ model contributes to an understanding in assessing the influence which give these

55 Ibid., p. 41.

56 Ibid., p. 52.

57 R. F. Campbell and T. L. Mazzoni, Jr., State Policy Making for the Public Schools, Berkeley, California, McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1976, p. 50.

58 N. C. Thomas, Education in National Politics, New York, N.Y., David McKay Company Incorporated, 1975, p. 154.

59 K. J. Gergen, p. 82.

processes their dynamic characteristics. The next section presents the Gergen model.

4. The Gergen Model.

Gergen⁶⁰ considers any social system to be a set of interacting subunits. If the social system is an entire society, then subunits at a macro level may be equated with institutions or organizations, whereas at a micro level they might be equated with individuals. The complex web of social interaction from which policy emanates is determined by the way the subunits interact. This in turn depends on leverage, a term used by Gergen to denote power or influence⁶¹.

Gergen⁶² makes the following assumptions before explicating his model: 1) subunits of greatest importance are individual persons rather than organizations or institutions; 2) one major source of change in a social system is the entry of new information; 3) modification of the system will depend to a large extent on the configuration of subunits; 4) subunits vary in their degree of leverage in the system; and 5) any individual in a society can be compared along three dimensions relevant to the

60 K. J. Gergen, p. 183.

61 Ibid., p. 182.

62 Ibid., p. 182.

concept of leverage. These dimensions Gergen⁶³ labels:

1) issue relevance, 2) subphase resources, and 3) personal efficacy. Each of these dimensions requires amplification.

Gergen⁶⁴ observed that persons vary greatly in their relationship to a given public issue. Different issues may impinge on a person in varying degrees. He makes these assumptions with regard to relevance: 1) an issue will be relevant to an individual to the extent that, for him, it can potentially modify the status quo; 2) the greater the relevance of an issue to a person the stronger will be his attempt to exert leverage; and 3) a separate issue may be varyingly relevant for a given individual; relevance of one issue may be quite unrelated to that of another.

The following illustrate the above-cited assumptions within the context of curriculum development: 1) the authorization of a text is likely to be more relevant to the writer of the textbook than to the person using it; 2) teaching methods implied in a program of studies are less relevant to teachers than the content and structure of the program; 3) an unstructured program may please some teachers while displeasing others.

63 K. J. Gergen, p. 184.

64 K. J. Gergen, p. 183.

Gergen⁶⁵ points out that formation of public policy takes time. Between the inception of an idea and its ultimate implementation, many events transpire. For each of these events sets of resources may be envisioned that could give persons leverage. In curriculum development one could think also of differential resources. The writing of a program, for example, would draw on resources different from those that might be utilized in the initiation or revision of a program.

Resources that accrue to individuals from committee membership vary with the nature of the committee. The Ministry of Education has a strong legal resource. The university has a knowledge resource. Teachers, as a group, have an accumulation of practical classroom experience.

Individuals differ irrespective of the resources they possess or of the relevance an issue has for them. Gergen⁶⁶ cites attracting public attention, communicating effectively, and the ability to get along well with others as examples of personality constellations or a set of social capacities that may be highly correlated with leverage. To a nonparticipating observer these qualities may not be

65 K. J. Gergen, p. 185.

66 K. J. Gergen, p. 184.

as obvious as group membership or positions held by persons identified as major participants in policy making.

Dynamic Characteristics of the Model — Gergen⁶⁷ claims that his model, aside from identifying actors and their potential leverage, provides a means by which predictions can be made. Policy formation may be strongly affected by: 1) potential or actual leverage; 2) leverage configuration; and 3) process through time. Each characteristic is further explained:

(a) Potential or Actual Leverage. If a person feels strongly about an issue he is more likely to activate his potential leverage than if he were indifferent or ambivalent about it⁶⁸.

(b) Leverage Configuration. Leverage configuration results from certain combinations of leverage points. The strength or weakness of each leverage point in combination with the others will eventually determine leverage configuration⁶⁹.

(c) Process Through Time. Over a period of time, persons or groups may change their views or positions. A change of attitude might occur as a result

67 K. J. Gergen, p. 186.

68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

of interaction at a curriculum committee meeting or curriculum conference⁷⁰.

Implications of the Gergen Model — Leverage may be assessed once issues of interest and decision makers have been identified. First, the personal resources and efficacy of the actor and the degree of relevance an issue has for him must be ascertained. Secondly, the coalitions, if any, which may exist among actors must be sought and be assessed in the total constellation of potential leverage. Thirdly, changes that occur over time must be noted.

The utility of the Gergen model appears to depend on a clear identification of actors and issues, on the assessment of leverage relative to each issue, and on the assessment of the dynamics of policy making over time. If the model is successful in its claim to make predictions, then one would expect it to be equally successful in being a means by which decisions may be more easily comprehended in retrospect. As such, it could contribute significantly to a better understanding of a rather complicated process.

The Walker model, in conjunction with the Gergen model, seems to offer additional insights into the investigation of the topic. The strength of the Gergen model lies in its identification of actors and their leverage potential

70 Ibid., p. 189.

and usage. The Walker model is more comprehensive. It not only deals with the deliberative process at the time it evolves, but it also emphasizes antecedents to the process and outcomes of that process.

Juxtaposed with one another, the Gergen and Walker models made the following contributions to the structure of the framework for this study:

1. Curriculum development is a process that can be understood in terms of a platform or foundation, a deliberative process, a process of policy formation as potential outcomes, or as curriculum design.

2. Curriculum choices are justified on the basis of deliberations and of data.

3. Decisions can be reconstructed by a methodology of assessing leverage points.

4. Leverage consists of three dimensions; namely, issue relevance, subphase resources, and personal efficacy.

5. Policy formation is affected by actual leverage, leverage configuration, and leverage over time.

In this way a process of curriculum development, consisting of the above components, was conceptualized. It provided direction for the research and, moreover, it enabled the researcher to draw certain conclusions and implications.

5. Summary.

An analytical framework for the study of curriculum development was presented in this chapter.

The rationale of the framework was: 1) to describe the actual process of curriculum development at the national level, and 2) to elicit both questions and suggestions relative to curriculum development.

In the next chapter, the problems generated in the previous chapter will be delineated to more specific research topics. This was done on the basis of the analytical framework presented in this chapter. In addition, the methodology for obtaining data will be discussed.

CHAPTER III

EXPLORATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY FOR OBTAINING DATA

The purpose of this study, as defined in the first chapter, was to conduct a survey and documentary analysis of those processes that resulted in the development of the new curriculum for use in Afghanistan primary schools as recommended to, and approved by, the Minister of Education of Afghanistan.

The nature and scope of the problem posed by this purpose was such that further organization and simplification of the problem was undertaken. The general problem was subdivided into three sub-problems, each with a different focus. One concentrated on the influences, another on the deliberation, and a third on the outcomes of the curriculum processes. Building largely on the analytical framework, identified in Chapter II, each sub-problem was then further delineated for more specific research purposes.

This chapter outlines the sub-problems. Detailed guidelines and sample core questions are listed for each sub-problem to facilitate the investigation of that sub-problem. Following this, the methodology for obtaining and assessing data is discussed. The chapter concludes with a series of assumptions that underlie the research design.

1. Exploration of the Research Problem.

Each sub-problem may be equated with a certain facet, or discrete stage, within a curriculum development process. It is implied in the purpose of the study that there were a series of processes which resulted in the new primary school curriculum. The major guidelines and specific questions delineated for each of the sub-problems were constructed in such a way that they could serve similar purposes, albeit under different circumstances. It is against this background that the degree of specificity is to be judged.

A. Sub-problem 1. What influential individuals and factors could be identified in the context of the curriculum processes?

Exploratory Area Guidelines —

1. Identification of groups and individuals who may be considered to have participated in such processes or otherwise have been able to influence these processes.

2. Identification and survey of potential leverage of the groups and individuals so identified.

3. Identification and survey of issues of interest and of belief and value systems relative to such interests.

4. A broad survey of the context within which the actors interacted with one another: the formal and informal

setting, the structure of the formal setting, and the linkages between groups and between individuals.

Sample Core Questions —

1. (a) What groups were instrumental in the initiation and development of the new curriculum?
(b) Which person(s) in each group, so identified, had a considerable impact?
(c) What other persons, not identified within a group context, were influential?
2. (a) What formal positions did the persons cited above occupy?
(b) What other resources, aside from position or office occupied, did they possess?
(c) What resources did the group identified possess in relation to other groups so identified?
3. (a) Which issues arose relative to curriculum that were discussed at great length?
(b) What alternatives, if any, were presented?
(c) What positions were taken by what persons relative to certain issues?
(d) What beliefs or value systems were held in common by what people?
4. (a) What curriculum development structures existed to facilitate the process of curriculum policy-making?

(b) What other channels, aside from the formally structured ones, were perceived to exist?

(c) What linkages of a formal or informal nature existed among participants and influentials in curriculum development?

B. Sub-problem 2. What decision points were perceived to be crucial in the development of the new curriculum and what factors contributed to the decisions that were made in this context?

The first problem area dealt with the identification of actors, issues, and the setting within which influential individuals and factors, thus identified, could be placed. The second problem is of a different nature. It deals with dynamic rather than static features. Questions center now on procedures and assessment instead of on identification. Its focus accentuates questions of strategy, collaboration, and leverage configuration.

Exploratory Area Guidelines —

1. An examination and description of how deliberations originated and were initiated.

2. An investigation into the procedures of the deliberative process.

3. An assessment of the dynamics of the deliberative process taking account of data, precedent, argumentation and leverage.

Sample Core Questions —

1. (a) What were the antecedents to the new primary school curriculum development?
 - (b) What were the main reasons for initiating action?
 - (c) What factors facilitated this initiative?
2. (a) Who called the meetings?
 - (b) Who determined what persons should participate?
 - (c) How was the agenda prepared?
 - (d) How did proposals originate or issues arise?
 - (e) How were decisions made?
3. (a) What data were presented to either refute or support certain positions?
 - (b) Which curricular practices were cited as precedents for decision-making?
 - (c) What coalitions or polarizations were formed relative to issues that arose?
 - (d) How permanent were such coalitions? Did they transcend the boundaries of interest groups?
 - (e) What arguments were advanced by whom before a decision was reached?

(f) How was the issue resolved and what actual leverage configuration accounts for the criteria on which this decision was based?

(g) What factors in the wider environment appeared to have had an influence on the decision that was reached?

C. Sub-problem 3. What were the results of the deliberative processes and how did the outcomes affect the design of the primary school curriculum?

Exploratory Area Guidelines —

1. A survey of the changes that took place in the structure of the curriculum development process and the manner by which the new curriculum evolved.

2. A review of events which led to the changes cited above.

3. A comparative analysis of curriculum development processes over time.

Sample Core Questions —

1. (a) What legal and structural changes in the processes of curriculum development were instituted?

(b) What were the major changes in the development of the new curriculum?

2. (a) What were the contributing factors that led to changes in educational policy-making?

(b) What were the contributing factors that led to the changes in policy making relative to primary school curriculum?

3. (a) In what respects does curriculum development in the early seventies differ from curriculum development in the early sixties?

(b) What trend, if any, is apparent in the development of the new curriculum?

(c) What are the implications for the future of curriculum development in Afghanistan, in the light of the events of the recent past?

It should be noted that the exploratory area guidelines provided direction to the structuring of the sample core questions that correspond to each related problem. The guidelines themselves were derived from the analytical framework built on the rationale and a review of the literature, as delineated in the previous chapter. The core questions served two functions. They provided direction to the search of documentary materials. Furthermore, they laid the basis upon which more specific questions, used for interview purposes, were constructed¹.

¹ For sample list of questions see Appendix B.

2. Methodology for Obtaining Data.

The method used is classified as descriptive because of the time period involved, and the nature of the study. The tools of historical research were applied, and the data collected were largely from primary sources obtained in Afghanistan. Descriptive research involves more than fact gathering and tabulation. It deals with the analysis and interpretation of the data which have been gathered for a specific purpose, for the understanding and solution of significant problems². Data for this study were gathered from two major sources: 1) documentation and 2) interviews.

A. Documentation Data. Document analysis examines the content of the written or printed materials as a source of data.

In documenting analysis the following may be used as a source of data: official records and reports, printed forms, textbooks, reference books, letters, autobiographies, diaries, compositions, themes or other prepared work, books, magazines, newspapers, college bulletins or catalogs, syllabi or courses of study, pictures, films and cartoons.³

A number of sources provided documentary data for this dissertation. One of the major sources was the Afghanistan Ministry of Education files. Access to these

2 J. Best, Research in Education, 2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, 1970, p. 137.

3 Ibid., p. 133.

files was granted by the First Deputy Minister and the President of Translation and Compilation. The minutes of the board of education, the technical board, the steering committees, and ad hoc committees relative to the development of the primary school curriculum provided a considerable proportion of the information obtained. Supplementary materials such as position papers, reports, conference proceedings, and official correspondence were an additional and valuable source of information.

A second source of documentary data was made available by the Teachers College Columbia University Team Office in Afghanistan. It consisted of all documents and files including terminal reports and six-month reports.

A third source of documentary data somewhat similar in kind but much smaller in scope were the files of the Teachers College Columbia University in the department of International Services.

In addition to these more extensive sources cited above, a number of other significant sources of documentary data were found in the form of supplementary materials. They were usually donated by individuals with a special interest in curriculum development during interviews that were conducted as part of this study. Some source material was acquired through personal correspondence.

B. Interview Data. In contrast to data collection by questionnaire, data collection by interview is deservedly becoming much more highly regarded as a tool in scientific behavioral research⁴. The superiority of interview over other methods in descriptive study has been supported by many writers.

One reason is that people are usually more willing to talk than to write. After the interviewer gains rapport, or establishes a friendly secure relationship with the subject, certain types of confidential information may be obtained that an individual might be reluctant to put in writing.⁵

The interview as a research method in descriptive research is unique in that it involves the collection of data through direct verbal interaction between individuals.

As contrasted with the questionnaire that provides no immediate feedback, the interview permits the research worker to follow-up leads, and thus obtain more data and greater clarity. The interview situation usually permits much greater depth than the other methods of collecting research data.⁶

Most interview data were obtained during the months of April, August and October, 1976. For a number of reasons

4 M. D. Englehart, Methods of Education Research, Chicago, Illinois, Rand McNally and Company, 1972, p. 108.

5 J. Best, p. 186.

6 W. R. Borg, Educational Research An Introduction, New York, N.Y., David McKay Company, Incorporated, 1963, p. 221.

these data proved to be a far more important source of information than was originally contemplated. Supplementary data were obtained where documentary data were nonexistent or few in number. Where these were available, interview data provided a means of cross-validation. They were also useful in making information obtained from documentary sources more meaningful.

There were three problems to be resolved in regard to using interviews for gathering data. These were:

1. Determining who should be interviewed.
2. Constructing the interview schedule and conducting the interview.
3. Processing and interpreting interview data.

Determining Whom to Interview — Initially the data obtained from documentary sources gave a fair indication as to whom to interview. Some names appeared over and over again. Position and potential leverage provided another screen, in addition to the frequency rate just mentioned. As a result three preliminary and exploratory interviews were arranged with individuals, thus identified, by the end of July 1976⁷.

Much valuable information was obtained from these three initial interviews. As a result an expanded and

⁷ For a complete list of persons interviewed see Appendix A.

partially validated list of potential interviewees could be established. Each subsequent interview in turn provided additional information. This not only increased the list of possible respondents but it also provided for greater and more reliable selectivity. On the basis of this procedure and the constraints imposed on the researcher, sixty persons were singled out for interview purposes⁸.

Construction and Conduct of the Interview — The interviews that were conducted may be characterized as elite interviews⁹. This meant that any interviewee was given special, nonstandardized treatment:

1. Stressing the interviewee's definition of the situation,
2. Encouraging the interviewee to structure the account of the situation,
3. Letting the interviewee introduce to a considerable extent [...] his notions of what he regards as relevant, instead of relying upon the investigator's notions of relevance.¹⁰

It did not mean that no prior preparation was done. Questions were prepared prior to the interview. But they were used as much to elicit further questions as they were

8 Ibid.

9 L. A. Dexter, Elite and Specialized Interviewing, Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1970, p. 2.

10 Ibid., p. 5.

used to elicit answers. Thus questions and observations arose spontaneously during the interview. Respondents were allowed a considerable latitude to digress. It was felt that such digression might enable events to surface to which the interviewer had been hitherto oblivious.

As stated above, a list of questions was prepared prior to the interview. Two guidelines were used in the preparation of this list; namely, the background information that had been obtained on the interviewee, and the nature of the problem under investigation.

The position held and the role played by the interviewee in the curriculum development process were perceived to be important factors for deciding what kind of questions to ask. Some background information that provided these data also served as back-up information for the respondent. Oral summaries of what had transpired in the past or quoting documentary data were helpful in refreshing the memory of some respondents.

In addition to the factors mentioned earlier, the following checklist of recommendations for conducting interviews served as a guide:

1. Open an interview by asking factual non-threatening questions (as a rule).
2. Locate the major data by unstructured 'lead' questions.
3. Make use of occasional guide questions.
4. Make an effort to pick up leads.
5. Cut through generalities with well-formulated probes.
6. Stick with the fruitful areas once they open up.
7. Reflect on the meaning of emerging data and ask questions that clarify or amplify their meaning.
8. Be especially alert to follow up in those areas where the respondent shows emotional involvement.
9. Redirect the interview to more productive topics when useful data are no longer emerging.
10. Be alert to 'touchy' subjects and not inadvertently blunder in.
11. Try to turn back the informant's direct questions.
12. End the interview before the informant becomes tired.
13. Take notes when the situation so indicates.¹¹

Processing and Interpreting Data — Notes were made during each interview and selected responses were written down verbatim during the course of interview. Verification

¹¹ C. V. Good, Essentials of Educational Research, New York, N.Y., Meredith Corporation, 1972, p. 69.

was obtained by re-phrasing certain questions and/or by asking the interviewee to verify his response.

Some interpretation of data took place during each interview. It was based on intuition, hunches, and in response to what was observed and heard. Further interpretation occurred in retrospect. Transcripts were read and re-read. Responses that seemed to be highly relevant to the problem under investigation were singled out for cross-validation with data obtained elsewhere. The problem posed, background information available prior to the interview, and interviewee reactions were the major criteria used in the interpretation of data thus obtained.

3. Assumptions.

A number of assumptions that have been implied in the research, as delineated above, are now explicitly stated:

1. Major actors, influentials and participants, in the development of curriculum could be identified and would give permission to be questioned.

2. Important events and/or issues were remembered or could be recalled during an interview.

3. It was possible to reconstruct the development of curriculum from the data that were obtained from all sources.

4. Summary.

The chapter began with a review of the purpose of the study. The general problem posed by this purpose was further delineated into three related problems. Each of these could be viewed as a problem area in its own right. They were:

1. An identification of influential individuals and factors with regard to the curriculum processes.
2. A description of the deliberation processes and an assessment of the nature of the curriculum policy-making processes.
3. An assessment of the outcomes of the processes and their implications for the future.

The analytical framework of the previous chapter was then used to develop a methodology for dealing with each of the problem areas. Specific guidelines and sample core questions were delineated to break each area down even further into problems of manageable proportions.

Following this, a methodology for obtaining data was discussed. The two sources of data that were used in conjunction with each other were documentary sources and the personal interview. Interviewing presented separate problems. Strategies to deal with each of these problems

were outlined and explained. The chapter concluded with a list of assumptions that underlie the research methodology.

The three chapters to follow report the data obtained in the exploration of each problem area relative to one of the three major phases of the primary school curriculum development.

CHAPTER IV

ANTECEDENT TO REFORM 1966-1969

This chapter describes and analyses the development of a new primary school curriculum from its initiation in 1966 to the establishment of aims and objectives in 1969. This period has been identified as the initial phase of curriculum development.

The curriculum and textbook project is visualized as having three major phases. For about two years the initial phase of developing a base line and establishing key research activities will dominate. In the second phase, the process of determining the goals and content of the Afghan elementary curriculum will be developing as research activities point more and more strongly to consensus decisions. The second phase will proceed with the development of a set of books [...]. With the introduction of the first new materials must come the two important elements of the third and final phase: teacher education and the process of continual evaluation and revision.¹

Various individuals influenced the development of the new curriculum during the initial phase. Several factors impinged upon the process. Data, obtained through research of related problem areas, have generally been presented in a chronological order. This was done to assure some measure of clarity and coherence.

¹ R. A. King, Developing a New Curriculum for Afghanistan Elementary Schools, Kabul, Institute of Education, Kabul University, 1967, p. 11.

The chapter has been divided into four sections: the first, deals with the involvement of the Teachers College Columbia University advisors in Afghanistan education; the second, UNESCO recommendations on Afghanistan education; the third, the National Commission Report; and the conclusion, phase one findings.

In this chapter an attempt was made to: 1) identify the individuals, events, and factors that influenced the development process; 2) describe major decisions taken during that process, and 3) analyze the outcome of the process.

1. Teachers College Columbia University Advisors
Involvement in Afghanistan Education.

The active participation of the TCCU team in the preliminary discussion of the proposed curriculum and textbook project followed ten years of active involvement in Afghan education. As a contracting agency of the USAID and its predecessor, the TCCU had intimate knowledge of the Afghan educational system. Teachers College had been responsible since 1954 for assisting the Afghan government in the broad areas of teacher education and English-language instruction. Throughout the ten-year period the successive contracts contained clauses addressed to the question of curriculum and textbook revision. In 1956 the program

agreement read: "Undertake educational research designed [...] for the development of curricula, syllabi, and textbooks". By 1959 it had become: "Advise on preparation of a basic series of books in primary, secondary, and professional education"². But as King³ reported, these were aspirations rather than actual programs. Some materials for the teacher-training sequence and for use in some of the laboratory schools were developed. But with the exception of a basic graded series of English foreign-language textbooks (Afghan Learn English), the pre-1964 governments were unwilling to allow foreign groups to tamper with the basic curricula. At no time was the team encouraged or permitted by the Ministry of Education to undertake the functions as stated in the contract. The 1964 discussion of a curriculum and textbook project was the first evidence of a change in this policy.

Discussions and negotiations continued throughout 1965. As the size and scope of the proposed effort crystallized, the Ministry of Education looked more and more to the Columbia team and to the United States Agency

² _____, Teachers College Contract in Afghanistan, Kabul, Institute of Education, Kabul University, 1967, p. 12.

³ Ibid., p. 41.

for International Development as the foreign agencies to assist in this project.

Soon after a new constitution and new form of government were adopted in 1964, the United States government was requested by the Afghanistan government to provide assistance in revising the elementary school curriculum and preparing textbooks appropriate to the new curriculum⁴.

The need for a new curriculum was felt by American and Afghan educators long before the above date.

From the time that I arrived in Afghanistan in 1961, I began to hear discussions about the problems which the TCCU Project in elementary teacher education had, related to the outdated curriculum and the near absence of textbooks and other teaching aids and curriculum materials. There was no systematic program whereby curriculum was being studied and new textbooks and other teaching materials were being developed. The question was often raised as to why the MOE [Ministry of Education] did not seek help in a project to evaluate and revise the existing curriculum and prepare textbooks which would be appropriate for use in a newly conceived curriculum. The explanation which was most frequently made was that because of the politically neutral position which Afghanistan assumed, it did not seem appropriate and politically wise to invite a single country to provide assistance in a national project as sensitive as developing a national curriculum and preparing textbooks for national use. It was not until after the ratification of the new Constitution that it became feasible to invite a single country to provide assistance in such an undertaking.⁵

4 A. R. Lanza, Project Manager, USAID, Afghanistan, Personal Interview, August 30, 1976.

5 W. P. Anderson, Chief of the TCCU Party in Afghanistan (1961-1967), Personal Interview, April 14, 1976.

The big question in primary teacher education which has loomed large during the early sixties and consumed a considerable amount of time and thought was whether the team should continue to assist the government of Afghanistan with the development of its system of primary teacher education.

AID/W has encouraged the Afghanistan AID Mission to attempt to get UNESCO to assume complete responsibility in this area and by so doing free positions on the TCCU Team necessary to undertake a primary school curriculum-textbook project.⁶

Many plans have been developed and in June one plan was proposed to the Ministry of Education. The response was that

[...] the Ministry of Education did not want the AID Team to abandon its assistance to primary teacher education and would not sacrifice such assistance in the much needed primary school curriculum-textbook area.⁷

Subsequent to this reaction AID and UNESCO have continued to search for a plan whereby UNESCO might be responsible for primary teacher education and AID for curriculum and textbook development.

The request of the government of Afghanistan which was made to AID/A for new assistance in curriculum

6 Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Twenty-Third Six-Month Report, May 1965 to October 1965, p. i.

7 Ibid.

development for primary schools was initiated during a meeting which the TCCU Chief of Party and the Associate Chief of Party had with Dr. Mohammed Anas, the Minister of Education of Afghanistan.

In 1964, in a meeting which Robert Simpson, Deputy Chief of the TCCU Team, and I were having with Dr. Mohammed Anas, the Minister of Education, discussing the status of the TCCU Team-supported project in elementary teacher education, the question of an elementary curriculum and textbook project was discussed. In this meeting the need for concentrated attention to problems connected with curriculum and textbooks was recognized. Toward the end of this meeting, Dr. Anas telephoned Mr. Robert Hubble, Acting Director of AID/A, and told him of the attitude of the new government regarding a national project in the area of curriculum and textbook development, and for the first time, an official request for assistance in such a project was made to USAID. At that time Dr. Anas explained that the long history of the work of the Teachers College Columbia University Team in the area of elementary teacher education made that team, in his judgment, a logical source of assistance in an Elementary School Curriculum and Textbook Project. Mr. Hubble was not, of course, in a position to make a commitment but he did respond cordially and positively, indicating that he expected that he would have an opportunity in Washington to discuss the possibility of USAID assistance in such an undertaking.⁸

The USAID believed its contribution to Afghan education would be potentially greater through a new curriculum-textbook project than through continuation of assistance to primary teacher education. From the time the TCCU Team began work in the area of primary teacher education it had

⁸ W. P. Anderson, Personal Interview, April 14, 1976.

recognized the need for thorough revision of the primary school curriculum and the development of educationally-sound teaching materials to accompany it. With the understanding of this need American educational advisors made continuous efforts to get the approval of the Afghan government in the development of the new curriculum.

In February of 1965, the Afghan Minister of Education telephoned a unique and important message to the United States Ambassador and the USAID/Mission Director and his deputy, who were in conference in the Embassy. He wished to inform the United States Government that his country had broadened the scope of its international policy to the extent that he could now officially request assistance from the United States in preparing an entirely new curriculum and adequate textbooks for Afghan primary schools.⁹

This message was the culmination of discussions that had taken place throughout the previous year. USAID in Washington responded favorably to the request of the government of Afghanistan but with an important stipulation.

(1) We would like to assist with the new Project and agree with the Government of Afghanistan that the history of TCCU's work in elementary teacher education makes it a logical task to assist with an elementary Curriculum and Textbook Project;
 (2) Because UNESCO is already providing assistance in primary teacher education, we recommend that TCCU withdraw assistance in this area and turn over complete responsibility to UNESCO.¹⁰

⁹ The Afghan Ministry of Education Curriculum and Textbook Project; Background and Recommendations for Aims and Organization Pattern, Washington, D.C., USAID, 1966, p. 1.

¹⁰ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, p. 1.

Extensive discussions within and between USAID and the TCCU Team followed Washington's response. Basically the discussions had to do with the logic of TCCU leaving elementary teacher education in order to take on the primary curriculum and textbook project, with the close relationship which each had to the other. Finally, the decision was made in USAID to discuss the proposition with UNESCO. UNESCO responded favorably. USAID and UNESCO each designated the TCCU Chief of Party and a teacher education specialist from UNESCO as a committee of two to explore plans for the responsibility which should be assumed in the future by UNESCO and TCCU in the area of elementary teacher education, if TCCU should undertake the Curriculum and Textbook Project.

In June 1965 a plan for the division of responsibility was proposed by USAID/A and UNESCO to the Ministry of Education, suggesting that UNESCO would take over the responsibility for assistance in elementary school teacher education, and USAID through TCCU, would undertake the project of assistance in curriculum development for primary schools.¹¹

In a joint meeting, Dr. Anwary, the Minister of Education, explained that the joint proposal had been accepted in principle by the government of Afghanistan, but there were questions pertaining to details, procedures, and

¹¹ A. A. Hamid, Vice President, Teacher Education, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, August 17, 1976.

implementation which were considered unsettled and which needed study¹². In this meeting, emphasis was placed on the importance of careful planning so that Afghanistan could obtain maximum help from both agencies, and it was recognized that one essential ingredient to obtaining maximum help was a spirit of cooperation and commitment to serving common purposes.

A. The Bowles' Report. The official work of the Curriculum and Textbook Project did not start until a study of this undertaking was made by Dr. L. Bowles. During the summer of 1966, at the request of USAID Mission in Afghanistan, USAID Washington entered into a contract with Bowles for the purpose of having her come to Afghanistan to study the need for USAID assistance to the Ministry of Education in the study and development of the primary school curriculum and the preparation of textbooks, teachers' guides, and other materials for use in the primary schools¹³. The Bowles' study was also intended to include an analysis of the feelings of Afghan officials towards this undertaking and an analysis of conditions relevant to the success of such a program. The Bowles' report was in favor of providing

12 Minutes of joint meeting of the Ministry of Education, AID/A, TCCU, and UNESCO, Kabul, March 3, 1966, pp. 1-2.

13 Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Twenty-Fifth Six-Month Report, May to October 1966, p. ii.

assistance to the Ministry of Education in a primary school Curriculum and Textbook Project. It is reasonable to assume that USAID had been satisfied with plans for the project in the spring of 1966, because it authorized recruitment at that time. Yet within a few months, this position was obviously reversed. In explaining the reason for her consultancyship, Bowles stated that

[...] no logical well-defined organizational structure seemed likely to evolve without the entire project being considered in depth in a much more comprehensive fashion.¹⁴

The importance of the Bowles' mission to Afghanistan was supported by Sahraie and Sahraie:

A study for this purpose would seem important, even essential, for proper planning and management of a new project such as the Curriculum and Textbook Project. Nevertheless, it might be asked why much of the ground to be covered by the Bowles study was not, or could not have been covered in the negotiations of the Ministry of Education and AID/A which began in late 1965. It appears that the Bowles study came as an afterthought with the opportune availability of Bowles, rather than as a planned preliminary to the establishment of the Project.¹⁵

14 L. Bowles, The Afghan Ministry of Education: Curriculum and Textbook Project, Kabul, USAID, November 1966, p. 2.

15 H. Sahraie and J. Sahraie, Educational Development in Afghanistan: History of the Teachers College Columbia University Educational Assistance Program, 1954-1971, unpublished Ed.D. Thesis, TCCU, New York, N.Y., 1974, p. 343.

Considering the substance and ultimate effect of the Bowles' study, it is possible to speculate that, in fact, the original TCCU plans did not reflect the current policies of USAID. Not only Americans but also Afghan officials were concerned about the recommendations made by the Bowles' Report, particularly the ones concerning the role of Afghans. Mr. A. H. Hamidi, then the president of primary education, explained that:

Dr. Bowles' carefully-prepared report came out in which she strongly supported the position that foreigners must not make decisions; her position was that the Afghan Ministry of Education must make decisions and assume responsibility for the organization that this project must have.¹⁶

Dr. Akram, who was the First Deputy Minister of Education, was apparently delegated with major responsibility for getting this project launched. The president of primary education working with Akram explained that the latter was a man who was professionally competent in the very highest respect. He understood the project; he understood the problems and he was very firm in his position which gave the project the stability it needed to continue¹⁷. In November

¹⁶ A. H. Hamidi, President of Inspection and Supervision, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, August 18, 1976.

¹⁷ A. Naiem, Former President of Primary Education, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, August 17, 1976.

1966, Akram accepted the report prepared by Bowles and announced the inauguration of the project.

B. The Project Begins. The Curriculum and Textbook Project was officially launched in November 1966 with a nucleus of three Afghans and one American advisor, Dr. E. Meder, who summarized the initial activities of the project as follows:

At first, the foreign and local specialists spent most of their time studying the elements of the Primary curriculum and textbooks of the first primary cycle [...] lengthy discussions were held on the aims of the curriculum and the extent to which it is able to achieve the goals set forth by the Ministry of Education.¹⁸

Meder continued her review of the early activities of the project by listing the type of information sought by project groups.

(1) the general background of life in Afghanistan; [...] (2) the schools as they are today, with emphasis on the curriculum and the textbooks; and (3) actual behavioral results desired of children who have completed six years of schooling.¹⁹

The ensuing months saw a steady growth in the number of personnel assigned to the project. Several Americans were transferred from the Institute of Education and

¹⁸ E. Meder, Report on Activities of the Curriculum and Textbook Project, Kabul, TCCU Team, December 1966, p. 1.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

additional Afghans were recruited. Dr. L. Rudd, TCCU advisor who was transferred from the Institute of Education to the Ministry of Education in Curriculum and Textbook Project, commented on the task of the project:

A basic part of the agreement was that a team of curriculum specialists would assist the Afghans in developing the potential for curriculum change and the writing of textbooks. Obviously, the development of another person's potential is a much more difficult assignment than simply doing the job.²⁰

The initial work of the Curriculum and Textbook Project was concerned with the location and assignment of qualified Afghan specialists, the establishment of goals, the development of time tables, a new look at the primary school curriculum of the Ministry of Education, and additional background tasks. These included work committees and discussion groups with the major goal of maximum involvement of both American and Afghan specialists. Ministry of Education officials, the First Deputy Minister of Education Akram, and several Presidents of Departments were also involved in the ongoing activities of the project with the initiation of a series of monthly summation meetings called to report the progress of the project. A draft curriculum based on two core subjects and two special subjects was proposed by Meder.

²⁰ L. E. Rudd, Terminal Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, July 1964 to August 1968, p. 8.

One core subject would be communication, or skills related to effective communication, such as reading skills and skills of listening, discussing, and expressing ideas in words. They would also learn writing skills [...]. The other core subject may be called 'The Environment'. Here, children would study social, biological, and physical science in basically practical ways [...]. The special subjects are mathematics and religious knowledge.²¹

Finally Meder gave the task of the project a structural definition.

The project has been conceived as having several phases, essentially successive: (1) acquiring background information; (2) formulating a curriculum and syllabuses; (3) preparing textbooks, teachers' guides, and supplementary materials; (4) producing the prepared materials.²²

A further interpretative description of the project's task was made by King²³, then Deputy Chief of Party for TCCU team in a paper prepared for Dr. D. Mullen, the designated Project Coordinator who arrived in July 1967. Prior to Mullen's arrival, all American and Afghan specialists spent most of their time studying the elements of the primary school curriculum and textbooks of the first primary cycle.

21 E. Meder, The Project First Six Months, Kabul, TCCU Team, June 1967, pp. 8-9.

22 Ibid., p. 1.

23 R. A. King, p. 12.

In this period, specialists carried on their talks in the form of seminars, lengthy discussions were held on the aims of the curriculum and the extent to which it is able to achieve the goals set forth by the MOE [Ministry of Education]. Translations into English of the Teaching Programme for Primary Schools and of the Manual were made available to the foreign specialists; furthermore, the topics and the programme of the first cycle textbooks were briefly translated and prepared for discussions. In addition to the above mentioned tasks, some use was made of the opinions sent to us by experienced teachers in the provinces in reference to primary school teaching conditions and textbooks.²⁴

Developing a new curriculum, preparing new textbooks, and revising present books were recognized as tasks which would require accumulating and assembling large amounts of data about the country, its culture, its students, and its past educational history. During the initial phase extensive discussions were held with authorities in Kabul and other provinces about the primary school curriculum and research studies were conducted which would provide important information²⁵. The purpose of these extensive discussions was to identify and to make clear the task of the project to Americans and Afghans. While the Meder-King project design encompassed most objectives described in the original project

²⁴ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Twenty-Seventh Six-Month Report, May to October 1967, p. 29.

²⁵ A. S. Hamidi, Director General, Said Jamalludin Higher Teachers' College, Personal Interview, November 13, 1976.

Program Agreement, there is no documented evidence that the Ministry of Education officials concurred. In fact a Dari language position paper which seems to pre-date the signing of the original Program Agreement gives a much more limited interpretation of the project task.

It (USAID) has recruited a number of specialists as a core for the project and will cooperate with the Ministry of Education with the help of Teachers College, Columbia University in the curriculum and textbook development for the primary school [...]. We can honestly say that the work of changing the curriculum and developing the new textbooks belongs to this core of specialists.²⁶

The clear inference is that the American specialists were to have the prime responsibility for developing new instructional materials with the Ministry of Education reserving the right of ratification. The position paper adds that

[...] the Ministry of Education should officially express its agreement with what the project is doing or the important processes which have been completed for the development of the project.²⁷

One American specialist interpreted the responsibility of the TCCU advisors in the following way:

²⁶ A. A. Hamid, Draft for the Primary School's Curriculum Development and Textbook Compilation in Afghanistan, Kabul, Ministry of Education, 1966, p. 3.

²⁷ Ibid.

The Ministry of Education has shown great trust by bringing in American specialists to assist in the development of curriculum materials, and thus far I feel that this confidence has not been shaken. However I believe that political pressures from inside and outside Afghanistan could cause the development of curriculum materials to be slowed down or even discontinued. Therefore I feel that it is the responsibility of every American associated with the project to be very sure that concepts and ideas developed within the curriculum materials are those acceptable to, and approved by Afghans and that their relationships with the Afghans with whom they work continue along a favorable line.²⁸

The assumption that American specialists had primary responsibility for achieving the project's objectives was implied by the new Deputy Minister of Education, A. Seraj, who took office in November 1967. In response to a memorandum submitted to the project Steering Committee outlining the number and qualifications of additional Afghan personnel needed by the project, Seraj wrote, "the work could be done by fewer people with better results. Their participation will make the work more complex"²⁹. This interpretation of the Afghan-American specialists' role in the development of new primary school curriculum parallels the historical pattern of foreign-advisor assistance in

28 M. V. Owens, Terminal Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, September 1967 to August 1970, p. 7.

29 A. Seraj, Notation made on position paper, Proposal for the organization of Afghan personnel, Kabul, Ministry of Education, December 1967, p. 1.

Afghanistan. Foreign advisors were requested to perform a specific task for the Afghan government. Educated English-speaking Afghans were assigned as counterparts to translate and assist the foreign experts. The counterpart could not assume, however, that he would be responsible for the tasks performed by the specialist at some later date.

C. Change of Direction. After Mullen's arrival new priorities surfaced. Travel outside Kabul was kept to a minimum so that the basic work of planning the project's future could first be gotten underway. A series of meetings were then called to define the role of the Afghan staff in the project. It was agreed that the term counterpart would be discontinued. Procedures for selecting new Afghan members of the project were devised³⁰. On August 12, 1967, Mullen presented the seven purposes proposed in 1964 for the yet to be defined project staff meeting. The reason for this reintroduction became apparent in early September, 1967.

The present statements of objectives were prepared a good while ago and need rethinking to meet changes taking place in Afghanistan. Consideration of over-all objectives could affect all other work. Work done now might not prove useful if examination of objectives was begun at a later date.³¹

30 Minutes, Curriculum and Textbook Project Meeting, July 29, 1967.

31 Minutes, Curriculum and Textbook Project Meeting, September 6, 1967.

On September 13, the Project Coordinator reported that the Project Steering Committee had agreed that a new curriculum was required³². By November 1967, Mullen's re-direction of the Project's activities became Ministry of Education policy with the Steering Committee approval of "Suggested Procedure for Determining a General Curriculum Framework for the Primary Schools of Afghanistan", prepared by Mullen and A. A. Hamid, the Curriculum and Textbook Project Director General.

A close reading of the Dari language edition of "Suggested Procedure for Determining a General Curriculum Framework for the Primary Schools of Afghanistan", approved by the Steering Committee November 1967, and the several English drafts of the document not included in the final Dari version, shows some differences between the English and Dari version. The English draft of the "Suggested Procedure" proposes five procedural steps.

32 Minutes, Curriculum and Textbook Project Meeting, September 13, 1967.

1. The preparation of a general statement of the direction of Afghan society and the part the school system of Afghanistan will play in that direction.

2. Growing out of the approved statement described above there would be prepared a statement of objectives for primary schools in Afghanistan.

3. Growing out of the statements about the role of the schools in Afghan society and the objectives of education there would be prepared a statement of curricular areas to be considered in the primary schools.

4. Growing out of the role of the school, the objectives of education and the curricular areas to be covered some consideration needs to be given to the kinds of learning experiences that are to be provided for the children of the primary schools.

5. The last phase of the broad curriculum framework would be a statement of the rationale and procedures for evaluating educational outcomes.³³

These five steps were not included in the Dari language edition approved by the Steering Committee. Instead the Dari version omitted reference to "educational outcomes" and gave a more detailed listing of steps to be followed:

³³ "Suggested Procedure for Determining a General Curriculum for Primary Schools of Afghanistan", English Draft, Kabul, TCCU Team, October 1967, p. 5.

1. Recognizing and finding the needs.
2. Determining the aims and purposes.
3. Determining the ways and means of meeting the objectives.
4. Selecting the courses and activities according to these objectives.
5. Organizing the educational courses and the learning activities which were selected.
6. Determining and recognizing the methods by which the degree of better educational curriculum and instructional materials are measured.
7. Evaluating the proposed teaching materials by applying them in ordinary classes.
8. Revising the proposed instructional materials according to the results which are available by their application in the normal schools.
9. Orienting teachers in order to apply the new educational curriculum and instructional materials.³⁴

It is also significant that this is the first Dari document subsequent to the 1966 Program Agreement suggesting that Afghans were to be prepared to continue the project activities after the American specialists departed.

American participation in the Curriculum and Textbook Project is intended to provide assistance in the development of a better educational curriculum and improved instructional materials as well as prepare a number of Afghan professional personnel to continue this work.³⁵

34 "Suggested Procedure for Determining a General Curriculum for Primary Schools of Afghanistan", Dari Draft, Kabul, Ministry of Education, October 1967, p. 8.

35 Ibid.

The co-emphasis on preparing an Afghan staff to continue the work of the project did not on face value survive the change in Ministry officials in late November. As was already mentioned earlier in the chapter, Deputy Minister Seraj wrote "the work could be done by fewer people with better results". This opinion echoed in practice. Throughout Mullen's incumbency (1967-1969) the lack of Afghan personnel assigned to the project was discussed with several Deputy Ministers of Education and in each instance assurances were made to the Project Director General but no Ministry policy detailing project manpower commitments was ever forthcoming.

D. Model Building. When the roles of Afghan and American experts were defined and the Steering Committee was formed, the work of the project moved considerably forward. Planning took place and proposals were developed by the project's staff which centered on establishing a general curriculum framework, and on ways to begin identifying objectives, content, scope and sequence, and learning experiences in subject fields. Time was devoted to the question of preparing an Afghan staff, developing plans for a participant training program, building a model for curriculum development, preparing guidelines and procedures for the development of a mathematic curriculum, determining the values and needs of Afghan society, establishing

educational objectives, and developing a series of questions related to project development. The model was proposed to the Project Steering Committee to be used for:

[...] defining and identification of the Afghan value system, the needs of Afghan society, and educational objectives; specific objectives and purposes of different school levels; curriculum framework, courses of study, and time allotments for the instruction of every individual course of the study.³⁶

The work procedure involved the identification of the nature and needs of Afghan society and the values important to it, and the nature and needs of the individual in Afghan society. Prior to Mullen's arrival King and Meder had set a course of curriculum development for the project stressing modification of existing school objectives, methods and materials following research into school practices, resources and community needs. Mullen constructed a model of curriculum development, however, that focused the Project's first priorities and activities upon reaching philosophical agreement of educational purposes and the writing of appropriate educational objectives. There is no evidence that the King-Meder model was ever officially rejected. Indeed, there is no evidence that the King-Meder model was ever communicated to the Ministry of Education officials in

³⁶ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Twenty-Eight Six-Month Report, November 1967 to April 1968, p. 47.

Dari language. Nevertheless, the Mullen plan apparently better reflected the existing Afghan interpretation of curriculum development as well as the recommendations of the Bowles Report. Mullen stated that:

The educational needs and priorities felt by the host country should take precedence over those felt by guest agencies.

Since meaningful work directed toward educational institution-building should reflect a country's basic values and should attempt to implement its basic goals and directions, efforts should be made to assist the country in question to clarify and state its basic values, goals and directions as a basis for its educational development.

As American specialists we should not transplant American curriculum and textbooks to Afghanistan, but we should provide leadership in developing models, guidelines, and directions through which Afghans and Americans can cooperatively develop curriculum and texts which are reflection of the basic values and needs of Afghanistan.³⁷

To initiate field research as King and Meder proposed was a new and untried method of curriculum development. It required Afghan educators to attend to the day-to-day problems of primary school classrooms. By contrast, Mullen's approach started with the more familiar activity of enumerating national educational goals in the relative comfort of Ministry of Education offices.

The two proposed models differed markedly (see Figure 1). The King-Meder model stressed research; the

³⁷ D. J. Mullen, Terminal Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, July 1969, p. 2.

Meder-King	Mullen
<u>Initial Activities</u>	
Begin with existing educational objectives. Conduct field studies and research programs to ascertain the degree to which current instructional materials and curricula achieve the desired objectives. Modify educational objectives in light of research findings.	Re-write educational objectives by calling upon persons of authority, scholars, and members of the education profession to participate in the decision-making process.
<u>Materials Development</u>	
Formulate new course syllabi. Prepare textbooks and teachers' guides.	Select and organize content and learning experiences relevant to the new objectives. Prepare instructional materials.
<u>Materials Evaluation</u>	
Evaluate the new materials under classroom-use conditions. Continually revise these materials as data comes in from actual classroom use.	Identify ways of evaluating the degree to which the new materials achieve the new objectives. Evaluate the new materials under classroom-use conditions. Revise the proposed materials in light of the results of trial classroom use.
<u>Intended Outcomes</u>	
A series of grade-appropriate core subject textbooks and teachers' guides with special sections for mathematics and religion to be revised on a continuing basis.	A series of grade-appropriate subject-specific textbooks and teachers' guides. Afghans trained in the process of curriculum development and the techniques of planning and production of instructional materials.

Figure 1 - Proposed Curriculum Development Model

Source: Based on information contained in Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Twenty-Eighth Six-Month Report, November 1967 to April 1968, pp. 47-52.

Mullen model did not. Neither indicated how the Afghan staff was to achieve the necessary competencies needed to continue the curriculum and instructional materials revision process after the Americans departed. The Mullen plan did, however, call for the development of an independent Afghan staff capable of curriculum development and instructional materials production.

2. UNESCO Advisors Involvement in Afghanistan Education.

Long before the American advisors' involvement in Afghanistan education, UNESCO had been very active in the fields of teacher training, fundamental education for rural areas, technical training and science teaching³⁸. During the late fifties and early sixties both American and UNESCO advisors were involved in the area of teacher education.

In order to work out an acceptable arrangement regarding TCCU and UNESCO responsibility, a joint meeting was called in March 1966 by the Minister of Education to discuss the question of UNESCO taking over responsibility in elementary teacher education and USAID undertaking a project in primary school curriculum development. The meeting was chaired by Anwary then the Minister of Education.

38 D. N. Wilber, Afghanistan, New Haven, Connecticut, Hraf Press, 1962, p. 87.

The representatives of the Afghan Government, UNESCO, UNICEF, and USAID, after prolonged discussions of the problems of primary teacher education, curriculum revision, and textbook preparation in Afghanistan and the contribution that each agency can make to the solution of these problems, agree that in the future the main responsibility for assistance to the Afghan Government in the field of teacher training in primary education shall lie with UNESCO, and the main responsibility for assistance in the field of curriculum revision and textbook preparation shall lie with USAID, a suitable machinery being set up to assure coordination between the projects and the full cooperation of all parties.³⁹

UNESCO advisors were well prepared for their new tasks. They had a good knowledge of the primary school system from their previous work. In Afghanistan the prescribed textbooks can justly be considered as the fundamental tool of instruction both for the teacher and the pupil. These books are supposed to be provided by the state free of charge to all students⁴⁰. The teaching methods seem, on the whole, to be of a rather conventional nature. Too much stress is laid upon rote learning and too little upon understanding the essential points in the textbook or in the teacher's account of some part of the subject.

³⁹ Minutes, Joint Meeting, Ministry of Education, Kabul, May 1966, p. 2.

⁴⁰ Suggestions on Educational Development in Afghanistan, Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, UNESCO Planning Team, Ministry of Education, March 1966, p. 2.

A curriculum change will also be an instrument to improve the retention rates, now being extremely low. The importance of a revision of curriculum in this connection was also strongly stressed at the Bangkok Conference on Education in Asia in November, 1965.⁴¹

Too much concentration in quantitative expansion may be achieved at the cost of quality. To some extent this is unavoidable, but a stage may be reached where the substance of education is eroded.

It is often stated that top priority should be given to secondary and higher education in order to train the skilled manpower required for key technical occupations. Conversely, primary education would be a luxury that many developing countries could not afford in the near future. In most Asian countries this policy has been adopted; most of the resources have been allocated to secondary and higher education. The much proclaimed goal of universal primary education has been indefinitely postponed and adult education entirely neglected.⁴²

In the early sixties while TCCU advisors were involved in developing science curriculum for secondary schools, UNESCO advisors were developing science curriculum for the primary schools of Afghanistan. The science curriculum developed by UNESCO advisors was revised and edited by TCCU and UNESCO science specialists, but the

41 Ibid., p. 15.

42 O. Bertrand, UNESCO Advisor, Development and Education, Kabul, Ministry of Education, 1969, p. 3.

instructional materials did not reach the classroom and the science curriculum was not implemented.

The President of Primary Education requested that the science specialists in the Curriculum and Textbook Project assume responsibility for preparing grades 4, 5, and 6 science textbook material for production. This material had been originally developed under the guidance of UNESCO specialists. After consultation with USAID Education Division and the TCCU Chief of Party, it was decided that we would help to get this material ready for production, but would not substitute this activity for continuing work in revising the science curriculum and producing science textbooks. The Project Science Specialists, with the assistance of Dr. Erickson (TCCU Team Faculty of Education Science Specialist) and Mr. Roberts (UNESCO Science Specialist), worked for some time on the revision and editing of these science texts. Just recently the President of the Primary Department asked that all work on these UNESCO science text materials be stopped and that project science activities be directed toward revising the primary school science curriculum.⁴³

Although curriculum development became the responsibility of TCCU advisors, in the meantime the Columbia Team communicated with UNESCO in order to receive support from the agency. The science section has constantly been alert to any possibility of obtaining assistance for providing science teaching materials for the primary schools

⁴³ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirtieth Six-Month Report, November 1968 to April 1969, p. 37.

of Afghanistan, "consequently we are very interested in the possibilities that may be offered by UNICEF or UNESCO"⁴⁴.

Recommendations and reports written by UNESCO advisors in Afghanistan education explain that there is no focal point either within or outside the Ministry of Education for initiating and following through with the modernization of the curriculum and syllabi. Two modernization efforts currently underway in the curriculum development project in primary education, and the science studies development project in secondary education, are attached separately to the Ministry of Education. Much of the country's potential expertise, however, is located either in the teacher-training colleges or in the university, in the Faculty of Education and the Institute of Education. The two projects now underway are both external assistance projects, and there is a requirement that when the dynamics provided by the external assistance components are withdrawn, a permanent national institutional structure for curriculum development remains.

The placement of the present Curriculum and Textbook Project under the administration of the Ministry of Education was decided by USAID/A and the Ministry of Education officials. The TCCU Team was not in favor of the decision

44 A. Kondo, Science Specialist, Memorandum to Dr. Richard Whittemore, Chief of Party, TCCU Team, July 15, 1975, p. 2.

and wanted the project to be under the supervision of Kabul University⁴⁵. The UNESCO Team with over fifteen years of experience working under the administration of the Ministry of Education was not in favor of the establishment of the Curriculum and Textbook Project within the Ministry of Education.

The logical place to establish such a structure is not the Ministry of Education, which like any Ministry, is an administrative, as distinct from professional, entity, but in the University. Nevertheless it has been experienced in many parts of the world that there would be negative aspects of such an arrangement, in particular a disposition to neglect primary as distinct from post-primary education.⁴⁶

The former President of Teacher Education in an interview explained the Ministry of Education feeling toward the TCCU and UNESCO Teams in Afghanistan.

The Ministry of Education has on various occasions expressed its concern that two different training schemes are in operation in primary teacher education, and has suggested that the closest possible coordination should be observed to avoid duplication or, worse, conflicting programmes.⁴⁷

Another major concern of the Ministry of Education was the shortage of textbooks in primary schools. From the

45 W. P. Anderson, Personal Interview, April 14, 1976.

46 UNESCO, Republic of Afghanistan, Quality and Equality in Education, Paris, UNESCO, 1974, p. 21.

47 A. S. Hamid, Project Officer, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, August 8, 1976.

beginning of the project the shortage of books was recognized as a major problem by the UNESCO Team⁴⁸. There was not only an acute shortage of textbooks for all levels of learning but furthermore there was little material for teacher educators themselves and the manuals so essential for students under training were nonexistent. The Curriculum and Textbook Project which was undertaken by USAID programs was itself a recognition of the problem.

The TCCU and UNESCO advisors' involvement in the initial phase of the process of curriculum development was discussed in sections one and two of this chapter. The National Commission Report, which is the formal position of the Government of Afghanistan on the curriculum reform, will be presented in the next section.

3. The National Commission Report.

With the reappointment of Dr. Popal as Minister of Education in November 1967, "Suggested Procedure for Determining of General Curriculum Framework for the Primary Schools of Afghanistan" was subordinated to a new policy emphasis. Popal, who had previously served as Minister of Education in Pre-1964 Cabinets, immediately focused on the

48 C. J. Allen, Academy for Teacher Educators, Paris, UNESCO, 1972, p. 55.

development of new curricular statements with no mention of instructional materials, teaching methods, or research. His mode of implementation was to create a national commission charged with the following responsibilities:

Assessing the problems involved in properly educating children and the incongruities between curricula and social and economic needs of the country; designating priority problems which have to be eliminated; assessing manpower and natural resources which could be allocated to solving educational problems; drawing up a short-term educational development programme to complement the country's five year economic and social development plan; and outlining a long-term action plan for the Ministry of Education.⁴⁹

The National Commission set about its task by forming high level subcommittees made up of respected educators and Kabul University professors. Four members of the Curriculum and Textbook Project staff were appointed to the National Commission's Committee on Education Objectives. Two of these members, Mullen and A. A. Hamid, also served on the Committee for Curriculum Revision⁵⁰. Operationally the committees developed position papers which were reviewed, amended, and then approved by the Commission. In December 1968, the National Commission on Education approved the

49 "National Commission Studies Education", Kabul Times, January 25, 1968, p. 1.

50 Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Twenty-Eight Six-Month Report, p. 48.

following statements proposed by the Curriculum and Textbook Project:

(I) Purpose of Primary Education, (II) General Behavioral Objectives to Permeate All the Curriculum Areas, (III) Curriculum Areas and Objectives for These Areas, and (IV) Curriculum Framework.⁵¹

The Statement on Subjects and Time Allotments was not approved. The National Commission suggested a re-working of the subjects and time allotments according to priorities which they delineated. Much project staff time was spent making proposals, twice for the National Commission and a third time for the Project Steering Committee and the National Commission, of subjects and time allotments⁵². In March 1969, the Project Steering Committee revised and approved the new statement of Subjects and Time Allotments proposed by Mullen and Hamid. In April the National Commission on Education approved this revised statement with a few slight revisions. A professor from Kabul University who was a member of the National Commission commented on the work of the Commission:

⁵¹ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Thirtieth Six-Month Report, p. 33.

⁵² Ibid.

The Minister of Education established a National Commission of Education with sub-committees to be responsible for revising the curriculum. This commission and its sub-committees had been an effective mechanism for revising and approving the curriculum.⁵³

One of the assignments of the Curriculum and Textbook Project which was given by the National Commission was to work on adapting Havighurst's Developmental Tasks to an Afghan societal context. The purpose of this activity was to provide background material for the section on "Societal Needs to Realize the Values for the Maximum Development of Individuals"⁵⁴. This adaptation of Havighurst's Developmental Tasks was incorporated in modified form by the Objectives Committee into their final statement. The Commission approved the statement of "Values, Social Needs to Realize Values, General Aims and General Objectives of Education"⁵⁵, which provided guidelines for the process of curriculum development. Developments in the Curriculum and Textbook Project were consistent with the purposes of Afghan primary education as stated in Chapter IV, Articles nineteen and twenty of the Education Law in Afghanistan. When

53 M. Amin, Professor of Education, Kabul University, Personal Interview, August 9, 1976

54 Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Twenty-Ninth Six-Month Report, May 1968 to October 1968, p. 35.

55 Ibid.

considering the objectives it was kept in mind that the foundation for achieving them was to be laid in the primary grades. If these objectives were not accomplished in the primary grades, they would need to be carried over as objectives at higher grade levels. The purpose of primary education in terms of general behavioral objectives permeates all of the curriculum areas and objectives for these areas. The National Commission stated the purpose of primary education as follows:

[...] to provide for all boys and girls a general education through which children are prepared to take their places in the changing society, are helped to develop habits of critical thinking, and are given opportunities to gain knowledge and develop skills and abilities.

The amount and extent of this education depends upon the needs of Afghan society as dictated by the past and future and upon the needs of the learner and the nature of the learning process.⁵⁶

The statement on objectives was written and drafted by a small staff of Afghans and Americans led by Mullen, the Project Coordinator, and Hamid, the Project General Director. More lengthy discussions took place in order to complete the work of the Curriculum Revision Committee. Discussions continued through 1968 and finally in April 1969, "Programs of Instruction in Schools" was approved by both the Project

⁵⁶ General Objectives and Purposes of School Education in Afghanistan, The National Commission Report, Kabul, Ministry of Education, May 1968, p. 61.

Steering Committee and the National Commission on Education. The document gives a detailed description of the subjects and time allotments for each grade⁵⁷. Members of the National Commission on Education expressed their beliefs which served as a platform for the whole process of curriculum development.

We believe that education, in addition to freeing man's mind and advancing the frontiers of knowledge, should be a means of implementing the developmental plans of the nation. Education is necessary then, for an enlightened citizenry, for advancing the frontiers of knowledge in all fields, and for developing the necessary technical skills in industry, commerce, agriculture and communication. Until such time as we have developed our own technical and scientific literature, it will be necessary to study and teach the languages of those nations which have a highly developed science and technology so that our country can take full advantage of the advancements already made in those fields.⁵⁸

The National Commission acted as a policy-making authority in education while Popal, the creator of the National Commission, was in power as the Minister of Education. The first phase of the Curriculum and Textbook Project which was started in 1966 almost ended in late 1969.

57 See Appendix C for Programs of Instruction in Schools.

58 General Objectives and Purposes of School Education in Afghanistan, pp. 5-6.

4. Phase One Findings.

This section presents the findings and analysis of the first phase of the Curriculum and Textbook Project from 1966 to 1969, through the conceptual framework designed for this study. The purpose of this analysis is to describe and identify actors, factors, events, and decisions that were important and contributed to the development of the primary school curriculum in Afghanistan.

Actors and Events — At the Ministry of Education the actions of the Ministers, the Deputy Ministers of Education, and the General Director of Curriculum influenced the course of events.

From the American side the actions of Anderson, Chief of the TCCU Party; King, Associate Chief of the TCCU Party; Meder, Acting Project Coordinator, and Mullen, the Project Coordinator, influenced the course of events.

The involvement of TCCU advisors in Afghanistan education was an event of significance. The recognition of the shortage of textbooks by UNESCO advisors was another influence. These resulted in various decisions that had an impact on subsequent developments.

King, Meder, Mullen and Hamid were found to be the major actors during this phase. They were supported by people such as Deputy Ministers of Education, Akram and Seraj, and Ministers of Education, Anas, Amwany and Popal.

Changes of top-level officials of the Ministry of Education, and the late arrival of the Project Coordinator were events that made the whole process slow and redirected. The creation of the National Commission was accomplished by a gradual increase in activity by members in the Department of Curriculum and Textbook. The meetings of the Steering Committee and the joint meetings of the Ministry of Education, USAID/A, and UNESCO were productive in the creation of a plan of action. The first joint meeting on March 3, 1966, was crucial since it created further cooperation and interaction.

For a brief time King and Meder were actively involved. Mullen and Hamid continued to figure prominently, but some members of the Steering Committee who were the presidents of various departments in the Ministry of Education continued to play important roles.

The mobility of TCCU advisors and the deadline for the termination of the Curriculum and Textbook Project were events that influenced developments. Cost and time factors were conducive in that they imposed constraints on the research activities and school visits.

Decisions — A number of critical decisions were made during this period. A Steering Committee, on which people in high positions in the Ministry of Education would

have membership, was established to achieve extensive involvement in the decision-making process in conducting curriculum development.

The creation of the National Commission by Popal, then the Minister of Education, was another important decision which had a strong influence on the end process of establishing the platform and foundations for the new curriculum.

The decision to recruit more Afghan specialists in the Curriculum and Textbook Project laid the basis for more membership from the academic community in different curriculum development committees. The making of policy decisions by Ministers of Education and the writing of guidelines by the Deputy Ministers of Education created a task division that facilitated the functioning of the Steering Committee.

The major decision taken by the Afghanistan Cabinet in November 1966 was the authorization of the revision of primary school curriculum by TCCU advisors, and Ministry of Education experts. Another decision was made in regard to the location and placement of the project which finally, under the influence of Akram then the Deputy Minister of Education, was established in the Ministry of Education. The clarification of the role of TCCU specialists and their cooperation with Afghan colleagues was another decision

taken by the Steering Committee under the influence of Seraj then the Deputy Minister of Education.

Analysis — There was an increased awareness of and interest in primary school curriculum on behalf of the TCCU Team, the UNESCO Team, and the Ministry of Education. This was particularly evident in the office of the TCCU Chief of Party. The issue of curriculum revision was not only relevant to the Ministry of Education but also to the University, where the TCCU Team was involved in teacher education with the Institute of Education. Dissatisfaction with the old curriculum among officials of the Ministry of Education, TCCU and UNESCO advisors, and University professors, and some primary school teachers constituted a strong force toward reform efforts.

The University also represented a storehouse of academic resources from which Curriculum and Textbook Project specialists could draw for the development of curriculum. With the departure of Anderson a different approach by persons such as King and Meder, Mullen and Hamid, a new platform and foundations for the new curriculum was about to develop.

By the end of 1969 the possibility of a new curriculum depended largely on the members of two formal groups, Curriculum and Textbook Project specialists, and

TCCU advisors. It was up to these two groups to come up with concrete proposals.

Two developments that grew out of this phase were the increasing influence exerted by the National Commission and the acceptance of the Curriculum and Textbook Project proposals by the Steering Committee. The latter development was likely influenced by the former since the University personnel were perceived to be in a position of leadership in this field.

University people, particularly in the Faculty of Education, were very influential. We got the best leadership from the Faculty of Education. I think that is because these were people who had been teachers, principals. They were expert in their field.⁵⁹

The success of the National Commission could be partially attributed to the influence and prestige of its members, belonging to the University of Kabul, but other factors also contributed. In accordance with the criteria, established in the analytical framework, the following findings were deduced as contributing factors to this development.

First, there was the relevance of the issue. Since the need for revision of curriculum was understood by Afghans and Americans, it was relevant to both the Ministry

59 A. A. Hamid, Personal Interview, August 21, 1976.

of education officials and TCCU advisors. Interest among some of the latter was sufficiently high that they extended more time and effort. This interest, for whatever motive, was conducive in increasing attempts to exert leverage.

A second factor of importance was that the actors possessed resources which enabled them to influence others. TCCU advisors possessed competence in the content and structure of their specific descriptives, Ministry of Education experts were adept in the transmission of this knowledge into the Afghanistan system of education.

The relevance of the issue to members of the Steering Committee and the resources they possessed provided potential leverage. Linkages and similar outlooks among influentials of the National Commission, and the TCCU Team contributed to the acceptance of "Suggested Procedure for Determining a General Curriculum for Primary Schools of Afghanistan", as recommended by the members of the Curriculum and Textbook Project. This procedure served as a platform in the process of curriculum development for primary schools in Afghanistan.

Mullen remained strong in his active role as project coordinator. His disagreement with the King-Meder model forced him to get additional knowledge about the system of education and Afghanistan needs and become more aware of pressures for change. His quick reaction to the King-Meder

model displayed his political sensitivity as well as his ability to influence the course of events in the direction he perceived to be necessary.

In response to a question as to what personal and educational philosophies had been instrumental in the development of the new primary school curriculum, Rohi wrote:

I think members of the sub committee reflected to a considerable extent current professional literature in primary school curriculum. Their personal life philosophies ranged from naturalism to idealism. I opposed the view, espoused by some writers in curriculum, that it was a proper function of the school to attempt to modify society to accord with the views of educators. I think most of the members agreed.⁶⁰

Rlung was one of the members on the subcommittee who agreed with Rohi on that point. Asked what issues, if any, influenced curriculum development and caused some polarization, he replied:

I cannot really remember any significant issues. There was a discussion on Meder and Mullen curriculum development models. I was taking a side in opposition to Meder's model. His model was far from practical and needed more time but the Ministry of Education was not in a position to wait too long for new primary school curriculum.⁶¹

60 M. S. Rohi, President of Pashto Academy, Editor, Pashto Textbooks, Ministry of Education, Personal Correspondence, November 7, 1976.

61 G. D. Rlung, Math Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, October 25, 1976.

The influence of Mullen was apparently pervasive.

Hamid commented:

Those who knew him realized that this man wanted to exert power and that he was very astute in his method of exercising powers. Intellectually he would agree with other viewpoints, but you never knew when he would break out of this and do something which tended to fasten a structure or procedure or method. He brought a talent of organization which he used in a remarkable way.⁶²

Hamidi called Mullen a master in focusing arguments⁶³.

On the basis of these and other responses it was concluded that Mullen was perceived to be a strong leader by Americans and Afghans alike. This fact, as an addition to his position as the Coordinator of Curriculum and Textbook Project, gave Mullen a potential leverage that was hard to be matched by anyone except for the Minister, Deputy Minister and the President of Primary Education.

After three years of deliberation and development the Ministry of Education established guidelines, procedures, aims and objectives for the new primary school curriculum.

62 A. Hamid, Personal Interview, August 21, 1976.

63 A. S. Hamidi, Personal Interview, November 13, 1976.

5. Summary.

The development of the new primary school curriculum was subdivided into three phases. The background of the events that led to the initiation of the new curriculum was described and analyzed in Phase One. At the end of this phase important actors and influential factors were identified. Major decision points were described and analyzed. This was done in terms of leverage and environmental factors.

Three centers of influences were identified. They were the Ministry of Education, the TCCU Team, and the UNESCO Team. Through phase one, the actors at the Ministry of Education and the TCCU Team appeared to be most influential. Some influence was exerted by the University professors but it was, as yet, of minor significance compared to that of the two other spheres of interest.

The Ministry of Education particularly the Deputy Ministers became increasingly influential. Once cooperation between the Ministry of Education and the TCCU Team was achieved, the establishment of procedures for the new primary school curriculum was assured. The work of the National Commission enabled the emergence of a guideline that was acceptable to both the Ministry of Education and

Kabul University. In this connection the names of King, Meder, Hamid and Mullen were of prime importance in this phase.

The Second Phase of the process of primary school curriculum development will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

PLANNING AND REVISION: 1970-1972

The three-year period from 1970 to 1972 was decisive in the development of primary school curriculum in Afghanistan. Three major factors accounted for this. The first was the creation of the Review Committee; the second, the planning and revision of the manuscripts through a curriculum framework; the third, a changing environment. The latter provided a context within which the former two developments could be achieved.

This chapter describes and analyzes the two developments cited above within the context of this changing environment. Thus the first section describes the changing environment. The second section pertains to those events that led to the creation of the Review Committee. The third section accounts for those activities that resulted in the planning and revision of primary school curriculum. The chapter concludes with the findings of the second phase of the Project, based on the conceptual framework selected for this purpose, and a summary.

1. The Changing Environment.

Personnel changes proved to be of great importance in subsequent developments. With the succession of Kayeum by Seraj as the Minister of Education, changes were made in policy and structure. These changes, in addition to the creation of the Review Committee, created a setting for planning and revision of primary school curriculum. A brief summary of these changes follows.

A. Personnel Changes. During the second phase of the Project two new governments were formed in Afghanistan. In the first, Hamidullah Enayat Seraj was appointed Minister of Education, and in the second, Dr. Azim continued as the First Deputy and Acting Minister of Education. Later he became Minister of Education and maintained this position until the July 1973 revolution.

Within the Ministry, an occurrence which directly affected the work of the Project was the resignation of Dr. Samadi, First Deputy Minister, who had been intimately associated with the Project over a long period of time¹. Samadi was replaced by Azim as the First Deputy Minister of Education. In his role of Acting Minister of Education

¹ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirty-Fifth Biannual Report, July 1971 to December 1971, p. 7.

having no deputies, but having responsibility for the total University program, he could not give much attention to policy formulation or administrative affairs². In 1972, Dr. M. Siddiq upon becoming the First Deputy Minister of Education, indicated his willingness to spend time on the Project and responded vigorously to matters brought to his attention³. Along with these changes at the ministerial level there were some personnel changes at the departmental level. The major personnel change in the latter was the replacement of Dr. Pazhwak by Dr. Entezar as President of the Compilation Department. Entezar was Professor in the Linguistics Department, Faculty of Education, Kabul University. A. A. Hamid, Director General of the Curriculum and Textbook Project, left for the United States, and several weeks elapsed before a new Director General was appointed. H. Rahimi, Editor-in-Chief of the Project, was named as Director General of the Curriculum and Textbook Project⁴.

There were increases in both Afghan and American professional staffs. The number of Afghan professional and

² Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirty-Eight Six-Month Report, January 1973 to June 1973, p. 1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirty-Seventh Six-Month Report, July 1972 to December 1972, p. 3.

support personnel was increased during the second phase of the Project from forty-two to fifty.

The TCCU Team experienced a substantial number of changes. Dr. Fields assumed the role of Chief of Party and Project Coordinator; Dr. Miel replaced Dr. Canfield; Dr. Akeson took over from Dr. Sayres as specialist in practical arts, as well as assuming some of the responsibility in teacher education; Cutler replaced Dr. Kauffman, with particular responsibility for reading; Dr. Ridout was added with the responsibility for second language; and Dr. Mayerson was added with the responsibility in the language skills area⁵. With the addition of MacMaken to the Project Staff as the educational publications specialist, all positions allocated to the Project were filled.

B. Structural Changes. Following a comprehensive review of Project plans by Ministry officials together with the TCCU and AID representatives, Samadi, First Deputy Minister of Education, designated a special committee to identify ways of facilitating and, where possible, accelerating the achievement of Project goals.

5 Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Thirty-Fifth Biannual Report, p. 1.

The committee, consisting of Dr. Mir Abdul Fattah Siddiq, Dr. Abdul Ahad Naiem, Mr. Abdul Aziz Hamid, Dr. Edwin L. Martin, Dr. W. A. Whitten, Dr. Spearman and Dr. Sayres, agreed that contingent on adequate Ministry support, a major effort could and would be made to complete the preparation, testing, and revision of all the Project materials within the time frame of the new Five-Year Plan; specifically, to send the last of materials to press by spring, 1976. Dr. Siddiq and Samadi gave assurances that the support required would be made available.⁶

An important step in this connection was the authorization by the Project Steering Committee of working groups of professional advisors for each subject area.

On December 8, 1972, a new government was formed. The Prime Minister did not appoint a Minister of Education, but left Azim as Acting Minister and indicated that there was a substantial reorganization of the Ministry of Education under consideration.

Prime Minister Shafiq has given every indication that he means to steer a firm and vigorous course in his effort to improve the functioning of the government, and the general feeling is that the Ministry of Education will be reorganized.⁷

The lack of a Minister created a state of uncertainty in the Ministry of Education, and the same air of uncertainty was reflected within the Curriculum and

⁶ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirty-Fourth Biannual Report, November 1970 to June 1971, p. 5.

⁷ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Thirty-Seventh Six-Month Report, p. 1.

Textbook Project. This uncertainty served to increase the commitment of the USAID officials, both in Afghanistan and in Washington. They responded favorably to any request that moved the project further.

Dr. Siddiq indicated his intention to appoint three action committees: a committee to evaluate the Curriculum and Textbook Project from the standpoint of the Ministry's expectations, a committee on printing and distribution, and a committee to consider extending curriculum and instructional materials development into the secondary school. These committees have been appointed and two of them have started intensive work.⁸

An important structural change based on a joint decision by the TCCU Team and Curriculum and Textbook Project was the appointment of an Afghan member in each section to coordinate the work of the entire section in three general areas: 1) as a spokesman for the section; 2) as liaison with other sections, particularly production and editorial; and 3) as an organizer and expeditor within the section in planning schedules and workload. Afghans took over these positions from their American colleagues.

C. Policy Changes. There were three institutional policy-making processes within the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan that had a bearing on the activities of the Curriculum and Textbook Project; namely, 1) a series of

⁸ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Thirty-Eighth Six-Month Report, p. 5.

regulations and procedures established by law; 2) the personal decisions made by Ministers of Education within the legal prerogatives of their office; and 3) the contractual agreements made between the government of Afghanistan and other governments or organizations.

The document which established educational law in Afghanistan was the Constitution promulgated in 1964, which set down the basic educational aims and obligations of the State but did not attempt to detail the process by which such objectives were to be achieved⁹.

A new education law was drafted in 1967 and discussed by Parliament but never ratified. Nevertheless the ongoing operations of the Afghan national education system continued to be governed and regulated by a series of specific regulations scattered throughout a number of manuals. Relevant sections of the unratified draft of the education laws are cited below.

⁹ Government of Afghanistan, Constitution of Afghanistan, Kabul, Government Press, 1964, p. 34.

Section 14. The Minister of Education, as the chief officer, shall be responsible for all educational matters.

Section 15. It shall be the duty of the Ministry of Education to perform the following functions in accordance with the separate rules and manuals, with the assistance of the High Council of the Ministry of Education, the High Council of the University, the Ministry of Education Committee and the members of the Ministry;

a. Determine the internal organization of the Ministry of Education.

b. Select officials and assign their duties to them.

[...]

f. Organize and prepare the general policies, procedures, rules and regulations, instructions, curricula and syllabi, textbooks, teaching aids, guide books, manuals, and professional journals, as needed, and distribute and put into practice after they are approved.

[...]

Section 17. The Ministry of Education Committee, whose members shall be presidents of the departments and the educational advisors, shall be devoted to the execution of educational and administrative regulations, the maintenance of harmony between the various bureaus of the Ministry of Education, the preparations of proposals, and the making of necessary decisions according to its separate regulations. The chairman of the Committee shall be the First Deputy Minister, and the meetings shall be held once weekly. Decisions shall be considered ready for execution after signing by the Minister of Education.

[...]

Section 25. Primary schools shall be established in accordance with the manual for Primary Education.¹⁰

¹⁰ Ministry of Education, Education Law, Kabul, Government Press, 1967, p. 29.

While final policy had to be in accordance with the Constitution, Government Policy, and the Education Laws of the nation, operational educational policy emanated from the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education was responsible for making operational policy decisions pertaining to the appointment of personnel, establishing rules and regulations, and formulating curricula and syllabi. Similarly, the ultimate policy-making power rested with the Minister of Education, as spokesman for the Afghan Government and the Cabinet of which he was an appointed member.

While the Program Agreement continued to be the principal source of policy for the Curriculum and Textbook Project, ministerial directives had also been a source of policy. The rewriting of the educational aims and objectives under the auspices of the National Commission on Education rather than the Curriculum and Textbook Project is one example. The creation of the Review Committee to scrutinize the appropriateness of instructional materials produced by the Project prior to final approval by the Project Steering Committee is another example. A third example is Azim's directive calling for a study of problems associated with the use of the new instructional materials in primary schools.

A major source of policy pertaining to the Curriculum and Textbook Project had been the formal decisions of the

Ministry of Education Committee. Between 1970 and 1972 only two such policy decisions had been made. The first, enacted in August 1971, revised the old primary school timetable to allow for the inclusion of the new science and health curriculum for grades four through six. The second decision, enacted in November 1971, officially confirmed the creation of the Review Committee as the body responsible for recommending approval of Project manuscripts to the Steering Committee.

The next section will describe and analyze those events which led to the creation of the Review Committee.

2. The Review Committee.

The previous chapter indicated that Akram, the Minister of Education, informed the project Director General and Coordinator that he was creating a policy-making Steering Committee to guide the Curriculum and Textbook Project. The Steering Committee was to meet bi-weekly under the leadership of the First Deputy Minister of Education. The purpose of establishing the Steering Committee was to achieve extensive involvement in the decision-making process of the project. It was an attempt to abolish the obstacles that hindered progress.

The Steering Committee, as an important policy making body, was presided over by the First Deputy Minister of Education. Its members included: Second Deputy Minister; Presidents of Primary, Secondary, Vocational, Teacher Education; Compilation, Planning and Supervision Departments; Director General of Curriculum and Textbook Project; Chief of TCCU Team; and Chief of Education Division of AID/Afghanistan in Kabul.¹¹

An important step by the Steering Committee was the authorization of a Review Committee composed of professional advisors to look at each subject area. The Review Committee was to serve as representative of the Steering Committee in reviewing project materials, suggesting revisions where appropriate, and expediting its approval for publication. The Review Committee was divided into six working groups and met regularly with the Project sections. Kabul University continued its professional cooperation with the Curriculum and Textbook Project and a few university professors were members of designated working groups. In an interview N. Saidi, professor of Dari language and classical literature, commented:

A working group was also designated to assist the Project Language Committee in resolving questions of punctuation, word spacing, spelling, and script, in order to develop uniform criteria for the new materials.¹²

¹¹ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirty-Fourth Biannual Report, November 1970 to June 1971, p. 2.

¹² M. N. N. Saidi, Associate Professor, Kabul University, Personal Interview, November 18, 1976.

In the Curriculum and Textbook Project as a whole, most of the planning centered around the developments of the Steering Committee. On September 30, 1971, just prior to Spearman's departure and following the arrival of Fields, the new Chief of the TCCU Party, the Steering Committee met to receive A. Hamid's oral review of the work of the Project¹³. Various phases of the work of the Project were discussed, particularly the need for more effective and less time-consuming procedures on the part of the Review Committee, as well as the need for more editorial and translation services. Samadi, the First Deputy Minister of Education, indicated full backing for procuring the services and making the required changes.

The process of curriculum development was moving from policy making to more professional and technical decisions relative to the development of curriculum guidelines. Mayerson viewed the transfer of power from the Steering Committee to the Review Committee as follows:

¹³ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Thirty-Fifth Biannual Report, p. 2.

The Steering Committee met to consider proposals regarding the functioning of the Review Committee and took several actions which tended to clarify the situation. A Sub Committee was appointed to consider new personnel for the Review Committee and to establish guidelines for committee work.¹⁴

The function of the Review Committee was to study the first draft of books before they were placed in pilot schools. The Review Committee submitted all publications to the Steering Committee for final approval. American specialists carried out the policies established by the Steering Committee and cooperated with their Afghan colleagues. At the Ministry of Education final decisions pertaining to curricular materials were made by the Steering Committee¹⁵. The Ministry of Education faced a crucial problem of finding Afghans who understood the process of curriculum development to work in the Review Committee.

In a developing country, one is forced to create writers and teachers almost overnight out of people who really should be students. The difficulty of performing this conjuring trick was almost impossible. But here is where the combined efforts of those who had interest, concern, belief, willingness to work, and an urge to experiment became absolutely crucial.¹⁶

14 P. S. Mayerson, Language Arts Specialist, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, October 26, 1976.

15 M. G. Kauffman, Terminal Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, October 4, 1971, p. 12.

16 Ibid., p. 1.

The first step toward setting up the necessary machinery for the implementation of the recommendations approved by the National Commission and the Board of Education could be traced to a time prior to the second phase of the Project. The need for coordination was felt by both the Steering Committee and the Review Committee, but in particular by the working groups. The formation of the Review Committee by the Ministry of Education forced the American advisors and their Afghan colleagues to be more exacting in the process of curriculum development. The official report of the TCCU Team was positive in its view of the Steering Committee.

In view of the volume of books to be produced by the project (over 150 books, half in Dari and half in Pashto), the Steering Committee has authorized professional advisors as review committees or working groups for subject area in order to expedite the process of manuscript review and approval. In fact, the working groups will serve as representatives of the Steering Committee and should considerably facilitate the meeting of the Project's production schedules.¹⁷

However, individual American advisors responded differently when they commented on the creation of the Review Committee.

¹⁷ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Thirty-Fourth Biannual Report, p. 3.

Mackmakin said that, "The Steering Committee had to meet once a month and wanted to go through each book, which was impossible. Then the Ministry of Education appointed a Review Committee"¹⁸.

According to Schutte, the Ministry of Education wanted complete control over the process of curriculum development. The reason for the creation of the Review Committee was to monitor the work of foreign advisors. He termed the action of the Ministry of Education as "xenophobia" which he interpreted as "fear of outsiders"¹⁹. Schutte's view on the creation of the Review Committee was similar to that given by another American advisor, M. Easterly. As the first appointed research assistant to the Curriculum and Textbook Project, his responsibility was that of establishing criteria for measuring the effectiveness of the new material in the pilot school. Easterly explained that "there were political questions relative to the selection of the members of the Review Committee"²⁰.

18 R. B. Mackmakin, Educational Publications Specialist, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, November 8, 1976.

19 D. G. W. Schutte, Teacher Education Specialist, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, August 29, 1976.

20 M. Easterly, Research Assistant, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, April 16, 1976.

One of the purposes for the creation of the Review Committee was to monitor the work of foreign advisors, said Miel²¹. She commented on the process of reviewing and evaluating the curriculum content.

For reviewing and evaluating the product, it would be good to have people, not only the specialists or the Review Committee and teachers who have used it, but people from other fields, a curriculum generalist, some of the Project people, or the American consultants. I don't know if you have people in Afghanistan trained to be curriculum generalists, to look over a whole series of subjects. That is probably a need because I think as long as you keep looking at each subject separately you are missing things.²²

Afghan specialists thought that the creation of a Review Committee was a positive move toward the Afghanization of the primary school curriculum. The former president of the Compilation Department of the Ministry of Education, Entezar, explained why the Review Committee was appointed.

Prior to the creation of the Review Committee, American specialists were preparing textbooks by borrowing content from the curriculum of other countries, and Afghan specialists were trying to translate the textbooks from English to Pashto and Dari. The Ministry of Education's reaction to this process was the creation of the Review Committee.²³

21 A. Miel, Professor of Curriculum, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, April 16, 1976.

22 Ibid.

23 M. E. Entezar, Former President of Compilation, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, July 11, 1976.

Two other officials of the Ministry of Education supported Entezar's view in relation to the creation of the Review Committee. The former Second Deputy Minister of Education said that "the Curriculum and Textbook Project was a sensitive area dealing with national and social values of the Afghan society"²⁴.

To Afghans the justification for the existence of the Review Committee was similar. Rahimi, the Director General of the Curriculum and Textbook Project and the Chairman of the Review Committee, pointed out that "the idea to create a Review Committee composed of Afghan educators and field specialists was a political as well as a professional decision"²⁵. The feeling that Afghanistan education must reflect Afghan culture and values was deeply rooted in the policy of the Ministry of Education long before the creation of the Review Committee.

24 M. F. Fazel, Former Deputy Minister of Education, Personal Interview, November 23, 1976.

25 M. H. Rahimi, Director General of Curriculum and Textbook Project, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, August 21, 1976.

An early conference with His Excellency, the Minister of Education, revealed his deep concern for the success of the Project and that the curriculum and materials produced must truly and adequately reflect Afghan culture, aims and values. He dismissed the suggestion that Iranian textbooks might be adopted for use in Afghan primary schools with the beautifully expressed but telling statement that we both read Hafiz and we both read Saadi, but we want to choose the poems our children learn.²⁶

As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, the Review Committee was divided into six working groups and each group was responsible for the planning and revision of a subject area. The next section will describe and analyze the process of planning and revision of the primary school curriculum.

3. Planning and Revision.

As soon as the working groups were established and organized, the objectives and the scope and sequence of each subject area were developed or approved by the Steering Committee as follows: The purposes and aims stated earlier by the National Commission were maintained. These were based on the values and needs of the Afghan society. The basic objective stated in that report is as follows:

²⁶ The Afghan Ministry of Education Curriculum and Textbook Project: Background and Recommendations for Aims and Organizational Pattern, Washington, D.C., USAID, 1966, p. 16.

[...] to provide for all Afghan boys and girls a general education in which children are prepared to take their places in a changing society, are helped to develop habits of critical thinking, and are given opportunities to gain knowledge and develop skills and abilities.²⁷

From this stated purpose and from the values and needs of Afghan society from which the purpose was drawn, curriculum areas were identified and curriculum objectives for these areas were derived. The Commission Report listed the following areas of concern:

[...] moral and spiritual values, communication skills, quantitative relationships, social environment, physical environment, maximum individual development, esthetic appreciation and expression, changes in the home and community in line with modern knowledge.²⁸

Recognizing that within the limits of given resources in any particular country decisions of priorities must be made, the following were given consideration in developing the primary school curriculum:

27 "General Objectives and Purposes of School Education in Afghanistan", The National Commission Report, Kabul, Ministry of Education, May 1968, p. 61.

28 Ibid., p. 65.

1. The values and needs of Afghanistan
2. The approved purpose and curriculum objectives of primary schools
3. The purposes, curriculum, subjects, and time allotments of other countries, with particular attention to other Moslem and Southeast Asian countries
4. The existing primary program of Afghanistan, its present arrangements, problems and practices
5. The reactions of the Steering Committee of the National Commission of Education, UNESCO experts, Columbia team specialists, Afghan officials of the primary and community school, and USAID officials to proposals of subjects and time allotments.²⁹

Particular attention was given to the criteria, later approved by the Steering Committee, as guidelines for the curriculum framework.

1. Priority emphasis on literacy development, then mathematics, then practical arts, social studies, science and health, and physical education;
2. The necessity for building a program around a four-hour day with slightly less than four hours for grades 1, 2, and 3;
3. The importance for considering village schools and community school development in planning proposals for a revised primary school program.³⁰

²⁹ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirtieth Six-Month Report, November 1968 to April 1969, p. 30.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 27.

As soon as the general aims and objectives, values, and curriculum areas were prepared by the Curriculum and Textbook Project and approved by the Steering Committee, the preparation of the courses of study continued. These indicated the scope of the content to be covered as well as the grade-by-grade sequence in which the topics were to be presented. In an interview, Rahimi, Director General of the Curriculum and Textbook Project, commented on the preparation of courses of study.

[...] each course of study was reviewed and revised as necessary by a committee of specialists appointed by the Ministry of Education. Members of the committees were selected not only on the basis of their professional knowledge of the appropriate subject area but also because they had substantial teaching experience.³¹

The next step was the writing of instructional materials based on the courses of study. These materials consisted of texts for the pupils as well as guides for the teachers. The Curriculum and Textbook Project team planned that for the first time Afghan teachers would have guides to use in connection with their textbooks.

In order to obtain empirical evidence of the suitability of the new materials before introducing them into

31 H. Rahimi, Personal Interview, August 21, 1976.

schools throughout the country, the Ministry of Education designated a number of representative schools in Jalalabad, Kabul and Kandahar as trial schools in which the materials would be taught and subsequently revised as needed.

With the acceptance in principle of the proposed courses of study and the authorization of the establishment of working groups to develop instructional materials, curriculum development had entered a new stage. The major task that faced the Curriculum and Textbook Project was the development of a framework to serve as a guide for planning and revision of the primary school curriculum.

The following section traces the process by which the curriculum framework was designed.

A. Designing a Framework. The complicated, time-consuming process for approval of final manuscripts became the overriding concern of the Project Steering Committee. By the summer of 1971 the acting Project Coordinator, Sayres, proposed a set of guidelines to be followed by the Review Committee and "working groups" created to recommend final approval of manuscripts to the Project Steering Committee. The proposal contained the following provisions:

The primary function of the working groups is to review, suggest revisions of, and approve the materials prepared by the Curriculum and Textbook Project sections. They serve, in effect, as representatives of the Steering Committee, in the sense that the Steering Committee has delegated to them the responsibilities indicated.

In reviewing the materials, the working groups should not attempt to redo or rewrite them. This would not only require a great deal of time and produce delays in the Project production schedule, but would involve the groups in work for which the Project is responsible.

The process of review and revision is designed to correct content that is factually wrong or misleading. Suggestions for revising the materials should accordingly be directed to errors of content, and should not simply reflect the individual preferences of members of the working groups for particular phrasing or illustrations.

In cases of disagreement among members of the working groups, the majority view will prevail. Otherwise much time will be lost in arguments which may or may not be convincing to all. This applies both to recommendations for revision and to approval of the revised materials. Unanimous agreement is not necessary; majority agreement will suffice.

Since a major purpose in establishing the working groups is to expedite the revision and approval of materials, and since the production schedule is a demanding one, members of the working groups are responsible for reading the materials and giving their reactions to them on time. Members who do not attend scheduled meetings at which action is to be taken do not have a right subsequently to challenge the action taken by those who do attend.³²

32 W. C. Sayres, "Guideline for Working Groups", TCCU Team Files, no date (Mimeographed)

In November 1971, the Steering Committee officially appointed Review Committees for each of the subject matter writing sections and charged them with recommending disposition of Project-prepared manuscripts. Then in December 1971, the Steering Committee promulgated the following approval process:

Textbooks must complete these stages before publication:

1. [Be] in conformity with the new objectives of education.
2. [Be] in agreement with the accepted program elements of the subject-matter of each grade.
3. The formulation of the draft manuscript by the local and foreign specialists of the section [be] relevant to the curriculum.
4. Before try-out in experimental schools the draft manuscript first [be] studied by a review committee composed of experienced and reliable persons and an editor.
5. The book or several chapters [be] tried-out in experimental schools.
6. The evaluation of the book during the experimental period [be] according to a regular program formulated by the Project Research Section.
7. Upon a second review after evaluation and the insertion of opinions and important points by the review committee and editor the book [will be] readied for publication.
8. A final copy [will be] presented to the Steering Committee for final study and consideration and after approval by the above mentioned committee and acceptance by the Minister of Education [be] sent for publication.³³

³³ Minutes, Project Steering Committee Meeting, Kabul, Ministry of Education, December 14, 1971, p. 2.

Further discussions of the manuscript-approval process continued throughout early 1972 and culminated in the passage of "Twenty Three Step Procedure" — a statement of a curriculum development framework.

With the approval of a curriculum development framework, curriculum developers had to face two major tasks; namely, 1) the writing of course outlines for each subject at each grade level in accordance with the aims and objectives and values which were approved by the Ministry of Education, and 2) an elaboration of the outline for preparation of teachers' guides. The curriculum guides and hand-books were to be official documents.

The following section traces the process by which these tasks were performed. In addition, it presents those events and decisions, in the context of the environment, which were considered as potentially influential in the development of primary school curriculum. Since such a large number of people were involved in the writing stage, it became necessary to trace the development in each section of the Curriculum and Textbook Project separately.

The focus in this section shifts back and forth among the various curriculum groups such as the Steering Committee, the Review Committee, and the Ministry Board. From the beginning of 1970 until 1973 most courses of study were written and approved, teachers' guides were prepared,

and work was begun in the dissemination and implementation of the new primary school curriculum. The latter function was achieved through a cooperative arrangement between the Department of Compilation and the Department of Primary Education.

B. Changes and Revisions. Language Arts — The language arts section started its work with the initial draft of the Dari first-grade materials. The materials included a reader with twenty stories and a teacher's guide. The materials had been tried out as they were developed during the school year ending in December 1970, with a pilot group of twenty-three pupils in the Kabul laboratory school. The highly positive response of these pupils during this trial period indicated that the materials were ready for full testing on a larger scale during the school year beginning in March 1971³⁴.

Mayerson, the TCCU advisor in language arts, identified the people involved in the development of the language arts instructional materials. He pointed out that Kauffman was the architect of the first-grade text. Afghan specialists who worked at the lower primary grade level were Najand, Tarin, Wardak, and Bakhtari, and at the upper

³⁴ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Thirty-Fourth Biannual Report, p. 4.

primary grade level were Rohi, Helali, Ilham, and Neghat.

In his terminal report Kauffman outlined how the process was initiated.

The team studied children to observe how they learn. They tested one group of children who had been taught the traditional materials and analyzed their reading difficulties. Next they tested a pilot group of 23 children using the new materials and analyzed strengths and weaknesses.

The team analyzed their own learning during the entire process of writing, testing, revising, retesting. Gradually but constantly the Team gained insight into the nature of children, the nature of learning, the nature of reading.

The team also analyzed sets of Readers, especially the Iranian and the American sets, according to the nature of learning, of reading, and of children.³⁵

Tarin and Najand, both Afghan specialists who worked closely with Kauffman, elaborated on the process of writing and testing instructional materials. For Dari texts, Tarin explained:

A special committee was appointed by the Ministry to review the Dari first-grade materials prior to testing them. The outcome of the committee deliberations was the addition of a series of lesson introducing the Dari alphabet.³⁶

Najand commented on the preparation of Pashto texts:

35 M. G. Kauffman, p. 5.

36 N. N. A. Tarin, Language Arts Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 8, 1976.

Testing of the Pashto first-grade materials took place in Jalalabad and Kandahar. The trial schools in these areas were visited every six weeks by members of the Language Arts section staff. There was every indication that the pupils were responding well to the new materials and methods. Teachers, headmasters, provincial directors, and parents expressed not only satisfaction with but enthusiasm for the new program.³⁸

As mentioned in the first chapter, Dari and Pashto are the two official languages of Afghanistan. The instructional materials were developed in both languages. Miran studied the sociolinguistic factors affecting primary education and reported that "in Afghanistan bilingualism is a regular feature of the linguistic scene. The education system requires that students must be not merely bilingual but must become multilingual"³⁸. The American specialist in second language arrived in Kabul on August 20, 1971. After an initial period of about two months studying the Dari and Pashto languages, observing classes in second language, and training counterparts, the actual writing of the second language textbooks began. At the same time as the arrival

37 M. O. Najand, Language Arts Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 16, 1976.

38 M. A. Miran, Sociolinguistic Factors Affecting Primary Education in Afghanistan: A Consideration of Multilingualism and National Education Policy, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Austin, Texas, the University of Texas, 1975, p. 15.

of the American specialist, Professor R. Elham of the Faculty of Letters, Kabul University, agreed to serve as part-time consultant to the section.

Mr. Elham's consultancy has been defined so as to provide input in three areas: 1) as an informant in the linguistic analysis of both Dari and Pashto; 2) as a scholar to advise in matters of literacy style; and ultimately, 3) as an author to offer original, creative material wherever needed.³⁹

Neghat explained how a crisis developed with respect to the Dari first-grade reader, and how it was resolved.

The Dari first grade reader was completed and approved by the Dari review committee. Chapters one through nineteen had been approved by the old committee, chaired by Mr. Mayel, which was disbanded in January 1972. Chapter twenty was approved by the new committee, chaired by Dr. Entezar. Neither committee could have responsibility for the other's work and thus final approval for the book could not be obtained. The Steering Committee resolved the crisis by ordering that the entire book and its teaching materials be sent back to the new committee for a complete review.⁴⁰

Professor Neghat served on various review committees and working groups throughout the life of the Curriculum and Textbook Project.

³⁹ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, TCCU Team, Thirty-Sixth Biannual Report, January 1972 to June 1972, p. 5.

⁴⁰ M. N. Neghat Saidi, Personal Interview, November 18, 1976.

There was no crisis in the approval of the Pashto text as Alimi, head of the language arts section, responded to a question that "the Pashto first grade reading readiness book, reader, and teacher's guide were submitted to the Compilation Department for publication"⁴¹. He further explained how the curriculum developers assumed responsibility in writing each textbook.

Each member of the Section continued to have responsibility for at least one textbook. In some cases, the same person also originated materials for the teacher's guide.⁴²

Each member of the language arts section worked very closely with Professor Elham on the development of a grammatical concept sequence for grades one through six in both Dari and Pashto.

During the second phase of the Project in the language arts section, work on all books continued until each was written, field tested, evaluated, approved and sent to the Compilation Department for publication.

Mathematics — G. Gilbert, American advisor and TCCU Team mathematics specialist, described how he found activities in the mathematics section:

41 M. Z. Alimi, Head of Language Arts Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 8, 1976.

42 Ibid.

Prior to my arrival in Afghanistan on February 21, 1970, no mathematics text materials had been prepared or initiated. A minimal course content outline, by grades, had been drawn up and approved by a national committee. We have adhered to this 'syllabus' because I did not feel it prudent, at this time, to raise questions regarding its appropriateness. However, it soon should be looked at critically.⁴³

Within the first six months of the second phase of the Project, the first drafts of grade one materials, teacher's guide and pupil textbook were completed and tested in Jalalabad, Kandahar, and Kabul provinces. Visits were made to each school to monitor the progress of the testing program. The process of developing instructional materials in mathematics was slow and time-consuming. Azizi, head of the mathematics section, outlined the process and pointed out a few problems:

For the primary level in mathematics every page was, in effect, an illustration. Each page had its unique problems of layout, design and illustration which had to be worked out with the calligrapher-artist. As a result the section fell from the leading edge to the trailing end of the proposed schedule.⁴⁴

The lack of a Review Committee and a shortage of manpower were two factors affecting the progress of

43 G. A. Gilbert, Terminal Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, June 10, 1972, p. 1.

44 A. K. Azizi, Head of Mathematics Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 12, 1975.

curriculum development in mathematics. During the second phase of the Project, however, the mathematics materials for grade one were revised and put into final form. Subsequently they were approved by the Review Committee and submitted to the Steering Committee for final approval.

On June 11th the Steering Committee approved the materials and work was begun on the preparation of four clear copies of the manuscript as prescribed. These copies will be completed in July, after which they will be signed by the Review Committee and submitted to the Department of Compilation and Translation for printing.⁴⁵

During the second phase of the Project the mathematics section continued its work on the development of instructional materials for grades two, three and four. It also embarked on the writing of a resource book for primary school teachers. Vogeli, the TCCU specialist in mathematics, viewed the progress of the section in developing materials in this way:

The section prepared an outline of the lower primary mathematics program. This outline included a discussion of the philosophy of the program, a brief review of the syllabus, a detailed description of the content of the mathematics for the grade one book and sample lessons from book one. The outline served as introductory information concerning the nature and content of the new primary mathematics program and was used in connection with workshops and seminars in which the Mathematics Section was asked to take part.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Thirty-Sixth Biannual Report, p. 11.

⁴⁶ B. P. Vogeli, Mathematics Specialist, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, September 8, 1976.

The mathematics section participated in several seminars for supervisors and headmasters. In conjunction with these seminars the "Outline of the Lower Mathematics Program" was rewritten and produced as a booklet. The booklets were distributed to later seminars in which the mathematics section took part.

A new Review Committee for mathematics was appointed. The section met several times with the chairman to discuss the overall mathematics program. Rlung commented on the process as follows:

On the recommendation of the Steering Committee a special committee was appointed to review the mathematics syllabus and the materials produced by the Mathematics Section. This Committee met to examine the syllabus and to study the results of the testing program concerning the materials for grade one, two and three. After lengthy discussion the Committee decided that the previously approved syllabus was suitable and therefore a revision at that time was unnecessary. The Committee also approved the mathematics materials for grades one, two and three on the basis of the results obtained in testing of the trial materials. They further recommended that the materials be printed and distributed without delay.⁴⁷

The production of materials after the manuscripts were completed and approved remained a very serious problem. The mathematics materials for grade one were ready for printing in August 1972; however, nothing was done on them

⁴⁷ G. D. Rlung, Mathematics Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, October 25, 1976.

until July 1973. Therefore, almost one full year was wasted. Manuscripts were being produced according to schedule but final production was unnecessarily delayed. This may be explained by the lack of a Minister of Education.

Science — Science is a new course of study in the primary school curriculum. The tentative course outlines prepared by the science section were discussed by a committee composed of science experts. The committee met for twenty-four sessions and, after making the necessary changes, accepted the new program as meeting the needs of Afghan education as outlined in the "Aims and Objectives of Afghan Education"⁴⁸. The Science Course of Study was used as a guide for the preparation of curriculum materials in science for Afghan primary schools. Course materials included teachers' guides, textbooks and teacher resource materials. The science committee was chaired by Mrs. Habiba Samadi, Vice President of Primary Education. Among the committee members were Ghaznaivi and Sooma, both professors of Science Education, Kabul University. The committee finally made the following decisions regarding scope and sequence of the science curriculum:

⁴⁸ Curriculum and Textbook Project, Science Course of Study Grades 1-6, Kabul, Ministry of Education, November 24, 1975, p. i.

Every elementary science curriculum must be developed so that it has a definite scope and sequence, that is, it must be graded according to its difficulty, and progress from the easy to simple concept to the more difficult. For example a child in grade one may learn to identify some common plants in the community. However, by the time he reaches the fourth or fifth grade he will probably understand the parts of a plant, what makes them grow, and how they grow.

The scope and sequence of science instruction must be effectively related to the changing needs and interests of children at different ages. Planned progression is important in any subject which, like Language or Science, is taught year after year. A fresh approach and new emphasis in each succeeding grade will prevent the necessary repetition from seriously reducing interest in the subject.⁴⁹

After the approval of the scope-and-sequence policy by the Steering Committee, the Review Committee began its study of the new materials. Within six months a Dari edition of guidelines for introducing science concepts through the language arts program in grades one to three was prepared.

Dr. A. K. Kando, TCCU Team science specialist, described the process and the problems encountered during the approval of the instructional materials.

49 Ibid., p. 12.

Securing the approval of the fourth grade Dari science text from the Review Committee proved to be a very slow process. Working without guidelines, the Review Committee went over the fourth grade text line by line, page by page. After twelve meetings, about two-thirds of the text was done. The committee was finally persuaded to assign the remainder of the text and the teacher's guide to individuals.⁵⁰

The science section faced problems in securing approval of the fifth grade chapters written for try-out as two of the four members of the Review Committee went to the United States for summer institutes. Yawar, head of the science section, explained how financial problems delayed the process of developing instructional materials.

Members of the Review Committee raised the question of pay for their extra work. They indicated a reluctance to work on fifth grade materials unless they received compensation for the work done on the fourth grade materials. Editing was a bottleneck in the whole procedure of writing texts and teacher's guides. It took weeks to get a chapter edited and returned.⁵¹

The instructional materials, including Dari and Pashto texts and teachers' guides, were approved by the Steering Committee for publication on September 17, 1972. The members of the science section participated in a two-day provincial Supervisors Workshop in December 1972, at

50 A. K. Kondo, Science Specialist, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, October 27, 1976.

51 A. Yawar, Head of Science Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 11, 1976.

the Academy for Teacher Educators. S. A. Jouyan, science specialist, explained the purpose of this encounter:

The general objectives of our participation were to 1) introduce and acquaint the provincial supervisors to the objectives, scope and sequence, units and teaching procedures of the new science program developed by the Curriculum and Textbook Project, and 2) suggest guidelines for supervising and inspecting teachers and students using the new materials. The presentations were well received by the supervisors⁵².

During the second phase of the Project, Kondo, the American advisor, met with Ghaznawi, Director of the National Science Center, and Dr. Pant, UNESCO advisor, to discuss the coordination of the work of the center with the work of the science, health and mathematics sections of the Curriculum and Textbook Project.

Like other sections of the Project, the science section also faced the problem of a shortage of personnel. During the second phase of the Project only two Afghan specialists were actively involved with the American advisor in the development of the instructional materials. With the enrollment of one Afghan in intensive English classes, only one full-time Afghan educator was available to do the bulk of the work. Most of his time was spent writing and testing the grade five materials. This resulted in a slowdown of

42 S. A. A. Jouyan, Science Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 12, 1976.

the work planned for the second phase. A. Yadgari, the only Afghan working in the science section during the last six months of the second phase, outlined a few problems in the process of curriculum development.

A late start in testing our grade 5 materials resulted because of delays in scheduling science in trial schools.

Permission to continue testing the remainder of the grade 5 materials in Kabul in the second semester was not granted.

A problem of grading children using our trial materials was raised by the Science Section.⁵³

Work continued on grades five and six textbooks; the grade five text was translated from Dari into English by persons outside the Project.

Social Studies — The social studies section started its work with the development of guidelines for incorporating key social studies concepts in the language arts program for grades one to three. The guidelines indicated ideas and understandings which were presented at each grade level, together with suggested instructional practices. Miel wrote in her terminal report:

53 M. A. Yadgari, Science Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, April 14, 1976.

Aware of the implications and sensitive nature of a new social studies program, the detailed working out of the scope and sequence was done under the guidance and at the direction of the first social studies work committee. The end product recognizes Afghanistan's unique history, its place in Central Asia and the Near East, and its Islamic history and culture. It differs from the previous program in its avoidance of repetition of content from grade to grade, and in its systematic development of scope and sequence for grades one through six within the framework of a proposed overall unified program for grades one through twelve⁵⁴.

In addition to the differences between old and new social studies materials which Miel mentioned, authors of the fifth and sixth grades social studies textbooks attempted to deal in a balanced way with Afghanistan past, present and future.

In an interview Miel pointed out the important issues related to the social studies instructional materials:

We attempted to thresh out sensitive issues as they arose and in each case tried to arrive at an agreement that would neither compromise the truth nor raise unnecessary doubts and questions in the minds of officials or the public about the effect of the new materials on the attitudes of young Afghans. One such sensitive issue was the expectation on the part of Afghan colleagues that Pashtunistan would continue to appear on maps for Afghan children as a nation bordering Afghanistan on the east. Another issue was whether a particular piece of territory was to be labeled Israel or Palestine on the maps in social studies textbooks.⁵⁵

54 A. Miel, Terminal Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, October 1971 to March 1973, p. 2.

55 A. Miel, Personal Interview, April 16, 1976.

Prior to Miel's arrival in Afghanistan in October 1971, there was another American specialist in the social studies section who made the following contribution:

Dr. Canfield had left a listing of maps drawings, and photographs with an indication of size, caption, and location in the fourth grade textbook. Also available were the official Social Studies Curriculum Guide for Primary school, containing lists of chapters for the fourth, fifth and sixth grade textbooks, the teacher's guide to social studies in the first three grades, and English translations of the fourth grade textbook and accompanying teacher's guide.⁵⁶

Hikmati, head of the social studies section, explained that the process of developing instructional materials was very carefully planned. He said that "all of us were learning how much sources may vary and how important it was to check information very carefully. We also were becoming increasingly sensitive to differences in our value systems"⁵⁷. One of his experiences with Miel was a trip to Herat, Lashkergah, and Kandahar, during which they collected information and took photographs for the fifth grade textbook.

When Hikmati left for the United States to work on his Master of Arts degree at TCCU, M. J. Jahanyar, a history and geography instructor at the Higher Teachers College, joined

⁵⁶ Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Thirty-Fifth Biannual Report, p. 15.

⁵⁷ J. K. Hikmati, Head, Social Studies Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 14, 1976.

the section. Jahanyar, with another Afghan colleague, Mrs. R. Roshna, assumed responsibility for the social studies section. During this period the fifth grade textbook was written in English and approved by the section Review Committee. The teacher's guide for the fifth grade textbook was also completed. Roshna outlined the professional development activities of the social studies section:

The Social Studies Section took responsibility for five hours of time during the training course for supervisors which opened in Kabul on December 10, 1972. The time was used to explain the direction, purpose, and scope and sequence of the new social studies curriculum and textbooks, to teach a demonstration lesson from a sample chapter of the fifth grade textbook, to discuss a second sample chapter and the teacher's guide, and to present guides for evaluation of teacher and pupil performance which supervisors are using.⁵⁸

By the end of the second phase of the Project the social studies section was mainly occupied with two related tasks as Jahanyar pointed out: 1) field testing those chapters and the teachers' guides from the fifth grade text that were approved for trial; and 2) completing the trial versions of the remaining chapters and the teachers' guides planned for the text⁵⁹. The research and writing of the

58 R. Roshna, Social Studies Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 18, 1976.

59 J. J. Jahanyar, Social Studies Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 9, 1976.

sixth grade textbook started and plans for pilot testing new materials with experimental and control classes were presented to the Director General for approval.

Practical Works — The course of study in practical works was concerned with learning activities that can help pupils become more useful and productive members of their families and communities. The course is based largely on three major resource fields: agriculture, industrial arts, and home economics.

There is a greater emphasis on agriculture and industrial arts in the learning activities for boys and on home economics in those for girls⁶⁰. Nevertheless, the course provides both boys and girls with opportunities to acquire appropriate understandings and skills in all three fields. R. Zaray, head of the practical works section, pointed out that "the course in practical works, like other subject areas of the new primary school curriculum, was developed in accordance with the general aims of education in Afghanistan as established by the Ministry of Education"⁶¹.

⁶⁰ Curriculum and Textbook Project, Practical Works for Boys Grades IV, V, VI, Kabul, Ministry of Education, June 1970, p. 3.

⁶¹ R. M. Zaray, Head of Practical Works Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 7, 1976.

An important purpose of the course is to provide learning experiences which are not only useful and practical but which also stimulate the interest and motivation of pupils in continuing such activities. For the practical works course of study two Steering Committee advisory groups were formed, one for the boys' program and one for the girls'. The group met regularly with section specialists and work was concentrated on a final review of the fourth, fifth and sixth grade texts and teachers' guides.

Two major events which provided more resources for the members of the practical works section were outlined by Muslim, a practical works specialist:

The first event was a donation of over one hundred English and Persian texts relating to practical works by the Asia Foundation office in Kabul. The second event was a visit by all members of the Practical Works Section to the Pakistan Academy for Rural Development. The Academy's rural and urban programs focus on many of the same educational and development problems in the practical works curriculum.⁶²

By the end of the second phase of the Project, an ad hoc committee was formed with representatives from Kabul University and the Teacher Academy to draft preliminary plans for teaching drawing and handicrafts. The meetings of this committee resulted in a thirteen-page document

62 I. Muslim, Practical Works Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 16, 1976.

projecting a Course of Study for grades one, two and three. The document included appropriate classroom activities by grade level.

Health and Physical Education — The guidelines developed for introducing key health concepts throughout the language arts program in grade one to three were revised, and development of a proposed physical education curriculum outline was completed during the second phase of the Project.

Taraki, head of the health and physical education section, described the major activities of the section as being:

[...] centered around the development of the teacher's guide for health and physical education. The primary health guide was submitted to the Review Committee for its reaction and revisions. The physical education curriculum outline was edited and translated into Dari, and the development of a detailed outline of the teacher's guide in physical education for grades one through three was accomplished.⁶³

At the beginning of the school year in March 1970, Dari health manuscripts were utilized on a trial basis in three Kabul city schools and in one village school in Kabul province.

During this period Owens was replaced by Pearson, a health specialist. It appeared that the Project was well

63 B. M. Taraki, Head of Health and Physical Education Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 11, 1976.

on its way toward accomplishing the goals of producing textbooks and teachers' guides for the Ministry of Education. The Project continued to have an American serving in a leadership role⁶⁴. In an interview Pearson pointed out that a "major obstacle in preparing and trying out a teacher's guide in physical education was the lack of professional Afghan colleagues"⁶⁵. The textbooks for grade four and five as well as the teacher's guide in health were developed, tried out and approved by the Steering Committee.

4. Phase Two Findings.

This section presents the findings and analysis of the second phase of the Curriculum and Textbook Project from 1970 to 1972, through the conceptual framework chosen for this study. The purpose of this analysis is to describe and identify actors, factors, events and decisions that were important and contributed to the development of the primary school curriculum in Afghanistan.

The creation of the Review Committee itself was one of the major events of the second phase of the Project. Events that contributed to the creation of the Review

64 M. V. Owens, Terminal Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, August 15, 1970, p. 4.

65 C. E. Pearson, Health Specialist, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, September 7, 1976.

Committee were as follows: the large number of textbooks and teachers' guides required; and the inability of the Steering Committee to assess the instructional materials.

Hamid, the First Director General of the Project; Fields, the TCCU Chief of Party; Sayres, the TCCU Research Specialist; and Rahimi, the Second Director General of the Project were influential in the development of the curriculum framework. The design of the curriculum framework was another major event.

In the process of revising instructional materials, the heads of the sections and the people involved in reviewing the manuscripts were influential. In the language arts area Ilham and Heghat from the university; Rohi and Helali from Pashto Academy; Tarin and Najand from the language arts section; and Kauffman and Myerson, the TCCU Team language arts specialists played major roles. In mathematics, Gilbert and Azizi; in science, Kondo, Ghaznawi and Yawar; in social studies, Miel and Hekmati; in practical works, Zaray and Muslim; and in health and physical education, Owens, Pearson and Taraki made significant contributions.

Hamid and Rahimi structured the working groups. The chairmen of these working groups were each in a potentially strong position.

Decisions — At the ministerial level, Samadi and Siddiq, both Deputy Ministers of Education, were the major decision makers. After Samadi decided to designate a special committee to identify ways of facilitating and accelerating the achievement of the Project goals, it was up to the members of that committee to get organized and make decisions. The decision by Siddiq to develop a directive for future developments, by initiating three action committees for the purpose of reporting observations and recommendations, was a positive move.

At the departmental level, two major decisions were made; namely, 1) the creation of the Review Committee as the body responsible for recommending approval of Project manuscripts to the Steering Committee, and 2) the revision of all primary school timetables to allow for the inclusion of new courses of study which had an important bearing on the development of the primary school curriculum.

Various decisions were of importance to the development of the primary school curriculum. Some of these were more obvious than others because of their immediate impact. The following were singled out because of their significance.

The TCCU Team and the Ministry of Education decided to have Afghan specialists as heads of the Curriculum and Textbook Project sections for more effective communication

and coordination among the sections. The decision to delegate the work of American coordinators to Afghan specialists and to place Afghans in charge of the sections was a productive move.

The decisions made during the revision stage by people such as Hamid, Rahimi, Spearman, Fields and many others had an impact. The manner in which the working groups were structured was an important decision.

Two decisions that were crucial in the progression toward the acceptance of proposals for new programs were taken by the Steering Committee on December 14, 1971, and on April 9, 1972.

The approval of the Department of Primary Education for experimentation with the new instructional materials in grades one, two and three, and new courses for grades four, five and six during the 1970-71 and 1971-72 school years made it possible to evaluate these new materials before printing the textbooks and teachers' guides.

Analysis — During the second phase, the Curriculum and Textbook Project came under the influence of three Ministers and three Deputy Ministers of Education. There were new American advisors and more Afghan specialists in the Project with different backgrounds, experiences and interests. Easterly commented on a changing environment within which curriculum was being developed.

The development of curriculum materials is and must be a continuous process influenced by changing societal curriculum expectations and educators' desires to improve the educational techniques used to instruct the young. For example a change in government may change social studies curriculum content and skill expectations. A change in enrollment patterns, say a massive increase in village and rural students, may be accompanied by an increasing demand for emphasis on agriculture subjects in the curriculum. The development of new methods to improve reading instruction may result in new instructional materials.⁶⁶

The leadership of Samadi and his intense interest in the development of curriculum in general and in the Project, in particular, provided a setting within which progress took place. Various respondents mentioned Samadi as a man who, because of his position and of his particular interest, strongly influenced the course of events⁶⁷.

The following factors were considered to have contributed to the developments in phase two. The issue of primary school curriculum development had become relevant in the light of the Project developments; for example, the inclusion of new courses of study such as health and practical works, the dissatisfaction with the primary school timetable. Resources for reform resided primarily in the

⁶⁶ M. Easterly, Terminal Report and Recommendations, Kabul, TCCU Team, July 1972, p. 5.

⁶⁷ Tarin, Myerson, Hamid, Pearson, Rahimi.

TCCU Team office and in the Department of Primary Education. The former had access to the latest findings relative to curriculum development whereas the latter had the legal and financial resources for the utilization of these findings in an attempt to reform the current primary school curriculum. The personal efficacy of Project Directors such as Hamid and Rahimi, and the TCCU Team Chiefs of Party, such as Spearman and Fields, combined with that of Samadi, accounted for sufficient leverage not only to create a Review Committee, but also to influence, to a very large extent, its guidelines and outcome.

The initiative and promotion of innovation on the part of individuals such as Ilham, Rohi, Tarin, Najand and Ghaznawi was likely of more significance than may have been recognized at the time. Not only were these people active in primary school curriculum working groups, but they also played a major part in the organizational life of the Review Committee.

Myerson stated that Tarin and Najand were powerful forces on the language arts Review Committee as long as they were there. Then the leadership went to Ilham and Rohi⁶⁸.

68 Myerson, Personal Interview, October 28, 1976.

Ghaznawi was identified as the most powerful force on the science Review Committee⁶⁹. He became even more influential when he was appointed President of Primary Education.

Rahimi, the Second Director General of the Project, contributed significantly to the implementation of the curriculum framework and curriculum policies. His appointment as Project Officer enabled him to concentrate fully on this task. Once he was moved from the position of Chief Editor to that of Chief Project Officer, his potential for leverage had become much greater. Successive appointments to membership on various working groups, and his appointment as chairman of the Review Committee, gave him even more leverage.

This potential leverage, however, was by itself not sufficient. Two other factors that accounted for much of the actual leverage were the support Rahimi was able to muster and his personal efficacy.

The establishment of working groups to develop primary school curriculum and the implementation of the curriculum framework enabled a much greater teacher participation in curriculum development than had been the case before.

69 Kondo, Yadgeri, Yawar-

Mayel, active in curriculum development for the Ministry of Education before and after the 1966 curriculum reform, described the change:

A working group for each subject area was quite a revolution as far as the Ministry of Education was concerned. Before 1966 they had been squeezing blood out of a handful of people and giving them an honorarium. There were no working groups or review committees except for groups working on minor problems pertaining to examinations or new courses involved in primary school curriculum.⁷⁰

The curriculum framework had been designed and tentative outlines for courses of study were developed. The curriculum outlines were to be blueprints for the curriculum developers on the working groups and review committees. How closely they followed this blueprint in the construction of their programs differed with the membership. The task perception of the members on the various working groups was perhaps the most influential factor in the mode of operation. Some members had no difficulty in accepting the basic outline of the primary school curriculum; others would question, while still others would oppose it.

As a result of these divergencies, lively debate could be anticipated. Rahimi made these remarks in commenting on this situation:

70 M. A. Mayel, Second Deputy Minister of Education, Personal Interview, November 7, 1976.

It seems interesting that whereas some review committees were functioning well, certain committees seemed not to be in tune with new outlines and framework. The Mathematics and Science committees were pretty well in tune. In the language arts area, particularly the grade one, two and three committees, there was quite a resistance to the new method. Some of the members represented the old curriculum.⁷¹

The chairman of each Review Committee, aside from having his own personal educational philosophy, was confronted with the philosophy of the Steering Committee, American advisors and the members of his own Review Committee. Deliberation within this context would be influenced by all kinds of variables that were inherent in such a situation.

Muzter, the former Vice President of the Compilation Department, confirmed that the Ministry Steering Committee exerted considerable influence on the deliberations at the Review Committee level⁷². This did not necessarily mean that no other influence could be felt. Explained Lamar:

The major function of the Steering Committee seemed to be to sensitize and to legitimize. The step of initiation may often occur outside the committee, such as in the subject area working groups or in the section itself.⁷³

71 Rahimi, Personal Interview, August 21, 1976.

72 D. M. Muzter, Former Vice President of Compilation Department, Personal Interview, August 8, 1976.

73 A. Q. Lamar, Language Arts Specialist, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 8, 1976.

Lamar singled out Hamid and Rahimi as the two important decision makers.

The way the primary school curriculum developed was a result of a combination of factors. There were three that were particularly important in influencing its direction; namely, 1) positions of leadership in the Ministry of Education, the TCCU Team, and the Steering Committee; 2) the personal qualities which these persons possessed and utilized; and 3) the wider social environment, and its conduciveness to change at that particular moment in time.

5. Summary.

This chapter described the second phase of the primary school curriculum development project. The first section was devoted to the changing environment within which the curriculum was developed. The second section pertained to those events that resulted in the creation of the Review Committee. The third section traced the development and approval of the framework which provided the basis for writing the instructional materials of the primary schools.

Personnel, policy and structural changes at the Ministry of Education and a changing social environment were conducive to accelerating the pace toward a more open-ended curriculum.

It was found that the Ministry of Education was particularly effective in providing leadership for the development of the primary school curriculum during the second phase of the Project. The university still exerted considerable influence, but it was more through individual than through group action and resided primarily with members in the Faculty of Education.

The third stage in the second phase of the Project engaged more actors than in either of the two previous stages. Because of its length and complexity it was subdivided into six sections, each representing this stage. Working groups in each section produced course outlines and in all subject areas sample units were developed.

Major decisions were made by the Steering Committee. Curriculum and Textbook Project people continued to exert strong leadership. Samadi, Hamid and Rahimi were identified as major actors. Ilham, Rohi and Ghaznawi, as committee members, had a direct influence. The Review Committee became increasingly influential.

The next chapter will describe and analyze the process of revision and evaluation of the primary school curriculum within a period of major political change.

CHAPTER VI

REVISION AND EVALUATION: 1973-1976

The four-year period from 1973 to 1976 was crucial in the development of the primary school curriculum. Three major factors that affected the process of curriculum development were: the July 17, 1973 political revolution in Afghanistan; the revision of the instructional materials; and the evaluation of the manuscripts.

This chapter describes and analyzes the revision of the instructional materials and the evaluation of the manuscripts within the context of this changing environment resulting from the political revolution. Thus the first section describes the changing environment. The second section accounts for those events that started with the process of revision of the instructional materials. The third section pertains to those factors that led to the evaluation of the curriculum manuscripts. In the last section the findings of the third phase of the Project are described and analyzed through the conceptual framework selected for this study. The chapter concludes with a summary.

1. The Changing Environment.

On July 17, 1973, the Republic of Afghanistan was proclaimed. This event more than any other influenced the activities of the Curriculum and Textbook Project. After the appointment of the new Cabinet, personnel changes along with structural and policy modifications created a new atmosphere within the Ministry of Education.

A. Personnel Changes. In August, 1973, Pazhwak was appointed Minister of Education. A graduate of the TCCU, he had been an official in the Ministry of Education at the time the Curriculum and Textbook Project was launched, and among his numerous positions in education in Afghanistan had been the post of President of Compilation and Translation. It was no surprise, therefore, that he immediately indicated a deep interest in the curriculum and textbook work, and asked for briefing papers regarding the Project from both Afghan and American personnel engaged in the work¹.

Another important personnel change was the appointment of Ghaznawi as the President of the Department of Primary Education, the department in which the Curriculum and Textbook Project had been located from the time of its

¹ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirty-Ninth Six-Month Report, July 1973 to December 1973, p. 2.

initiation. Ghaznawi immediately devoted himself to the work of the Project, indicating a keen desire to make it one of his prime responsibilities².

In 1975 Pazhwak resigned over the controversial issues related to the new Educational Reform Act approved by the Cabinet; his replacement was professor A. Qayum. There were still some conflicts on the implementation of the Act. These conflicts resulted in the replacement of M. Siddiq, First Deputy Minister of Education, by F. Siddiq, one of the members of the Economic Board of the Prime Ministry. He became known as the initiator and author of the new Educational Reform Act³.

The Curriculum and Textbook Project also lost its chief officer, Entezar, the President of the Department of Compilation, who was dismissed because of the conflicts over the Educational Reform Act⁴. The Curriculum and Textbook Project was under the direction of S. Hamid, the Project Officer, for about nine months until Sailani was appointed President of the Department of Compilation.

Within the Curriculum and Textbook Project several staff changes took place. F. Haq, former head of the

2 Ibid., p. 5.

3 Pakmal, Rahimi, Hamid, others, Personal Interview.

4 Yawar, Safi, Muztar, others, Personal Interview.

mathematics section, was appointed Vice-President of the Department of Compilation, and Rahimi was replaced by S. Hamid as Director General of the Curriculum and Textbook Project. Whittemore left the Project to return to the TCCU in August 1975 and T. Atkins assumed the position of Project Coordinator in September 1975⁵.

B. Structural Changes. On September 26, 1973, the curriculum and textbook work of the Project and that of the Department of Compilation and Translation was combined into a new department, with the same official name as the previous department.

At a meeting of the personnel of the new department Dr. Siddiq, First Deputy Minister, explained the reasons for the consolidation as the need for the continuity in curriculum and textbook work over the entire twelve grades of Afghan education, and the need for a permanent agency in the Ministry to carry out this important work.⁶

This department was increasingly referred to as the Department of Publications. Entezar, President of Compilation and Translation, continued as the President of the new department.

5 Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Forty-Third Six-Month Report, July 1975 to December 1975, p. 3.

6 Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Thirty-Ninth Six-Month Report, p. 5.

Entezar called together representatives of the sections of the previous Curriculum and Textbook Project and asked them to serve as an advisory committee for the organization of the new department⁷.

In January 1975, the Government of Afghanistan announced its plans for educational reform. Most significant for the Project was the extension of primary education. "The evaluation board concluded that TCCU/USAID assistance in developing curriculum and textbooks for seventh and eighth grades was desirable"⁸.

Whittemore, the Chief of the TCCU Party, explained the situation: "Soon after the evaluation conference, Dr. Lanza and I began discussions about the redirection of our efforts in the light of the Deputy Minister's request for assistance"⁹.

USAID officials in Kabul informed the USAID officials in Washington about the request for assistance by the Government of Afghanistan. An outline for a Project Agreement covering the period from April 1976 to May 1977

7 A. Q. Safi, Head of Research Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 15, 1976.

8 Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Forty-Second Six-Month Report, January 1975 to June 1975, p. 4.

9 F. Whittemore, Chief of TCCU Party, Personal Interview, April 15, 1976.

was drafted¹⁰. Attention was also given in each section to the extension of elementary school to include grades seven and eight. Sailani, the President of the Department of Publications, commented on the extension of the work of the Project.

A tentative schedule for subjects in these two grades was developed by the Ministry of Education and the Department of Publications was charged with developing curriculum outlines and titles for books and materials to support the extended program.¹¹

Work began late in the third phase of the Project to fulfill this request.

C. Policy Changes. After the proclamation of the new regime in Afghanistan on July 17, 1973, the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Mohammed Doud, explained the political, economic and social policies. In his speech broadcast by Radio Afghanistan on the evening of August 22, 1973, the national leader said that:

¹⁰ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Third Six-Month Report, p. 2.

¹¹ M. S. Sailani, President of Publications Department, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, October 27, 1976.

[...] the Republic State will revise and improve the curricula of the schools. These revisions and changes must agree with the mentality that education in Afghanistan must be for Afghanistan and according to the needs of Afghanistan.¹²

In 1974 a special committee was appointed by the Government of Afghanistan to study and propose a statement of general objectives for education and training in the Republic. The designated committee met under the leadership of Dr. Nazar Mohammad Sakandar, then the Minister of Public Health. The members of the committee were: Mr. S. Rohi, President of Pashto Academy; Dr. A. Ziaee, advisor to the President of Kabul University; and Mr. W. M. Rahimi, Professor and the Director General of Kabul University Research Center. Two members of the committee, Rohi¹³ and Rahimi¹⁴, when asked to comment on the work of the committee, stated that "the main task was to revise old educational objectives and propose new objectives in accord with the platform and ideology of the Republic Regime"¹⁵. Two major issues were discussed

12 Speech of the President of Afghanistan, Khatab Ba Mardom Afghanistan, Kabul, Government Press, August 1973, p. 14.

13 M. S. Rohi, President of Pashto Academy, Personal Interview, November 7, 1976.

14 W. M. Rahimi, Associate Professor and Director General of Research Center, Kabul University, Personal Interview, October 19, 1976.

15 M. S. Rohi and W. M. Rahimi, Personal Interview.

in the committee. Rahimi identified the relevance of educational objectives to the Afghan society, as one of the major issues, and, Rohi indicated that the adjustment of educational objectives to political objectives of Afghanistan was another major issue. After a series of meetings the committee proposed a statement on the General Objectives of the Republic of Afghanistan for Education and Training. This proposed statement was studied by a joint committee and the following decision was made:

The general objectives of education and training in Afghanistan which are compiled in three pages under section (A): cultural and training objectives incorporated in eleven articles; section (B): economic and social objectives incorporated in seven articles; section (C): political and administrative objectives incorporated in five articles; including an introduction were approved in a mixed meeting of the members of the Economic Board of the Prime Ministry and members of the Ministry of Education.¹⁶

Soon after the approval of the General Objectives, the mixed committee drafted an outline of the Educational Reform. The main points of the Educational Reform, namely, the structure of different levels of education and the implementation of the Reform Act, were considered and

¹⁶ Minutes of a Mixed Meeting of the Members of the Economic Board of the Prime Ministry and Members of the Ministry of Education, December 2, 1974, p. 4.

discussed several times in the mixed committee and were accepted¹⁷. The main objectives of the Educational Reform are:

1. To better the quantity and quality of education by means of reforming its structure and to create conditions for its better organization and coordination.
2. To adopt manpower training with requirements.
3. To prepare ground for the acquisition of permanent literacy during the period of primary education.¹⁸

The present Deputy Minister of Education, F. Siddiq, and the former Deputy Minister of Education, M. Siddiq, reacted differently to a question regarding the implementation of the Educational Reform. The former commented that:

To improve the educational system of the country, fundamental and reasonable changes in the village, primary, middle, and secondary schools and higher education must be introduced. These changes should be according to the new educational reform.¹⁹

He further explained that the general aims and objectives of education approved by the National Commission in 1968 were more academic in comparison with the general

17 Minutes of a Mixed Meeting of the Members of the Economic Board of the Prime Ministry and Members of the Ministry of Education, January 20, 1975, p. 3.

18 Mixed Committee, Educational Reform, Kabul, Government Press, p. 1.

19 F. Siddiq, First Deputy Minister of Education, Personal Interview, October 24, 1976.

objectives of the Republic of Afghanistan for education and training which were more practical.

The latter said that:

In the process of implementation of the new educational reform, children must be the center and focus of the whole changing system. The future of children especially those finishing primary schools at age 14 and 15 and cannot enter into secondary schools must be considered.²⁰

According to M. Siddiq the development of the new primary school curriculum was a move from academic to vocational and functional curriculum.

Most of the top officials of the Ministry of Education were optimistic about the implementation of the new Educational Reform. M. T. Porjoosh, President of the Planning Department, said that "at the primary school level, according to the new Educational Reform, enough textbooks and guidebooks for the teachers will be compiled and printed"²¹. P. M. Kushkaki, President of the Teacher Education Department, explained that:

20 M. Siddiq, Former Deputy Minister of Education, Persoanl Interview, November 2, 1976.

21 M. T. Porjoosh, President of Planning Department, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, August 15, 1976.

[...] in the process of implementation of the new Educational Reform, it is planned that a number of primary school teachers will be given opportunity to improve their educational and professional qualifications through short term and long term fellowship for training abroad.²²

With the implementation of the new educational reform the process of reviewing and approving primary school curriculum was changed and the power was given to the Technical Board, which replaced the Steering Committee.

The Ministry of Education shall set up a 'Technical Board' to improve and guide the educational training system in an effective and sound manner. It is the responsibility of this Technical Board to study and evaluate the educational curricula, student conditions, training methodologies, financial and administrative affairs at departmental and national levels and submit the results of its evaluation to the High Council of Education.²³

The creation of the Technical Board, which was composed of technical and scientific personalities of the Ministry of Education and Kabul University, gave more leverage to Kabul University personnel, since for the first time Kabul University professors shared their views with their colleagues from the Ministry of Education on policies and issues related to primary and secondary education. The Vice-President of Kabul University had a permanent position on

22 P. M. Kushkaki, President of Teachers Education, Ministry of Education, Personal Interview, August 15, 1976.

23 Mixed Committee, p. 3.

the Technical Board; other professors were selected by the Minister of Education to become members of the Board²⁴.

Professor A. S. Azimi, Vice-President of Kabul University, commented on the work of the Technical Board concerning the training of teachers for the new primary school curriculum saying that, "the new curriculum requires qualified teachers, and Kabul University is doing its best to train well qualified teachers"²⁵. He added that the new Educational Reform created a close relationship with and cooperation between Kabul University and the Ministry of Education.

M. A. Pakmal, Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy and Sociology at Kabul University, appointed by the Minister of Education as a member of the Technical Board, had views similar to those of Azimi. He commented that "the old educational objectives were more academic compared with the new general objectives of the Republic of Afghanistan for education and training which are more vocational and practical"²⁶. He further explained that the new Educational Reform had already influenced the new

24 Ibid., p. 7.

25 A. S. Azimi, Vice-President of Kabul University, Personal Interview, November 10, 1976.

26 M. A. Pakmal, Associate Professor, Kabul University, Personal Interview, August 8, 1976.

primary school curriculum and changes had been introduced. He viewed the inclusion of a new course of study called Afghan Society in the new primary school curriculum as a positive step toward the nationalization of the curriculum.

2. Changes and Revisions.

After the proclamation of the new Republic Regime in July 1973, the process of curriculum development was moving slowly, and the Ministry of Education was waiting for direction from the Cabinet regarding the national curriculum reform. Between August 1973 and December 1974, the Curriculum and Textbook Project was under the close direction of the Minister of Education and the Deputy Minister²⁷. Changes and revisions were based on the platform and ideology of the new Republic. In January 1975, the Government of Afghanistan announced its plans for educational reform and a Technical Board was created as a policy and decision-making body in the Ministry of Education. Among the several other responsibilities of the Technical Board was the study, review and finalization of the primary school curriculum. The following sections review changes and revisions in the primary school curriculum under the leadership of the Technical Board.

27 M. Nasim, Former Second Deputy Minister of Education, Personal Interview, August 24, 1976.

Language Arts — In the language arts section work continued on the planning of curriculum scope-and-sequence for grades four, five and six. The initial draft was completed within the first year of the third phase and the review process started. As part of the planning stage, a reading interest survey was conducted by members of the research and language arts sections and the results were used to develop a tentative table of contents for each of the pupil texts²⁸. Visits were also made to Kandahar, Kunduz, Jalalabad and Kabul provinces to obtain first-hand information about the subjects of stories scheduled to be written.

The major problem of the language arts section continued to be the difficulty in processing finished materials through review committee procedures. W. Bakhtary, Dari Language Editor, commented:

28 Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Thirty-Ninth Six-Month Report, p. 5.

Another problem which was becoming more apparent was the need for translations of manuscripts so that advisors could work to full effectiveness in guiding the authors. There were qualified translators but the amount of material produced almost mandated full time people being suitable for the work. As more and more materials were ready for the press, complete English translations were needed for UNESCO technical advisors in the field.²⁹

The one overriding problem which continued to plague the language arts section was the question of review and approval. Although there was a great deal of motion and action towards the latter part of that period, the reimposition of a prereview before field testing disrupted the free flow of material as it was approved by the Publication Department. H. Rahmati, acting head of the language arts section, explained:

One answer to the pileup of manuscripts waiting for final review could have been the appointment of additional review committees who could have cleared away the backlog in order to prepare for the thrusts ahead in dealing with grades seven and eight.³⁰

29 W. Bakhtary, Dari Language Editor, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, August 25, 1976.

30 M. H. Rahmati, Acting Head of Language Arts Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, November 7, 1976.

Cutler, the American advisor in the language arts section, stated: "that TCCU/AID assistance with grades 7 and 8 poses some interesting problems and provides some excellent opportunities"³¹.

Cutler commented further on the situation:

Yet I would encourage the continuation of the contract if the goals can be defined, for the extension into grades 7 and 8 is a natural one. The curriculum of the language program in grades 4, 5, 6 conform to the intent of the reform bill. Story content is developed to acquaint students with the 'World of Work' in agriculture, industry, transportation, science and health.³²

By the end of the third phase of the Project, the language arts section completed the writing of all student and teacher materials from grade one through grade six for Pashto and Dari as first languages and second languages³³. Upon the request from the Ministry of Education, planning and writing of curriculum materials for grades seven and eight started in 1976.

Mathematics — At the beginning of the third phase, the mathematics section continued its activities on the draft of a resource book for primary school mathematics

³¹ M. Cutler, End of Tour Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, August 1975, p. 8.

³² Ibid.

³³ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Forty-Fourth Six-Month Report, January 1976 to June 1976, p. 9.

teachers under the leadership of Vogeli and Azizi. At the same time the instructional materials for grades five and six were outlined. During the 1974 academic year, trial materials for grade four were tested in the experimental schools and an end-of-year evaluation was made in cooperation with the research section³⁴. The mathematics section also continued to work with the teacher education section by taking part in seminars for supervisors and headmasters. The main problem encountered by the mathematics section was the review of the instructional materials.

When a Review Committee was finally appointed it proved very difficult to get the members together on a regular basis. Both men have full-time jobs and could not often find the time to meet. When the Committee did meet most of the time was spent arguing over language and minor points rather than viewing the concepts involved. Thus, the review process was a long and frustrating procedure which brought little or no improvement in the final materials.³⁵

The mathematics section worked closely with the Review Committee during the revision process. Corrections and changes were made which facilitated the final preparation of the materials for printing. The mathematics syllabi for grades seven and eight were prepared and

³⁴ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Thirty-Ninth Six Month Report, p. 10.

³⁵ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Second Six-Month Report, p. 18.

submitted to the Ministry of Education for examination and approval.

Ten months have passed since the section submitted the seventh and eighth grade syllabus to the Ministry of Education but it has not yet been approved. Without an approved syllabus the section has not been able to go ahead with preparation of trial materials for these grades, therefore, a break of one year occurred in the testing program. If the syllabus is not approved soon the production and testing of trial materials will be delayed for a second year.³⁶

Another problem that continued to occur was the lack of time for the review of the revised texts. Because of their other commitments, finding a time which was convenient for all members of the Review Committee to meet was a major problem.

Science — At the beginning of the third phase of the Project the science section produced lists of science activities for grades four, five and six. The purpose of this activity was to help the Science Center and Audio-Visual personnel to assemble a science kit for primary school science. During this phase in addition to working on the fifth and sixth grade materials, the section also prepared a scope-and-sequence chart for grades seven and

³⁶ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Forty-Fifth Six-Month Report, July 1976 to December 1976, p. 15.

eight. Yawar, head of the science section, explained how the scope and sequence was developed.

An in-depth study of foreign science curriculums, the old and new Afghan primary science curriculum for grades one to six and the old Afghan science curriculum for grades seven and eight, preceded the preparation of the new scope and sequence.³⁷

The resulting curriculum was based on the use of the local materials and as such related to the needs of the Afghan society as outlined by the Educational Reform.

The science specialists, A. Yadgari and A. Jouyan, with Yawar, head of the science section, completed the final review of the grade six science materials with the Review Committee. The materials were prepared and submitted to the press. The scope and sequence for grades seven and eight was tentatively approved by the First Deputy Minister of Education³⁸. By the end of the third phase the curriculum and instructional materials for grades one to six were completed, and with the approval of the scope and sequence for grades seven and eight work started on the outline of the trial materials.

37 A. Yawar, Head of Science Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, November 23, 1976.

38 Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Fifth Six-Month Report, p. 30.

Social Studies — The establishment of the Republic of Afghanistan in July 1973 necessitated extensive revisions in several of the chapters that were to have been field tested. Instructional materials on Afghanistan which were tested had to be entirely rewritten and retested because a major portion of it concerned the Afghanistan political system.

With the proclamation of the Republic Regime, not only social studies content underwent further revisions; the entire Curriculum and Textbook Project was influenced by the platform and ideology of the new regime. The social studies section was asked by Entezar, then the President of the Publications Department, to:

Review all speeches and articles of the Head of Nation and other high Republic officials. This review began in summer 1973 and was completed by the section in the end of 1974. A summarized version of this review was made of the Afghan social, political, economical, educational, cultural and foreign policies. Copies of these Republican policies were distributed to all sections of the Curriculum and Textbook Project.³⁹

According to the Educational Reform a new subject, Afghan Society, was introduced into the seventh and eighth grade curriculum. The social studies section was charged by F. Siddiq, the First Deputy Minister of Education, with

³⁹ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Second Six-Month Report, p. 22.

the responsibility of developing new materials for this subject. Hekmati, head of the social studies section, said that "by the end of 1975 the social studies section completed the first draft of the curriculum outline for Afghan Society and submitted it to the Technical Board of the Ministry of Education for approval"⁴⁰. He further explained that the social studies section faced a major problem in the process of reviewing the social studies instructional materials.

The members of the review committees are selected from Kabul University faculties or the Ministry of Education officials. They are mostly involved with higher education and have little access to child education and child psychology. Therefore most of their changes and proposals are higher than primary students' level. Their literary tastes are much too advanced for primary children's materials.⁴¹

By the end of the third phase the social studies section completed all social studies instructional materials for grades one to six. The Technical Board studied the outline of grade seven and eight social studies which was prepared and submitted by the social studies section and made the following decisions:

40 J. Hekmati, Personal Interview, November 17, 1976.

41 Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Second Six-Month Report, p. 22.

An academic committee has to be appointed to reconsider the outlines for these grades, regardless of the section concerned, and then resubmit them to the Board. A committee of five people including Mr. Sailani, the President of Compilation Department, has been appointed.⁴²

According to an order from the Ministry of Education, the seventh and eighth grade Afghan studies textbook were to be ready for tryout in the experimental schools by the 1977 school year. Sailani explained:

Two university instructors have been appointed to work with the Social Studies Section on Afghan studies textbooks. The Social Studies Section will write the seventh grade textbook, and the two instructors Mr. Junaid Sharif and Mr. Afzal Pakmal will be responsible for the writing of the eighth grade textbook.⁴³

It was not clear as to whether the textbooks would have teachers' guides or not. Both of the instructors and the social studies section staff were to meet when the books were completed.

Practical Works — During the third phase of the Project, the development of teachers' guides for grades four to six of girls' schools had progressed well under the direction of Miss M. Mehr and Mrs. N. Safi. The curriculum materials for grades one to six were planned, developed and completed by the practical works section. Practical works

⁴² Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Fifth Six-Month Report, p. 31.

⁴³ S. Sailani, Personal Interview, October 27, 1976.

curriculum materials for boys' schools from grades one to six were planned, developed and completed under the direction of Zaray and Muslim. In addition Muslim was given the responsibility for developing the vocational craft content for the grade seven and eight curriculum⁴⁴.

In preparation for the development of the scope and sequence for the seventh and eight grade Practical Arts program the section visited educational institutions' workshops and factories in Kabul, Baghlan and Balkh Provinces. The section then prepared the course outline for Practical Arts for grades seven and eight and submitted it to the Technical Board of the Ministry of Education for approval.⁴⁵

In December 1976, the exact content of the practical works curriculum for grade seven and eight had not been finalized.

Health and Physical Education — At the beginning of the third phase of the Project, the outline of the physical education program was approved by the First Deputy Minister of Education. Teachers' guides for grades four to six for physical education were planned, developed and completed under the direction of Taraki and Pearson. Another responsibility of this section was the planning, writing and revision of curriculum and instructional materials for health.

44 N. V. Corwell, Final Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, December 1976, p. 6.

45 Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Fifth Six-Month Report, p. 20.

The Health and Physical Education Section with the help of the Research Section collected essential information in 24 Kabul city schools on the use of the health textbooks and teachers' guides for purposes of revision and submitted findings to the Department of Publications, Primary Department, Teacher Education Department, and Inspection Department. The form that was used for this purpose has been accepted by the Primary Department for regular use by inspectors and others.⁴⁶

During the third phase period, discussions have also continued within the Ministry of Education regarding the health education and physical education curricula for grades seven and eight. Curriculum outlines for grades seven and eight for each subject were developed.

3. The Evaluation of Curriculum Materials.

The 1972 Program Agreement between Afghanistan and the United States included provisions for the appointment of a graduate research assistant. The responsibilities of the research assistant were outlined in a position paper written by Fields supporting the creation of the position:

His responsibility will be that of establishing the bench-mark against which the results of introducing the new textbook materials can be measured. To do this will require the planning of a broad program of evaluation and the development of a wide range of instruments and procedures.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Third Six-Month Report, p. 4.

⁴⁷ R. R. Fields, "The Justification for and Duties of Graduate Research Assistant", Kabul, TCCU Team, 1972, p. 4.

Since no national student assessment plan existed, the research section was responsible for establishing the initial stages of such a program. The graduate research assistant explained the initial tasks of the Curriculum and Textbook Project regarding the evaluation of the curriculum materials:

Yet after my initial review and study of the Research Section files and reports I began to realize that benchmark assessments were not the most immediate concern of the Project. Rather, evaluation of textbook manuscripts under trial-use conditions was the primary concern.⁴⁸

The initial exploratory efforts to combine manuscript evaluation and the gathering of baseline student achievement data began with the construction of test instruments appropriate both to students having exposure to the Curriculum and Textbook Project trial materials and to students using old textbooks. Another research advisor, Dr. P. C. Lange, commented on the activities of the research section.

The first effort was followed by the establishment of standardized test administration procedures, a continuing effort to improve test design and writing, the development of procedures for writing and reporting research findings, and the initiation of long range planning and scheduling of research and testing activities.⁴⁹

48 M. Easterly, Research Specialist, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, April 16, 1976.

49 P. C. Lange, Research Advisor, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, April 14, 1976.

Lange had previously reported:

Learning to write test items or to structure performance situations so that pupils can demonstrate their mastery of fundamental learnings is a very difficult kind of learning for educators all around the world. In most nations there are psychometricians who have carved out this specialty as their domain. Afghanistan has no such specialists attending to elementary school learnings.⁵⁰

According to TCCU Team reports, in the early years when the Project's focus was on aims and objectives and curriculum outlines, the research and evaluation section was busy with vocabulary frequency counts, library research, case studies, language and subject matter studies. Then as manuscripts were being written and teaching methods developed, the section turned its major energies toward helping the subject matter sections with experimental school tryouts of their new materials, while still continuing research into practices and cultural studies. During the third phase of the Project, the scope of research was broadened in order to encompass the Project's overall purposes:

⁵⁰ P. C. Lange, Terminal Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, August 1973, p. 2.

To develop modern curriculum structure that is realistic, viable, and responsive to Afghanistan's educational aspirations;

To produce primary school textbooks, teaching materials, and methods for implementing this curriculum; and

To develop in the Ministry of Education an organizational unit with competent personnel for regularly renewing the curriculum, materials and methods.⁵¹

In January 1973, the research section laid out its calendar for research work, matching personnel with specific tasks. The calendar as outlined by A. Yusofzai⁵², the former head of the research section, was to: 1) correlate the tryouts of the writing sections with the role of the research section, setting specific deadlines for testing, 2) include time estimates and requirements for foundation or baseline research in control schools where the new materials were not being used, and 3) project the due-dates for analysis and writing.

The major emphasis in the work of the research section was on the testing and evaluation of the new materials as they were tried out in representative schools

⁵¹ Curriculum and Textbook Developments in Afghanistan, Kabul, TCCU Team, Thirty-Eighth Six-Month Report, January 1973 to June 1973, p. 18.

⁵² A. A. Yusofzai, Former Head of Research Section, Curriculum and Textbook Project, Personal Interview, April 18, 1976.

in different regions of the country. The testing and evaluation program, established under the leadership of Yusofzai, Easterly and Lange, brought the research section into a closer working relationship with the subject-area sections and made the research activities an integral part of the curriculum development process. Sayres who replaced Lange as research advisor stated:

My work in the Research Section was basically concerned with the testing and evaluation of the curriculum materials developed by subject-area sections. The comparative testing approach, in which the learning achievement of pupils using the new materials as compared with that of pupils using the old materials, was developed by Mike Easterly and Phil Lange.⁵³

The major purpose of the testing program was to evaluate the new primary school curriculum materials as they were developed and introduced into trial schools. Yusofzai and Sayres in a joint paper explained the changing process in the evaluation of new curriculum materials used in the Afghanistan primary schools:

53 W. C. Sayres, End-of-Tour-Report, Kabul, TCCU Team, June 1976, p. 3.

In the materials testing program, the emphasis in our evaluation has changed from (1) historical background studies of education in Afghanistan to (2) baseline studies of major features of the existing curriculum to (3) special studies relating to the development of new courses of study and new materials to (4) the testing of the new materials as they are introduced in trial schools.⁵⁴

Frank Fairchild Jr., advisor in the research section, commented on the outcome of the evaluation:

In all skill areas of all subjects at all grade levels, pupils using the new materials show consistently and significantly higher learning achievement than pupils using the old materials.⁵⁵

During the third phase of the Project, the research section continued its extensive involvement in testing and evaluation of the new curriculum materials developed by the subject-area sections. By the end of the third phase, the testing and evaluation of all subject areas from grades one to six was completed⁵⁶. With the extension of primary school through grade eight, the research section continued its cooperation with the subject-area sections in the development of curriculum materials for grades seven and

54 A. A. Yusofzai and W. C. Sayres, "The Evaluation of Curriculum Materials", in Afghan National Workshop on Curriculum for Development, Vol. II, Kabul, Ministry of Education Press, August 1975, p. 156.

55 F. Fairchild Jr., Research Specialist, TCCU Team, Personal Interview, October 23, 1976.

56 Curriculum and Textbook Development in Afghanistan, Forty-Fourth Six-Month Report, p. 22.

eight. A comparative study of the new and old curriculum materials was carried out by the Project. The conclusion of the study is as follows:

First is the emphasis on active learning, with the traditional role of the pupil as a passive receptacle for what-ever content the teacher chooses to put in being placed by the new role of the pupil as an active participant in the organization and progressive shaping of learning experiences.

Second is the emphasis on concepts and ideas in place of traditional emphasis on 'bare facts'. In the new program pupils are encouraged to think for themselves and to explore the broader significance and implications of the lessons studied.

Third is the practical and functional emphasis on learning activities that can be related to the everyday life and problems of pupils. There is a new concern with linking in school learning more closely to out-of-school learning, so that the meaning and applicability of what is learned do not end at the classroom door. Instructional materials and aids are drawn wherever possible from the pupil's own environment.

Fourth is the emphasis on motivating the child toward continuing learning throughout his life. Relatively few pupils will go on to become high school and university graduates, but as the new interest in inquiry and investigation grows, children will have a basis and incentive for continuing to ask questions about their world and their place in it after they leave school. It is expected that they will no longer be satisfied with unquestioning acceptance of what goes on around them, and will persist in seeking new information as it concerns them.

Fifth is the emphasis on relating education to the social and economic development of Afghanistan. Special attention is directed to the constructive and productive roles that pupils can assume in helping improve the living conditions in their country and in contributing to its growth and progress.⁵⁷

57 Curriculum and Textbook Project, Comparison of the New and Old Curriculum Materials, Kabul, Ministry of Education, June 1976, p. 13.

Afghan and American specialists⁵⁸ commented that the new primary school curriculum represented a significant departure from the traditional curriculum, one with enormous potential for bringing about a new era in human resource development.

4. Phase Three Findings.

This section presents the findings and analysis of the third phase of the Curriculum and Textbook Project from 1973 to 1976, through the conceptual framework selected for this study. The purpose of this analysis is to describe and identify actors, factors, events and decisions that were important and contributed to the development of the primary school curriculum in Afghanistan.

Actors and Events — During the first half of the third phase of the Project, M. Siddiq, then the First Deputy Minister of Education, continued to play a major role in the development of the primary school curriculum. After the proclamation of the new Educational Reform Act, F. Siddiq, the new First Deputy Minister of Education, had a great influence on the activities of the Project. The approval of the new Educational Reform by the joint meeting of members

58 Personal Interview with Afghan and American Curriculum Specialists.

of the Economic Council of the Prime Ministry and members of the Board of Education was a major event during the third phase.

At the departmental level, Ghaznawi, President of Primary Education; Entezar, former President of Publications; and Sailani, the President of Publications, were found to be major actors in the process of curriculum development. Under the leadership of the latter, the Curriculum and Textbook Project was directed towards a new set of activities in order to meet the expectations of the Republic Regime. Curriculum and instructional materials for grades one to six textbooks and teachers' guides were completed.

The creation of the Technical Board to study and approve educational curricula itself was one of the major events of the third phase of the Project. In the Technical Board beside the Ministry of Education personnel, Azimi, the Vice-President of Kabul University, and Pakmal, Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy and Social Studies at Kabul University, played a great role in the finalization of the primary school curriculum. The latter also contributed to the development of the new course of study called Afghan Society.

Rahimi, the Second Director General of the Project; Whittemore and Atkins, the TCCU Chiefs of Party; and S. Hamid, the Third Director General of the Project, were

influential in the development of the primary school curriculum.

In the process of revising and evaluating instructional materials, the heads of the sections and the people involved in the process of reviewing and evaluating the manuscripts played an important role in finalizing and completing grade one to six textbooks and teachers' guides. In the language arts area, besides people who were involved in the second phase of the Project, Bakhtari and Cutler from the language arts section contributed in the development of the curriculum materials; in mathematics, Vogeli and Azizi; in science, Yawar, Jouyan, and Yadgari; in social studies, Hekmati, Jahanyar, Farahmad and Roshna from the social studies section, and Sailani and Pakmal from the Technical Board of the Ministry of Education; in practical works, Zaray, Muslin, Mehr and N. Safi; and in health and physical education, Taraki and Pearson played significant roles.

In the process of evaluation of trial materials, the activities of Easterly, Lange, Sayres and Fairchild from the TCCU Team; Yusofzai and Q. Safi from the research section had a major impact on the completion of textbooks and teachers' guides on projected date before the end of 1976.

Four main events that could be considered to have influenced the process of primary school curriculum development were: 1) the proclamation of the new Republic Regime in 1973, 2) the approval of the new Educational Reform in 1975, 3) the creation of the Technical Board to study and approve curricula, and 4) the transformation of the Curriculum and Textbook Project from the Department of Primary Education to the Department of Publications.

Decisions — At the ministerial level, M. Siddiq and F. Siddiq, both Deputy Ministers of Education, were the major decision makers. Following the approval of the new Educational Reform at the joint meeting of the Economic Council of the Prime Ministry and Educational Board, it was up to the Ministry of Education to study ways and means for the implementation of the Reform. The decision to create a Technical Board within the Ministry of Education as a policy-making body facilitated the work of the Curriculum and Textbook Project.

The extension of primary education through grades seven and eight was another decision which affected the process of curriculum development and resulted in changes in the structure of the primary school curriculum. The decisions by the Technical Board to include a new course of study called Afghan Society in the curriculum of the

primary school was a move towards the fulfillment of the expectations of the new Republic Regime.

The transformation of the Curriculum and Textbook Project from the Department of Primary Education to the Department of Publications was a crucial decision which created a controversial issue regarding the responsibility of curriculum implementation.

Analysis — One important decision that was made during this period was the transfer of the Curriculum and Textbook Project from the Department of Primary Education to the Department of Compilations. Both American and Afghan specialists responded positively to this decision. To Americans as Dr. T. Atkins⁵⁹, the TCCU Team Chief of Party, explained, the move was an important step towards the fulfillment of the objectives of the joint program agreement which were:

59 T. Atkins, TCCU Chief of Party, Personal Interview, December 18, 1976.

1. To establish, by 1971, in the Ministry of Education, a functional entity responsible for, and capable of, continuing curriculum development for Afghanistan's primary school curriculum, and to create the nation's first modern primary school curriculum.

2. To establish, by 1973, in the Ministry of Education, a capacity for the continuing creation and production of modern primary school textbooks, teachers' guides, and supplementary teaching materials, and to prepare Afghanistan's first modern primary textbooks with teacher guides, based on the new curriculum.⁶⁰

Atkins further commented on the completion of the program by saying that "within the past ten years from 1966 to 1976 the projected objectives of the Curriculum and Textbook Project had been met"⁶¹. M. Siddiq, the First Deputy Minister of Education, commented that "there was a need for the continuation of curriculum development through grade twelve"⁶². Thus the move set the stage for the creation of a curriculum center which would serve grades one to twelve. The reaction from the Department of Primary Education was different. Mrs. S. Shaique, Director General of Primary Education, explained that:

⁶⁰ Program Agreement, No. 306-11-690-091, between the Government of Afghanistan and the USAID, Kabul, April 18, 1966, p. 2.

⁶¹ T. Atkins, Personal Interview, December 18, 1976.

⁶² M. Siddiq, Personal Interview, November 2, 1976.

The Curriculum and Textbook Project was well established and organized in the Department of Primary Education and curriculum specialists had easy access to primary schools. The transfer of the Project to the Compilations Department caused lack of communication and cooperation between two departments.⁶³

There is no evidence that this lack of communication, if it did exist, hampered the completion of the project.

Another decision was the inclusion of a course of study called Afghan Society. Pressure from outside the Ministry of Education resulted in the creation of this course. The appointment of Pakmal on the Technical Board gave him leverage to develop instructional materials for the course. There was a question of resource materials. Pakmal said that "the question was under the study of the Technical Board"⁶⁴. The idea to have resources that conformed to criteria cited in guidelines set by the Technical Board was supported by the President of Compilations and Director General of the Project⁶⁵.

Two other events that occurred during this final phase of the Curriculum and Textbook Project were the establishment of the Technical Board and the extension of primary school through grades seven and eight.

63 Mrs. S. Shaique, Director General of Primary Education, Personal Interview, November 10, 1976.

64 M. A. Pakmal, Personal Interview, December 27, 1976.

64 M. S. Sailani, S. Hamid, Personal Interview.

5. Summary.

The third and final stage in the development of the primary school curriculum was described in this chapter. The first section was devoted to the changing environment within which the curriculum was developed. The second section outlined those events starting with the process of the revision of instructional materials. The third section pertained to those factors that led to the evaluation of the curriculum manuscripts.

Personnel, policy and structural changes at the Ministry of Education and a changing social environment accelerated the pace toward the completion of the primary school curriculum.

Major decisions were made by the Technical Board and by the First Deputy Minister of Education. Curriculum and Textbook Project people continued to exert strong leadership. Sailani, Rahimi and S. Hamid from the Department of Publications; and Whittemore, Atkins, and Sayres, Chiefs of the TCCU Party, were identified as major actors. All textbooks and teachers' guides for grades one to six were completed by the end of 1976.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to conduct a survey and documentary analysis of those processes that resulted in the development of the new curriculum for use in Afghanistan primary schools as recommended to, and approved by, the Minister of Education of Afghanistan. Findings of the investigation were presented in Chapters IV to VI. This section summarizes those findings. It describes actors, events and decisions that were of major significance in the development of the new primary school curriculum. They are presented chronologically in order that their interrelationship may be more easily traced.

1. Summary.

A. Antecedent to Reform: 1966-1969. During the first phase of the Curriculum and Textbook Project three centers of influences were identified. They were the Ministry of Education, the TCCU team and the UNESCO team. Throughout this phase, the actors at the Ministry of Education and the TCCU Team appeared to be most influential.

King, Meder, Mullen and Hamid were found to be the major actors during this phase. They were supported by people such as the Deputy Ministers of Education, Akram and Seraj, and the Ministers of Education, Anas, Anwary and Popal.

The involvement of the TCCU Team advisors in Afghanistan education was an event of significance. The actions of Anderson, the Chief of the TCCU Party, and King, Associate Chief of the TCCU Party, influenced the course of events.

The recognition of the shortage of textbooks by the UNESCO advisors and the mobility of the TCCU advisors were two important factors in the development of the new primary school curriculum.

The establishment of a Steering Committee on which people in high positions in the Ministry of Education would have membership, and the creation of the National Commission by Popal, then the Minister of Education, were two decisions which had a strong influence on the end process of establishing the platform and foundations for the new curriculum.

The University of Kabul also represented a storehouse of academic resources from which Curriculum and Textbook Project specialists could draw for the development of curriculum.

By the end of 1969 the possibility of a new curriculum depended largely on the members of two formal groups, the Curriculum and Textbook Project specialists, and the TCCU advisors. It was up to these two groups to come up with concrete proposals.

B. Planning and Revision: 1970-1972. The creation of the Review Committee was one of the major events of the second phase of the Project. Samadi, the First Deputy Minister of Education; Spearman, the TCCU Chief of Party; and Hamid, the Director General of the Project, were influential in the creation of the Review Committee.

The design of a curriculum framework was another major event. Hamid, the First Director General of the Project; Fields, the TCCU Chief of Party; Sayres, the TCCU Research Specialist; and Rahimi, the Second Director General of the Project, played a significant role in the development of the curriculum framework.

In the process of planning and revising instructional materials, the heads of the sections and the people involved in reviewing the manuscripts were influential. In the language arts area Ilham and Neghat from the university; Rohi and Helali from Pashto Academy; Tarin and Najand from the language arts section; and Kauffman and Myerson, TCCU language arts specialists, played a significant role. In mathematics, Gilbert and Azizi; in science, Kondo, Ghaznawi and Yawar; in social studies, Miel and Hekmati; in practical works, Zaray and Muslim; and in health and physical education, Owens, Pearson and Taraki were the major actors.

Samadi and Siddiq, both Deputy Ministers of Education, were the major decision makers. The former decided to designate a special committee to identify ways of facilitating and accelerating the achievement of the Project goals. The latter initiated three action committees for the purpose of making proposals and recommendations on the work of the Project and on the future of curriculum development in the Ministry of Education.

The establishment of working groups to develop the primary school curriculum and the implementation of the curriculum framework enabled greater teacher participation in curriculum development than had been the case before.

C. Revision and Evaluation: 1973-1976. Four main events that could be considered to have influenced the process of primary school curriculum development were: 1) the proclamation of the new Republic Regime in 1973, 2) the approval of the new Educational Reform in 1975, 3) the creation of the Technical Board to study and approve curricula, and 4) the transformation of the Curriculum and Textbook Project from the Department of Primary Education to the Department of Publications.

Following the approval of the new Educational Reform at the joint meeting of the Economic Council of the Prime Ministry and Educational Board it was the responsibility of

the Ministry of Education to study ways and means for the implementation of the Reform. The decision to create a Technical Board within the Ministry of Education as a policy-making body facilitated the work of the Project.

The transferral of the Curriculum and Textbook Project from the Department of Primary Education to the Department of Publications was a crucial decision which created a controversial issue regarding the responsibility of curriculum implementation.

Personnel, policy and structural changes at the Ministry of Education and a changing social environment, which resulted from the revolution of July 1973, accelerated the pace toward the completion of the primary school curriculum.

Major decisions were made by the Technical Board and by M. Siddiq and F. Siddiq, both First Deputy Ministers of Education. Curriculum and Textbook Project people continued to exert strong leadership. Sailani, Rahimi and S. Hamid from the Department of Publications; and Whittemore, Sayres, and Atkins, the Chiefs of the TCCU Party, were identified as major actors during the third phase of the Project. The instructional materials for grades one to six were completed by the end of 1976.

2. Conclusions.

The previous section presented a summary of those processes that were instrumental in the development of the new primary school curriculum. This section analyzes and presents conclusions regarding those processes. Findings are based on an examination of what was described and summarized in the light of the analytical framework designed for this study.

A. Conclusions Based on the Walker Model. The Walker¹ naturalistic model presents a method of examining the process of curriculum development. The platform constitutes those assumptions which the curriculum developer accepts and which serve as the basis for the justification of his choices. It was impossible in the context of this study to reconstruct the individual platform of every curriculum developer. It was possible, however, to compare the rationale, major objectives, and structure and content of the new program, with what the major actors who influenced the development of the new primary school curriculum had stated about their platform.

The influence of Mullen's ideas on the aggregate platform of the National Commission was significant. This

¹ D. F. Walker, "A Naturalistic Model for Curriculum Development", School Review, Vol. 80, No. 1, 1971, pp. 51-65.

was concluded on the basis of the acceptance of his proposals by the National Commission on Education. On August 12, 1967, Mullen presented a proposal regarding the work of the Project to the Steering Committee. In November 1967, Mullen's proposal became Ministry of Education policy with the Steering Committee's approval of "Suggested Procedure for Determining a General Curriculum Framework for the Primary Schools of Afghanistan".

Walker² considers the justification of choices as the heart of the deliberative process. One basis for justification is the platform of the curriculum developer, the other is data. Data may be of two kinds. One kind may be similar in nature to situations that have been encountered before, another to what is considered to be totally new. In the former case, the curriculum developer may cite precedent, or policy, as an argument for his decision.

It was found that precedent was indeed a strong argument for justification. At times, it was cited explicitly, as when Mullen countered suggestions by Meder for curriculum development procedure. At other times, it was implied or perceived as such. The National Commission's recommendations and proposed curriculum development procedure were perceived by curriculum developers as policy statements.

2 Ibid., p. 54.

References made to newly adopted formats, for example, the lower primary level case as a model for the preparation of course outlines for upper primary level, or recently adopted approaches for teaching new curriculum, indicate how quickly precedents that had evolved from the recent platform became policy.

Walker³ conceptualizes design as a set of decisions in addition to being a blueprint. The latter could be equated with curriculum policy as found in such documents as a program of studies or a curriculum guide. A comparison of the National Commission's position on the purpose of primary education with the objectives of the new primary school curriculum shows a remarkable similarity.

According to the Curriculum Guide, the purpose of the new primary school curriculum is:

The promotion of the maximum development of Afghanistan,

The fostering of political democracy,

The strengthening of the economic system,

The improvement of social conditions and relations,

The inclusion of knowledge and skills essential for living in the modern world,

The furthering of individual self-realization.⁴

3 Ibid., p. 55.

4 "Proposed Courses of Studies and Guidelines for Teachers", Kabul, Ministry of Education, Curriculum and Textbook Project, June 1976, p. 4.

As may be seen from the above, new primary school curriculum purposes are similar to the general objectives of primary education in Afghanistan (p. 104) approved by the National Commission on Education.

An examination of the working paper, adopted by the National Commission as their position paper for submission to the Ministry of Education, shows how the same purposes, cited above, are listed as assumptions (p. 105) regarding the objectives of primary education.

The following conclusions were derived from a generalization of the above illustrations:

1. An individual's platform may either partially or fully be incorporated into an aggregate group platform;
2. A group platform may become an important determinant of the design of a curriculum;
3. Leverage configuration and deliberation have a significant influence on the degree to which the platform is reflected in the design.

B. Conclusions Based on the Gergen Model. Gergen⁵ assumes that individuals, rather than institutions or organizations, are of the greatest importance. The findings

5 K. J. Gergen, "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation", in R. A. Bauer and K. J. Gergen, (eds.), The Study of Policy Formation, New York, N.Y., Free Press, 1968, pp. 181-203.

of this study appear to support the validity of this assumption. The respondents commented that individuals rather than committees made the difference. Nevertheless these individuals exercised their influence through the decision-making process of the institution.

One group that illustrated what a group of concerned and committed individuals could achieve was the National Commission. It also exemplified the usefulness of the concepts of issue relevance in the analysis of curriculum development. Gergen⁶ states that an issue will be relevant to an individual to the extent that it can modify the status quo; the greater the relevance of an issue, the stronger an individual will attempt leverage.

Curriculum development was generally of little relevance to university professors, unless they were in the Faculty of Education. Concerns that made an issue relevant were most likely a result of both personal and group interest. The stronger a person identified himself with a group, the more relevant an issue would be for him if it were relevant for the group.

6 Ibid., p. 184.

Gergen⁷ uses the term subphase to modify resources in terms of variance across time. It may have more utility within the context of public policy making than in that of curriculum development, although in the latter context a case could be made for particular kinds of resources at different stages of development.

It was found that resources not only differed with the stage of development, but also with the kind of task for which they were needed. The Curriculum and Textbook Project could draw on two kinds of resources. One was found primarily among members of Kabul University, and the other among the TCCU advisors. The university professors possessed an expertise in the content and structure of the single descriptives that comprised the primary school curriculum. The TCCU advisors with the help of their Afghan colleagues were adept at organizing such knowledge for classroom purposes. Both kinds of expertise were needed to ensure the development of a program that could be implemented in classrooms.

Aside from academic resources, there were other important resources that had an impact on the development of the new primary school curriculum. Some of the more important were the office held by certain individuals, their

⁷ Ibid., p. 185.

ability to compromise or to sanction, and their access to other resources. The Directors General of the Curriculum and Textbook Project, the TCCU Chiefs of Party, the Presidents of the Department of Publications, and the Deputy Ministers of Education possessed resources that were of great consequence for the potential success or failure of the new primary school curriculum. The final authority resided with the Minister of Education, but it was the responsibility of the Steering Committee and the Technical Board to advise him in regard to the feasibility of different programs.

Ministry of Education officials held, therefore, an advantageous position since they could rely on resources vested in their office. If, in addition to these resources, they could muster public and professional support, then they were reasonably assured of considerable potential influence.

Gergen⁸ equates personal efficacy with a certain personality constellation or a set of social capacities. Since it is of such a personal nature, it is rather difficult to ascertain or assess. Conclusions in this category were based solely on interview data.

The Deputy Ministers of Education, Akram, Seraj, Samadi, M. Siddiq and F. Siddiq, were frequently mentioned in terms of leadership, of exuding authority and of similar

8 Ibid., p. 186.

terminology denoting a quality which demanded great respect and admiration. Ghaznawi, Entezar and Sailani, Presidents of the Department of Publications; and Fields, Whittemore, and Atkins, the Chiefs of the TCCU Party, were cited for leadership in the development of the new primary school curriculum. People such as Mullen, A. Hamid, Sayres, Rahimi, and S. Hamid were cited for individual contributions. The ability to communicate, to compromise, and to persuade were mentioned in attributing influence to various actors.

C. General Conclusions. Specific conclusions were presented in the two preceding subsections. They were directly derived from an examination of isolated incidents in the light of those components of the analytical framework contributed by Gergen and Walker. This subsection presents a number of general conclusions mainly based on an interpretation of the development of the new primary school curriculum over the last decade in the light of interview responses.

A major outcome of the project was a primary curriculum which was more in tune with the needs of Afghan society at its present state of development. In particular, the new curriculum placed a renewed emphasis on the vocational domain of knowledge.

The environment was conducive to change. There was widespread dissatisfaction with the former curriculum which

the UNESCO advisors had documented. The availability of a well-financed, highly respected team of professional educators from Columbia University was another factor given the TCCU's team experience in Afghanistan.

The three major centers of activity were the Ministry of Education, the TCCU team, and the university. With the Ministry of Education in a central decision-making position, much of the leadership exerted by the university during the period 1966 to 1969 was transferred to the Curriculum and Textbook Project people during the planning and revision phase. King, Meder, Hamid and Mullen were noted for their early contributions; Fields, Whittemore, Atkins, Rahimi, S. Hamid, Entezar, Ghaznawi and Sailani, more toward the end of the Project.

It was found that in the process of deliberations the influence and leverage shifted from the American advisors to their Afghan colleagues. The more the Afghan personnel became expert in curriculum development the more they possessed resources and exerted leverage.

Another outcome of the project was the increased professionalization of curriculum development in Afghanistan. Many Afghan educators gained extensive experience and enhanced status as a result of this project. This project also encouraged greater involvement of local educators in curriculum development. This process of involvement will

likely have implications for the future administration of educational personnel.

If the process of professionalization of curriculum development and delegation of more professional decisions to teachers and curriculum experts continues, there may be a demand for greater flexibility and tolerance for diversity among administrators.

In this study it was found that an aggregate platform was as important as an individual platform. In Walker's model the concept of platform could be expanded to account for a group platform. Time and cost factors make it difficult to analyze the process of deliberation in the process of curriculum development in a curriculum project. The concept of design as related to a series of decisions is difficult to reconstruct, unless the researcher can be present during the actual process of curriculum development.

An examination of how the Ministry of Education and the TCCU team can assist with the development and the diffusion of grades seven and eight curriculum seems to be desirable. Major decisions in the development of the new primary school curriculum were made by the committees mostly represented by the officials of the Ministry of Education. A balance will need to be struck between an adequate representation of professionals and the size of a task force for curricular development. Furthermore, the time lag

between curricular innovation and classroom implementation will need to be counterbalanced with a thorough evaluation of new programs and teacher preparation for those programs.

The positions of Afghan curriculum specialists should be reviewed to allow for increased professional and academic statuses for them. Engaging the services of Kabul University professors and the Ministry of Education curriculum experts on an ad hoc basis with short term contracts could improve the process by which curriculum is developed.

Finally there are a number of implications for administrators of curriculum development projects in developing notions: First, because curriculum reform includes some sensitive social and political issues, it may be more logical to organize a curriculum development project under the strong leadership of the native people. It will be politically wise to carry out those decisions which are made by the host country. In this project, the political and professional status of the Technical Board aided the project greatly.

Second, since the final product of a curriculum project is a curriculum which covers the cultural content of the native country, a review committee should be created to oversee the process of curriculum development and examine the relationship of the cultural content to the local environment. The involvement of local curriculum personnel

as a review committee may reduce problems, and foster the process of implementing the new curriculum in the schools.

Third, the continuation of the process of curriculum reform also depends on financial support. Major external assistance may be a factor in the maintenance of the momentum of a project during a period of change in the political environment.

D. Suggestions for Further Study.

A number of topics are singled out for particular attention in the light of the findings of this study. An examination of each of these areas might contribute to a better understanding of some of the variables that have an influence on the development of curriculum. The following areas of investigation are suggested:

1. An examination of procedures used by project staffs in transforming abstract platform principles into concrete curriculum plans and materials by making a careful study of a small group sample of the discourse of project planners using the methods of content analysis. This analysis of the deliberations of project planners will contribute to the understanding of topics, information, and principles which they used in the discussions.

2. An analysis of the process of curriculum development in each subject area from grade one to twelve. A descriptive analysis of a subject area, for example, language arts, social studies, or science will contribute to a better understanding of curriculum platform, the process of deliberation and the design in the selected subject area.

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This paper describes and analyzes the concept of social power. The following proposals are discussed in the articles: 1) power is a social phenomenon Par excellence, and not merely a political or economic phenomenon; 2) it is useful to distinguish power from prestige, from influence, from dominance, from rights, from force, and from authority; 3) power is latent force, force is manifest power, and authority is institutionalized power; 4) power, which has its incidence only in social opposition of some kind, appears in different ways in formal organization, and in the unorganized community; and 5) the sources and necessary components of power reside in a combination of numbers (especially majorities), social organizations, and resources.

This article clarifies the concept of leverage used by Gergen to explain power and influence in an organization.

Fox, Seymour, "A Practical Language of 'the Practical'", Curriculum Theory Network, No. 10, Fall 1972, pp. 45-59.

This paper analyzes the practical mode proposed by Schwab. The article explains that the composition and working style of the staff that will prepare the curriculum is another aspect of the practical.

Fox relates this important aspect of the practical to the concept of deliberation by saying that the staff should consist of people whose collective competences and experience are rich enough to contend with the complexity to be encountered in deliberation.

The article was useful in the design and structure of the analytical framework selected for the investigation of this study.

"General Objectives and Purposes of School Education in Afghanistan", The National Commission Report, Ministry of Education, Kabul, 1968, 89 p.

This document outlines the general aims and objectives of school education in Afghanistan. The aims and objectives of Afghanistan schools are based on its values and needs. In a series of meetings the National Commission identified and classified the values and needs of Afghan society. The paper is considered as an important document which served as policies and guidelines in the development of Afghanistan education.

This document served as the foundation, and platforms of curriculum makers in the development of the new primary school curriculum in Afghanistan.

Gergen, K. J., "Assessing the Leverage Points in the Process of Policy Formation", in R.A. Bauer and K. J. Gergen (eds.), The Study of Policy Formation, New York, N.Y., Free Press, 1968, pp. 181-203.

The article presents a model that is useful for the identification of decision makers and a technique by which their influence can be assessed. Gergen considers any social system to be a set of interacting subunits. The complex web of social interaction from which policy emanates is determined by the way the subunits interact. Any individual in a society can be compared along three dimensions relevant to the concept of leverage. These dimensions Gergen labels: 1) issue relevance, 2) subphase resources, and 3) personal efficacy.

Goodlad, J. I. and M. N. Richter, The Development of a Conceptual System Dealing with Problems of Curriculum and Instruction, Los Angeles, California, University of California, Los Angeles, and Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Incorporated, 1966, 106 p.

This paper presents a conceptual system which is concerned with the decision-making process. The model distinguishes three levels of decision making, namely; instructional, institutional, and societal. The authors impose the Tyler rationale on these three levels. The model presents a design of a rational system, but does not indicate the political contexts of educational decisions, in which more than pure reason determines the outcome.

Kirst, M. W. and D. F. Walker, "An Analysis of Curriculum Policy Making", Review of Educational Research, Vol. 41, No. 5, December 1971, pp. 479-509.

The paper focuses on the present status of the policy-making process. The purpose of the authors in this article is to explore what is known about curriculum policy-making in the public schools of the United States, relying whenever possible on the demonstrable conclusions of formal studies, but resorting when necessary to conventional wisdom, common sense, personal experiences, and outright speculation.

This study contributes to the understanding of the concept of platform in Walker's model of curriculum development.

Mixed Committee of the Members of the Economic Council of the Prime Ministry and Members of Educational Board, Educational Reform, Kabul, Government Press, 1975, 31 p.

This paper was initiated after the proclamation of the Republic Regime. It contains policies and guidelines of the school system in Afghanistan. The main points of the reform are: 1) to better the quantity and quality of education by means of reforming its structure and to create conditions for its better organization and coordination, 2) to adopt manpower training with requirements, and 3) to prepare ground for the acquisition of permanent literacy during the period of primary education.

This document introduced changes in the content of instructional materials of the primary schools. It is considered as a new policy and guideline document in Afghanistan education.

Myers, D. A., Decision Making in Curriculum and Instruction, Dayton, Ohio, Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Incorporated, 1970, 54 p.

This book analyzes the three levels of decision making identified in the Goodlad-Richter model. The author attempts to formulate a conceptualization to view and guide the practical business of making curricular decisions in societal, institutional and instructional levels.

Through the analysis of decision making and its relationship to organizations, Myer's conceptualization contributes to the identification of the actors, their stage and their roles in the decision-making drama they are to play.

Patchen, M., "Alternative Questionnaire Approaches to the Measurement of Influence in Organizations", The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 69, No. 1, July 1963, pp. 41-52.

This is a comparative study of two methods of measuring influence in an organization. Employees in a manufacturing company and in a set of auto dealerships were asked to make global judgment about the distribution of influence in their organizations; they were also asked about influence in specific decision areas. An index on reports of influence in specific areas shows better reliability among non-supervisory respondents than does the global influence measure. Neither measure shows clear superiority as a predictor of employee morale.

This study supports Gergen's position on measuring influence in a social organization.

Reid, A. W. and D. F. Walker, Case Studies in Curriculum Change Great Britain and the United States, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, 268 p.

This book is an anthology of a collection of studies of all shapes and sizes, covering time spans from three to thirty years. This volume contributes to the understanding of how human agencies, through day-to-day involvement in planning and implementation, translate ideas, visions and theories into programs and practices, and how, in the process, the ideas themselves are recreated.

Scheffler, Israel, "Justifying Curriculum Decisions", School Review, Vol. 66, No. 1, Spring 1958, pp. 461-472.

This article offers an analysis of the process of justification along with suggestions for justifying decisions on curriculum. The paper explains that decisions that confront educators are notoriously varied, complex, and far-reaching in importance, but none outweighs in difficulty or significance those decisions governing selection of content.

The paper contributed to the selection and the design of the analytical framework chosen for this study.

Schwab, J. J., "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic", School Review, Vol. 79, No. 4, August 1971, pp. 493-542.

The series of papers of which this is one is grounded in a consideration of theory as well as practice. The series is concerned with theory because a study of educational literature reveals that education in general and the field of curriculum in particular have been inveterately theoretic and that this theoretic bend has let education down.

The three articles written by Schwab (1970-1971-1973) describe and analyze the modes of practical, quasi-practical and eclectic. Schwab also clarifies the concept of deliberation in the process of decision making.

These papers gave more insight into the investigation and selection of an analytical framework.

Walker, D. F., "A Naturalistic Model for Curriculum Development", School Review, Vol. 80, No. 1, 1971, pp. 51-65.

This article presents a model of curriculum development based on practice as well as on theory. It has three elements: 1) a platform, 2) a deliberation process, and 3) a design. The model is more comprehensive. It not only deals with the deliberative process at the time it evolves, but it also emphasizes the antecedents to the process and outcomes of that process. This model provides a conceptual basis for the study of curriculum development in the context of its total environment.

-----, "A Study of Deliberation in Three Curriculum Projects", Curriculum Theory Network, No. 7, 1971, pp. 122-133.

This paper presents a brief summary of the results of a detailed study of deliberation in three curriculum projects. It is a detailed critical study of particular portions of actual deliberation. It was found that the study of the process of curriculum deliberation can contribute significantly to practice, theory, and research in the field of curriculum.

-----, "Curriculum Development in an Art Project", in W. A. Reid and D. F. Walker, Case Studies in Curriculum Change: Great Britain and the United States, London, England, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975, pp. 105-145.

The article describes the intellectual processes of inquiry, judgment, decision, and action that preceded, surrounded, and underly the design of a curriculum. It also analyzes the process of deliberation.

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APPENDIX A

THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The Interview Schedule

Alimi, Mr. Z. August 8	Head, Language Arts Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Amin, Mr. M. August 9	Professor of Education Faculty of Letters and Humanities Kabul University
Anderson, Dr. W. P. April 14	Chief of the TCCU Party (1961-1967), Ministry of Education Kabul
Atkins, Dr. T. A. August 30 December 18	Chief of the TCCU Party (1975-1976), Ministry of Education Kabul
Azimi, Mr. A. S. November 24	Vice President, Academic Kabul University
Azizi, Mr. A. K. August 12	Head, Mathematics Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Bakhtary, Mr. W. August 25	Dari Language Editor Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Bamiani, Mr. I. April 13	Curriculum Production Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Easterly, Dr. M. April 16	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul
Entezar, Dr. M. E. July 11	Former President Translation and Compilation Dept. Ministry of Education Kabul
Fairchild, Mr. F. Jr. October 23	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul

Fazel, Mr. M. F. November 23	Professor of Psychology Faculty of Letters and Humanities Kabul University
Graham, Mr. C. April 16	Director Department of International Services TCCU, N.Y.
Hamid, Dr. A. August 17 August 21	Former Director General Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Hamid, Mr. A. S. August 8 October 23	Project Officer Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Hamidi, Mr. A. H. August 18	President, Supervision and Inspection Department Ministry of Education Kabul
Hamidi, Mr. A. S. November 13	Director General Said Jamaluddin Higher Teachers College Kabul
Hesari, Mr. M. S. August 11	Head, Material Production Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Hekmati, Mr. J. K. August 14 November 17	Head, Social Studies Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Jahanyar, Mr. M. J. August 7	Social Studies Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Jouyan, Mr. S. A. A. August 12	Science Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Kondo, Dr. A. K. October 27	UNESCO Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul

Kushkaki, Mr. P. M. August 15	President, Teacher Education Ministry of Education Kabul
Lamar, Mr. A. Q. August 8 August 21	Language Arts Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Lange, Dr. P. C. April 14	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul
Lanza, Dr. A. R. August 30	Education Division Officer USAID, Kabul Afghanistan
Mackmakin, Mr. R. B. November 8	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul
Mayel, Mr. M. A. November 7	Former Second Deputy Minister of Education (1968-1970)
Mayerson, Dr. P. S. October 26	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul
Miel, Dr. A. April 15	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul
Muslim, Mr. I. August 16	Practical Works Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Muzter, Mr. D. M. August 13	Former Vice President Translation and Compilation Dept. Ministry of Education Kabul
Naïem, Mr. A. August 17	Former President Primary Education (1969-1972) Ministry of Education Kabul

Najand, Mr. O. August 16	Pashto Language Editor Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Nasim, Mr. M. August 24	Former Second Deputy Minister of Education (1972-1975)
Neghat, Mr. M. N. S. November 18	Associate Professor Department of Dari Language and Literature Faculty of Letters and Humanities Kabul University
Pakmal, Mr. M. A. August 6 December 27	Associate Professor Department of Philosophy and Social Sciences Faculty of Letters and Humanities Kabul University
Pearson, Dr. C. E. September 7	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul
Porjoosh, Mr. M. T. August 15 December 7	President, Planning Department Ministry of Education Kabul
Rahimi, Mr. M. H. August 21	Former Director General Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Rahimi, Mr. W. M. October 19	Associate Professor Director General of Research Center Kabul University
Rahmati, Mr. M. H. October 30 November 7	Acting Head Language Arts Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Rlung, Mr. G. D. October 25	Mathematics Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul

Rohi, Mr. M. S. November 7	President, Pashto Academy Pashto Textbooks Editor Ministry of Education Kabul
Roshna, Mrs. R. August 18	Social Studies Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Safi, Mr. A. Q. August 15	Head, Research Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Sailani, Mr. M. S. October 27	President Translation and Compilation Dept. Ministry of Education Kabul
Schutte, Dr. D. August 29	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul
Shaique, Mrs. S. November 10	Director General Primary Education Ministry of Education Kabul
Siddiq, Dr. M. November 22	Former First Deputy Minister of Education (1973-1975)
Siddiq, Dr. M. A. F. October 24	First Deputy Minister of Education
Taraki, Mr. B. August 11	Head, Health Education Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Tarin, Mr. H. N. A. August 6	Dari Language Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Vogeli, Mr. B. D. September 8	TCCU Advisor Ministry of Education Kabul

Wakil, Mr. A. August 16	Head, Material Orientation Services Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Whittemore, Dr. R. F. April 15	TCCU Chief of Party (1974-1975) Ministry of Education Kabul
Yadgari, Mr. M. A. April 14	Science Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Yawar, Mr. A. August 11 November 23	Head, Science Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Yusofzai, Mr. A. A. April 16 April 18	Research Specialist Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul
Zaray, Mr. R. M. August 7	Head, Practical Works Section Curriculum and Textbook Project Ministry of Education Kabul

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW FORMAT

The Interview Format¹

1. (a) What committee members had a considerable influence on the development of the new curriculum?

(b) What personal characteristics and what philosophy or educational beliefs and ideas do you associate with these people?

2. (a) What societal trends in Afghanistan, North America, or the rest of the world do you perceive to have had an impact on the curriculum development?

(b) Which forces and circumstances on the social and political environment have (i) facilitated your function in curriculum development? and (ii) hindered and frustrated your work at that time?

3. (a) Which decision points do you now and in retrospect, see as major decision points?

(b) What inputs, either solicited or unsolicited, exerted an influence on deliberations?

(c) What polarizations around what issues tended to occur?

(d) Whose influence was of major importance in deciding how issues were resolved?

¹ Adapted with permission from L. Korteweg, A Decade of Social Studies Curriculum Development in Alberta, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Edmonton, The University of Alberta, 1972, p. 171.

4. (a) How influential were the chairmen of curriculum committees?

(b) How did you perceive their role?

(c) What relationship existed among the various committees?

5. What structural and functional changes at the Ministry of Education from 1966 to 1976 did you perceive to have had an important bearing on curriculum development?

6. What particular strengths and weaknesses to you perceive to exist in the structure and process of curriculum development, as exemplified in the Ministry of Education, during your term of office as Minister of Education?

7. Who speaks for the academic community relative to curriculum development?

8. Is the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan capable of continuing curriculum development and revision without help from American educational advisors?

9. (a) Who really decides curriculum?

(b) What trends do you perceive to exist?

(c) Will they continue?

(d) How can curriculum development be improved?

APPENDIX C

PROGRAM OF STUDIES OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Program of Studies of Primary Schools

First Level Grades I, II, III

Number of 40 minute periods per week summer

Number of 35 minute periods per week winter

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Grades I, II, III</u>
Communication skills in first language (Pashto or Dari): correct reading, speaking and writing	18
Arithmetic	5
Religious Studies	4
Physical Education (25 minutes daily)	
Recess (15 minutes daily)	
Weekly periods	30

Second Level Grades IV, V, VI

Number of 40 minute periods per week summer

Number of 35 minute periods per week winter

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Grades IV, V, VI</u>
Communication skills in first language (Pashto or Dari): reading, writing, grammar and composition, and literature	6
Communication studies in second language (Pashto or Dari)	5
Social Studies (Geography, History, Civics)	5
Science-Health	5
Mathematics	5
Religious Studies	4
Practical Works	4
Physical Education	2
Recess (30 minutes daily)	
Weekly periods	36

WEEKLY TIMETABLE FOR GRADES I, II, III

Summer 40 min. periods	Sat.	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Winter 35 min. periods
8:00							8:00
8:40							8:35
9:20							9:10
9:35			R E C E S S				9:25
10:15							10:00
10:55							10:35
11:20			PHYSICAL EDUCATION				11:00
12:00							11:35

WEEKLY TIMETABLE FOR GRADES IV, V, VI

Summer 40 min. periods	Sat.	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Winter 35 min. periods
8:00							8:00
8:40							8:35
9:20							9:10
9:35			R E C E S S				9:25
10:15							10:00
10:55							10:35
11:10			R E C E S S				10:50
11:50							11:25
12:30							12:00

Source: Teacher Education in Afghanistan, Twenty-Ninth Six-Month Report, May 1968 to October 1968, p. 27.

APPENDIX D

ABSTRACT OF

A Survey and Analysis of Primary School
Curriculum Development in Afghanistan from 1966 to 1976

ABSTRACT OF

A Survey and Analysis of Primary School
Curriculum Development in Afghanistan from 1966 to 1976¹

The purpose of this study was to conduct a survey and documentary analysis of those processes that resulted in the development of the new curriculum for use in Afghanistan primary schools as recommended to, and approved by, the Minister of Education of Afghanistan. The study attempted to identify curriculum developers, analyze curriculum making processes and evaluate outcomes in the light of an analytical framework designed for this purpose.

The analytical framework based on the Walker and Gergen models gave direction to the structuring of questions and assisted in the gathering and interpreting of data. The Walker model provided a perspective and context for the analysis of the political nature of curriculum policy making. The Gergen model contributed to an understanding of influence and the process of influencing through an assessment of leverage.

Documentary data were found in the files of the Ministry of Education of Afghanistan and the Teachers College Columbia University Team. The minutes, correspondence,

¹ M. N. Ahmadyar, doctoral thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies of the University of Ottawa, Ontario, June 1977, 261 p.

position papers and proposed course outlines found in these files were a major source of data. Interview data, another major source, were obtained from discussions with sixty people closely involved in the development of the new primary school curriculum. Interviewees were the officials of the Ministry of Education, the TCCU advisors, and Kabul University professors.

The social and political environment of the decade and the influence of certain individuals, acting in consort, were found to have had considerable impact on this curriculum-development project. Personal influence was attributed to a combination of commitment, prestige and communication skills. Prestige was perceived in terms of position and expertise. Officials in the Ministry of Education were frequently mentioned in connection with position; resource personnel in the University and the TCCU advisors were often cited in connection with expertise. Cooperation among influentials, belonging to each of the three groups, resulted in the development of the new curriculum for use in the primary schools of Afghanistan.